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1885

71st Year. Published Monthly. Volume 141. Number 1.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

July, 1885.

I. Land and Taxation: a Conversation . { David Dudley Field; Henry George.

II. Two Years of Civil Service Reform . . . . Dorman B. Eaton.

III. Is Christianity Declining? . . . . Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst.

IV. Prohibition in Practice . . . . . Gail Hamilton.

V. The Extradition of Dynamite Criminals { President J. B. Angell; George T. Curtis; Justice T. M. Cooley.

VI. An English Imperialist Bubble . . . . . William Clarke.

VII. The Subterranean History of Man . President S. C. Bartlett.

VIII. European Influences in Asia. . . . . Thomas W. Knox.

IX. Comments.

NEW YORK:

[illegible] AFAYETTE PLACE.

LONDO[illegible] 'XCHANGE. PARIS: The Galignani Library.

BERLIN: [illegible] IEVA: J. Cherbuliez. ROME: Loescher & Co.

MELBOU[illegible] OKAHAMA and SHANGHAI: Kelly & Walsh.

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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1885

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

VOL. CXLI.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
No. 30 LAFAYETTE PLACE.
1885.

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Vol. 141

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Feb. 20. 1886

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1885.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

JULY, 1885.

No. 344.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXLIV.

JULY, 1885.

LAND AND TAXATION: A CONVERSATION.

MR. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD. Will you explain to me how you expect to develop, in practice, your theory of the confiscation of land to the use of the state?

MR. HENRY GEORGE. By abolishing all other taxes, and concentrating taxation upon land-values.

F. Then suppose A to be the proprietor of a thousand acres of land on the Hudson, chiefly farming land, but at the same time having on it houses, barns, cattle, horses, carriages, furniture; how is he to be dealt with, under your theory?

G. He would be taxed upon the value of his land, and not upon the value of his improvements and stock.

F. Whether the value of his land has been increased by his cultivation or not?

G. The value of land is not really increased by cultivation. The value that cultivation adds is a value of improvement, which I would exempt. I would tax the land at its present value, excluding improvements; so that such a proprietor would have no more taxes to pay than the proprietor of one thousand acres of land, equal in capabilities, situation, etc., that remained in a state of nature.

F. But suppose the proprietor of such land to have let it lie waste for many years, while the farmer that I speak of has devoted his time and money to increasing the value of his thousand acres, would you tax them exactly alike ?

G. Exactly.

F. Let us suppose B, an adjoining proprietor, has land that has never yielded a blade of grass, or any other product but weeds ; and that A, a farmer, took his in the same condition when he purchased, and by his own thrift and expenditure has improved his land, so that now, without buildings, furniture, or stock, it is worth five times as much as B's thousand acres ; B is taxed at the rate of a dime an acre ; would you tax A at the rate of a dime an acre ?

G. I would certainly tax him no more than B, for by the additional value that A has created he has added that much to the common stock of wealth, and he ought to profit by it. The effect of our present system, which taxes a man for values created by his labor and capital, is to put a fine upon industry, and repress improvement. The more houses, the more crops, the more buildings in the country, the better for us all, and we are doing ourselves an injury by imposing taxes upon the production of such things.

F. How are you to ascertain the value of land considered as waste land ?

G. By its selling price. The value of land is more easily and certainly ascertained than any other value. Land lies out of doors, everybody can see it, and in every neighborhood a close idea of its value can be had.

F. Take the case of the owner of a thousand acres in the Adirondack wilderness that have been denuded of trees, and an adjoining thousand acres that have a fine growth of timber. How would you value them ?

G. Natural timber is a part of land ; when it has value, it adds to the value of the land.

F. The land denuded of timber would then be taxed less than land that has timber ?

G. On general principles it would, where the value of the land was therefore lessened. But where, as in the Adirondacks, public policy forbids anything that would hasten the cutting of timber, natural timber might be considered an improvement, like planted timber, which should not add to taxable value.

F. Then suppose a man to have a thousand acres of wild timber land, and to have cut off the timber, and planted the land, and set up buildings, and generally improved it; would you tax him less than the man that has retained his land with the timber still on?

G. I would tax the value of his land irrespective of the improvements made by him, whether they consisted in clearing, in plowing, or in building. In other words, I would tax that value which is created by the growth of the community, not that created by individual effort. Land has no value on account of improvements made upon it, or on account of its natural capabilities. It is as population increases, and society develops, that land-values appear, and they rise in proportion to the growth of population and social development. For instance, the value of the land upon which this building stands is now enormously greater than it was years ago, not because of what its owner has done, but because of the growth of New York.

F. I am not speaking of New York City in particular; I am speaking of land generally.

G. The same principle is generally true. Where a settler takes up a quarter section on a Western prairie, and improves it, his land has no value so long as other land of the same quality can be had for nothing. The value he creates is merely the value of improvement. But when population comes, then arises a value that attaches to the land itself. That is the value I would tax.

F. Suppose the condition of the surrounding community in the West remained the same; two men go together and purchase two pieces of land of a thousand acres each; one leaves his with a valuable growth of timber, the other cuts off the timber, cultivates the land, and makes a well ordered farm. Would you tax the man that has left the timber upon his land more than you would tax the other man, provided that the surrounding country remained the same?

G. I would tax them both upon the value of the land at the time of taxation. At first, I take it, the clearing of the land would be a valuable improvement. On this, as on the value of his other improvements, I would not have the settler taxed. Thus taxation upon the two would be the same. In course of time, the growth of population might give value to the uncut timber, which, being included in the value of land, would make the taxation upon the

man that had left his land in a state of nature heavier than upon the man that had converted his land into a farm.

F. A man that goes into the Western country and takes up land, paying the Government price, and does nothing to the land; how is he to be taxed?

G. As heavily as the man that has taken a like amount of land and improved it. Our present system is unjust and injurious in taxing the improver and letting the mere proprietor go. Settlers take up land, clear it, build houses, and cultivate crops, and for thus adding to the general wealth are immediately punished by taxation upon their improvements. This taxation is escaped by the man that lets his land lie idle, and, in addition to that, he is generally taxed less upon the value of his land than are those who have made their land valuable. All over the country, land in use is taxed more heavily than unused land. This is wrong. The man that holds land and neglects to improve it, keeps away somebody that would, and he ought to pay as much for the opportunity he wastes as the man that improves a like opportunity.

F. Then you would tax the farmer whose farm is worth $1,000, as heavily as you would tax the adjoining proprietor, who, with the same quantity of land, has added improvements worth $100,000; is that your idea?

G. It is. The improvements made by the capitalist would do no harm to the farmer, and would benefit the whole community, and I would do nothing to discourage them.

F. In whom would you have the title to land vested—in the state, or in individuals as now?

G. I would leave land-titles as at present.

F. Your theory does not touch the title to land, nor the mode of transferring the title, nor the enjoyment of it; but it is a theory confined altogether to the taxing of it?

G. In form. Its effect, however, if carried as far as I would like to carry it, would be to make the community the real owner of land, and the various nominal owners virtually tenants, paying ground rent in the shape of taxes.

F. Before we go to the method by which you would effect that result, let me ask you this question: A, a large landlord in New York, owns a hundred houses, worth each, say, $25,000 (scattered in different parts of the city); at what rate of valuation would you tax him?

G. On his houses, nothing. I would tax him on the value of the lots.

F. As vacant lots ?

G. As if each particular lot were vacant, surrounding improvements remaining the same.

F. If you would have titles as now, then A, who owns a ten-thousand-dollar house and lot in the city, would still continue to be the owner, as he is at present ?

G. He would still continue to be the owner, but as taxes were increased upon land-values he would, while still continuing to enjoy the full ownership of the house, derive less and less of the pecuniary benefits of the ownership of the lot, which would go in larger and larger proportions to the state, until, if the taxation of land-values were carried to the point of appropriating them entirely, the state would derive all those benefits, and, though nominally still the owner, he would become in reality a tenant with assured possession, so long as he continued to pay the tax, which might then become in form, as it would be in essence, a ground rent.

F. Now, suppose A to be the owner of a city lot and building, valued at $500,000 ; who would give a deed to it to B ?

G. A would give the deed.

F. Then supposing A to own twenty lots, with twenty buildings on them, the lots being, as vacant lots, worth each $1,000, and the buildings being worth $49,000 each ; and B to own twenty lots of the same value, as vacant lots, without any buildings ; would you tax A and B alike ?

G. I would.

F. Suppose that B, to buy the twenty lots, had borrowed the price, and mortgaged them for it ; would you have the tax in that case apportioned ?

G. I would hold the land for it. In cases in which it became necessary to consider the relations of mortgagee and mortgagor, I would treat them as joint owners.

F. If A, the owner of a city lot with a house upon it, should sell it to B, do you suppose that the price would be graduated by the value of the improvements alone ?

G. When the tax upon the land had reached the point of taking the full annual value, it would.

F. To illustrate : Suppose A has a city lot, which, as a vacant lot, is worth annually $10,000, and there is a building upon it

worth $100,000, and he sells them to B; you think the price would be graduated according to the value of the building, that is to say, $100,000, after the taxation had reached the annual value of $10,000?

G. Precisely.

F. To what purposes do you contemplate that the money raised by your scheme of taxation should be applied?

G. To the ordinary expenses of government, and such purposes as the supplying of water, of light, of power, the running of railways, the maintenance of public parks, libraries, colleges and kindred institutions, and such other beneficial objects as may from time to time suggest themselves; to the care of the sick and needy, the support of widows and orphans, and, I am inclined to think, to the payment of a fixed sum to every citizen when he came to a certain age.

F. Do you contemplate that money raised by taxation should be expended for the support of the citizen?

G. I see no reason why it should not be.

F. Would you have him fed and clothed at the public expense?

G. Not necessarily; but I think a payment might well be made to the citizen when he came to the age at which active powers decline, that would enable him to feed and clothe himself for the remainder of his life.

F. Let us come to practical results: The rate of taxation now in the city of New York, we will suppose, is 2.30 upon the assessed value. The assessed value is understood to be about sixty per cent. of the real value of property. Land assessed at $60,000 is really worth $100,000, and being assessed at 2.30 when valued at $60,000, should be assessed at about 1.40 on the real value; you would increase that amount indefinitely, if I understand you, up to the annual rental value of the land?

G. I would.

F. Which we will suppose to be five per cent.; is that it?

G. Let us suppose so.

F. Then your scheme contemplates the raising of 5 per cent. on the true value of all real estate as vacant land, to be used for the purposes you have mentioned. Have you thought of the increase in the army of office-holders that would be required for the collection and disbursement of this enormous sum of money?

G. I have.

F. What do you say to that ?

G. That, as to collection, it would greatly reduce the present army of office-holders. A tax upon land-values can be levied and collected with a much smaller force than is now required for our multiplicity of taxes ; and I am inclined to think, that, directly and indirectly, the plan I propose would permit the dismissal of three-fifths of the officials needed for the present purposes of government. This simplification of government would do very much to purify our politics ; and I rely largely upon the improvement that the change I contemplate would make in social life, by lessening the intensity of the struggle for wealth, to permit the growth of such habits of thought and conduct as would enable us to get for the management of public affairs as much intelligence and as strict integrity as can now be obtained for the management of great private affairs.

F. Supposing it to be true that you would reduce the expense of collection, would you not, for the disbursement of these vast funds, require a much larger number of efficient men than are now required ?

G. Not necessarily. But, whether this be so or not, the full scheme I propose can only be attained gradually. Until, at least, the total amount needed for what are now considered purely governmental purposes were obtained by taxation upon land-values, there would be a large reduction of office-holders, and no increase.

F. How do you propose to divide the taxation between the state and the municipalities ?

G. As taxes are now divided. As to questions that might arise, there will be time enough to determine them when the principle has been accepted.

F. Your theory contemplates the raising of nearly four times as much revenue in the State of New York as is now raised ; how many office-holders would it require to disburse this enormous sum of money among the various objects that you have mentioned?

G. My theory does not require that it should be disbursed among the objects I have mentioned, but simply that it should be used for public benefit.

F. Do you not think that the present rate of taxation is more than sufficient for all purposes of government ?

G. Under the state of society that I believe would ensue, it

would be much more than sufficient for present purposes of government. We should need far less for expenses of revenue collection, police, penitentiaries, courts, alms-houses, etc.

F. Then, to bring the matter down to a point, you propose for the present no change whatever in anything, except that the amount now raised by all methods of taxation should be imposed upon real estate considered as vacant?

G. For a beginning, yes.

F. Well, what do you contemplate as the ending of such a scheme?

G. The taking of the full annual value of land for the benefit of the whole people. I hold that land belongs equally to all, that land-values arise from the presence of all, and should be shared among all.

F. And this result you propose to bring about by a tax upon land-values, leaving the title, the privilege of sale, of rent, of testament, the same as at present?

G. Yes.

F. Your theory appears to me impracticable. I think that the raising of such an enormous sum of money, placing it in the coffers of the state, to be disbursed by the state in the manner you contemplate, would tend to the corruption of the government beyond all former precedent. The end you contemplate—of bettering the condition of all the people—is a worthy one. I believe that we—you and I—who are well to do in the world, and others in our condition, do neglect and have neglected our duty to those in a less fortunate condition, and that it is our highest duty to endeavor to relieve, so far as we can, the burdens of those who are now suffering from poverty and want. Therefore, far from deriding or scouting your theory, I examine it with respect and attention, desirous of getting from it whatever I can that may be good, while rejecting what I conceive to be erroneous. Taken altogether, as you have explained it, I do not see that it is a practicable scheme.

G. But your objections to it as impracticable only arise at the point, yet a long distance off, at which the revenues raised from land-values would be greater than those now raised. Is there anything impracticable in substituting, for the present corrupt, demoralizing, and repressive methods of taxation, a single tax upon land-values?

F. I think it possible to concentrate all taxation upon land, if that should be thought the best method. Many economists are of opinion that taxes should be raised from land alone, conceiving that rent is really paid by every consumer, but they include in land everything placed upon it out of which rent comes.

G. Then we could go together for a long while, and when the point was reached at which we would differ, we might be able to see that a purer government than any we have yet had might be possible. Certainly here is the gist of the whole problem. If men are too selfish, too corrupt, to co-operate for mutual benefit, there must always be poverty and suffering.

F. My theory of government is, that its chief function is to keep the peace between individuals, and allow each to develop his own nature for his own happiness. I would never raise a dollar from the people except for necessary purposes of government. I believe that the demoralization of our politics comes from the notion that public offices are spoils for partisans. A large class of men has grown up among us whose living is obtained from the state, that is to say, out of the people; we must get rid of these men, and, instead of creating offices, we must lessen their number.

G. I agree with you as to government in its repressive feature; and in no way could we so lessen the number of office-holders and take the temptation of private profit out of public affairs as by raising all public revenues by the tax upon land-values, which, easily assessed and collected, does not offer opportunities for evasion or add to prices. Though in form a tax, this would be in reality a rent; not a taking from the people, but a collecting of their legitimate revenues. The first and most important function of government is to secure the full and equal liberty of individuals; but the growing complexity of civilized life, and the growth of great corporations and combinations before which the individual is powerless, convince me that government must undertake more than to keep the peace between man and man, must carry on, when it cannot regulate, businesses that involve monopoly, and in larger and larger degree assume co-operative functions. If I could see any other means of doing away with the injustice involved in growing monopolies, of which the railroad is a type, than by extension of governmental functions, I should not favor that; for all my earlier thought was in the direction you have indicated—the position occupied by the Democratic party of the last generation. But I see

none. However, if it were to appear that further extension of the functions of government would involve demoralization, then the surplus revenue might be divided per capita. But it seems to me that there must be in human nature the possibility of a reasonably pure government, when the ends of that government are felt by all to be the promotion of the general good.

F. I do not believe in spoliation, and I conceive that that would be spoliation which would take from one man his property and give it to another. The scheme of the Communists, as I understand it, appears to me to be not only unsound, but destructive of society. I do not mean to intimate that you are one of the Communists; on the contrary, I do not believe you are.

G. As to the sacredness of property, I thoroughly agree with you. As you say in your recent article on Industrial Co-operation in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, "To take from one against his will that which he owns, and give it to another, would be a violation of that instinct of justice which God has implanted in the heart of every human being; a violation, in short, of the supreme law of the Most High;" and my objection to the present system is that it does this. I hold that that which a man produces is rightfully his, and his alone; that it should not be taken from him for any purpose, even for public uses, so long as there is any public property that might be employed for that purpose; and therefore I would exempt from taxation everything in the nature of capital, personal property or improvements, in short, that property which is the result of man's exertion. But I hold that land is not the rightful property of any individual. As you say again, "no one can have private property in privilege," and if the land belongs, as I hold it does belong, to all the people, the holding of any part of it is a privilege for which the individual holder should compensate the general owner according to the pecuniary value of the privilege. To exact this would not be to despoil any one of his rightful property, but to put an end to spoliation that now goes on. Your article in the REVIEW shows that you see the same difficulties I see, and would seek the same end—the amelioration of the condition of labor, and the formation of society upon a basis of justice. Does it not seem to you that something more is required than any such scheme of co-operation as that which you propose, which at best could be only very limited in its application, and which is necessarily artificial in its nature?

F. Undoubtedly. The hints that I have given in the article to which you refer, would affect a certain number of persons, not by any means the whole body politic. I conceive that a great deal more is necessary. There should be more sympathy, more mutual help. I think, as I have said, that we are greatly wanting in our duty to all the people around us, and I would do everything in my power to aid them and their children. I do not think that we have arrived at the true conception of our duty, of the duty of every American citizen to all other American citizens.

G. I think you are right in that; but does it not seem as though it were out of the power of mere sympathy, mere charity, to accomplish any real good? Is it not evident that there is at the bottom of all social evils an injustice, and until that injustice is replaced by justice, charity and sympathy will do their best in vain? The fact that there are among us strong, willing men unable to find work by which to get an honest living for their families, is a most portentous one. It speaks to us of an injustice that, if not remedied, must wreck society. It springs, I believe, from the fact that, while we secure to the citizen equal political rights, we do not secure to him that natural right more important still, the equal right to the land on which and from which he must live. To me it seems clear, as our Declaration of Independence asserts, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that the first of these rights—that which, in fact, involves all the rest, that without which none of the others can be exercised—is the equal right to land. Here are children coming into life to-day in New York; are they not endowed with the right to more than to struggle along as they best can in a country where they can neither eat, sleep, work, nor lie down without buying the privilege from some of certain human creatures like themselves, who claim to own, as their private property, this part of the physical universe, from the earth's center to the zenith?

F. I was not speaking of charity, but of sympathy leading to help—helping one to help himself—that is the help I mean, and not the charity that humbles him.

G. Then I cordially agree with you, and I look upon such sympathy as the most powerful agency for social improvement. But sympathy is little better than mockery until it is willing to do justice, and justice requires that all men shall be placed upon an equality so far as natural opportunities are concerned.

F. How would you secure that equality? Take the case of a child born to-day in a tenement-house, in one of those rooms that are said to be occupied by several families; and another child born at the same time in one of the most comfortable homes in our city. The parents of the first child are wasteful, intemperate, filthy; the parents of the second are thrifty, temperate, cleanly; how would you secure equality in opportunities of the first child with the second?

G. Equality in all opportunities could not be secured; virtuous parents are always an advantage, vicious parents a disadvantage; but equality of natural opportunities could be secured in the way I have proposed. And in a civilization where the equal rights of all to the bounty of their Creator were recognized, I do not believe there would be any tenement-houses, and very few, if any, parents such as those of which you speak. The vice and crime and degradation that so fester in our great cities are the effects, rather than the causes, of poverty.

F. The principle announced in the Declaration of Independence to which you have referred is one of the cardinal principles of American government—the inalienable right of all men to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That, however, does not mean that all men are equal in opportunities or in positions. A child born to-day is entitled to the labors of his parents, or rather to the products of their labor, just as much as they are entitled to it, until he is able to take care of himself. One of the incentives to labor is to provide for the children of the laborer. The aim of our American civilization ought to be to furnish, so far as can be done rightfully, to every child born into the world, an equal opportunity with every other child, to work out his own good. This, however, is the theoretical proposition. It is impossible in practice to give to every child the same opportunity; what we should aim at is, to approximate to that state of things; this is the work of the philanthropist and Christian. In short, my belief is, that the truest statement of political ethics and political economy is to be found in the doctrines of the Christian religion.

G. In that I thoroughly agree with you. But Christianity that does not assert the natural rights of man, that has no protest when the earth which it declares was created by the Almighty as a dwelling-place for all his children is made the exclusive property of some of them, while others are denied their birthright,—seems to me a

travesty. A Christian has something to do as a citizen and law-maker. We must rest our social adjustments upon Christian principles if we would have a really Christian society. But to return to the Declaration of Independence, the equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; does it not necessarily involve the equal right to land, without which neither life, liberty, nor the freedom to pursue happiness is possible?

F. You do not propose to give to every child a piece of land; you only propose to secure its right, if I understand you, by taxing land as vacant land in the mode you propose?

G. That is all, but it is enough. In the complex civilization we have now attained it would be impossible to secure equality by giving to each a separate piece of land, or to maintain that equality, even if once secured; but by treating all land as the property of the whole people, we would make the whole people the landlords, and the individual users the tenants of all, thus securing to each his equal right.

F. In how long a time, if you were to have such legislation as you would wish, do you think we should arrive at the condition that you have mentioned?

G. I think immediately a substantial equality would be arrived at, such an equality as would do away with the spectacle of a man unable to find work, and would secure to all a good and easy living with a mere modicum of the hard labor and worriment now undergone by most of us. The great benefit would not be in the appropriation to public use of the unearned revenues now going to individuals, but in the opening of opportunities to labor, and the stimulus that would be given to improvement and production by the throwing open of unused land and the removal of taxation that now weights productive powers. And with the land made the property of the whole people, all social progress would be a progress toward equality. While other values tend to decline as civilization progresses, the value of land steadily advances. Such a great fact bespeaks some creative intent; and what that intent may be, it seems to me we can see when we reflect that if this value—a value created not by the individual, but by the whole community—were appropriated to the common benefit, the progress of society would constantly tend to make less important the difference between the strong and the weak, and thus, instead of those monstrous extremes toward which civilization is

now hastening, would bring about conditions of greater and greater equality.

F. As a conclusion of the whole matter, if I understand this explanation of your scheme, it is this : that the state should tax the soil, and the soil only; that in doing so it should consider the soil as it came from the hands of the Creator, without anything that man has put upon it ; that all other property—in short, everything that man has made—is to be acquired, enjoyed, and transmitted as at present ; that the rate of annual taxation should equal the rate of annual rental ; and that the proceeds of the tax should be applied not only to purposes of government, but to any other purposes that the legislature from time to time may think desirable, even to dividing them among the people at so much a head.

G. That is substantially correct.

F. I am glad to hear your explanation, though I do not agree with you, except as I have expressed myself.

TWO YEARS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THE experiment of reform, under the Civil Service Act of Jan. 16, 1883, has continued long enough to warrant some estimate of the new system. The provisions of the Act may be grouped under two heads: first, those that prohibit political assessments and other interference with the liberty of the official and the freedom of elections; second, those that make open examinations of character and capacity paramount tests for appointment, or, in other words, substitute a merit system of office for the old spoils system. We need spend no words concerning that intolerable system which the Republicans condemned too feebly and too late to avert a defeat, yet so emphatically as to leave a chance of regaining the reform sentiment, which their folly enabled the Democrats to capture in the last election. It is one of the curious anomalies of politics, that a party whose members of Congress, seeing that the old system was doomed, had the wisdom to surrender their long-cherished patronage; that a party whose last President, comprehending the strength of the reform sentiment, had the statesmanship to enforce the merit system with fidelity; that a party which had in its ranks much the larger number of the influential friends of reform —that such a party should first trust itself, in a doubtful struggle, to a leadership that cast suspicion on that policy and affronted that sentiment, and should then fail to demand the advocacy of that policy before the people until almost the day of election, when the defection of its adherents had become alarming and it was too late to recall them. I have conclusive evidence that the Republican National Committee entered the canvass intending to make the civil-service reform issue prominent in the debates before the people; but over-confidence in leadership seems to have emboldened them to silence about what they did not relish, until the too-late speech of Mr. Blaine in Brooklyn. There never was a

clearer case of defeat through too much faith in management and too little in the higher sentiments and in fidelity to principle. The leaders favored a reform only under compulsion. The strength of the reform sentiment was greatly underestimated. It was not believed that voters would repudiate the candidates rather than the principles of the party. It was not imagined that the Democratic leaders would have the wisdom and patriotism to carry forward a reform policy, as they are now doing, because they feel it to be both a duty and a guarantee of strength. There may be a great conflict in the Democratic party over the reform policy of its administration, but it will end, I believe, in a victory for the people standing for principle over the politicians grasping for spoils.

But the practical results of a reform policy, and not the mistakes of those that have trifled with it, are my subject. The Civil Service Act prohibits officers and employés paid out of the national treasury from becoming the collectors or receivers of assessments, and the solicitation or reception of them in any office, navy-yard, fort, or arsenal of the nation. It is made penal to discharge, promote, or change the compensation of, or to degrade, any public servant by reason of any payment or non-payment for political purposes. The aim was to secure a real liberty to those that have long been the victims of partisan extortion. The Act might well go further, as is the case with the laws of New York and Massachusetts, and forbid the demand of political assessments from any such officer or employee by any person whatever. A large part of the utility of these prohibitions has been the greater courage they have developed in the humbler officials for the defense of their rights. On the other hand, this high legislative condemnation of a familiar form of partisan plunder is causing the people to class it with lottery-ticket selling, gambling and robbery. The public mind more and more comprehends how inexpressibly unjust and disgraceful it has been for the great republic to leave its laborers and poor clerks at the mercy of the predatory extortion of its great officers and politicians. It is more clearly understood than formerly that salaries have been made exorbitant in order that large sums might be extorted therefrom for bribing voters and the public press without arousing a dangerous sympathy for the helpless victims. The amounts contributed since the law went into effect have been far less then formerly. It was not without advantage that Mr. Hubbell, the last great national assessment-

collector, secured a permanent place on the catalogue of objectionable politicians. He did much to make this whole business of collecting political assessments offensive. Only very callous politicians are ever likely to engage in it hereafter. The next generation will wonder as much that we allowed such a practice, as we do that the last generation tolerated slavery. It cannot be said that the Act has wholly suppressed the prostitution of official authority for personal and party ends. In many ways such authority is still used for such purposes. A large part of this abuse can be arrested only by sounder views of right and duty on the part of the officer, and by the overpowering influence of entire publicity in administrative affairs. But who will deny that a great advance has been made in this direction within the past two years? The demand that public office shall be treated as a public trust, now more general and emphatic than ever, is very significant of the views of the people. The public press, more effectively than before, arraigns the abuse of degrading minor officials into party henchmen, which has been the almost unchallenged abuse of two generations. The Act and Rules, in their whole spirit and scope, not only proclaim the increased strength of such an opinion, but declare it shall be heeded in the future. What greater limitation of the ability of an officer to use his authority effectively for personal and partisan ends can be made than the prohibition of demanding assessments? What exclusion of the opportunities of enforcing servility so great as those provisions of the Civil Service Act and Rules under which more than 14,000 places have been made the prizes of superior merit, and are therefore placed beyond official favor or partisan influence? He that wins his own place is never a henchman.

To measure the extent of these new influences and of the changes they have wrought, we need but compare the terror in the departments and the political savagery shown by the thousands of removals following Jackson's inauguration, with the few removals and the peaceful on-going of the public work under the present administration. The recognized danger to a party of making sweeping, proscriptive removals, and the general feeling, recognized by the Administration, that they are indefensible, are significant illustrations of the reform sentiment. Few politicians are now so blind as not to see that the demand, which they sneered at three or four years ago, that public office shall be treated as

a public trust, is to be a great political force in future elections.

The old spoils system had three great sources of strength: first, the plunder of the salaries of the public servants for filling the party treasury; second, the use of the power of removal for compelling those servants to be party henchmen; and third, the use of the power of appointment for bribing and rewarding for party ends those not in the public service. Such powers obviously add a vast and vicious force to all the venal influences in party politics. Capacity, fidelity, experience, and all high devotion to duty in the public service, were at the mercy of patronage-mongering demagogues leading on a host of hungry office-seekers. Only when, by the aid of the imagination, the significance of these facts is comprehended, can we have a real conception of the mediæval savagery of the maxim that to the victor belongs the spoils. Its piratical spirit was plausibly mitigated by claiming that parties, conceded to be inevitable and useful in their sphere, could never prosper, if they could exist, without the funds and patronage thus secured. A theory that makes extortions and partisan patronage-mongering, rather than sound principles and devotion to the public interest, the source of party strength, is an affront to common sense and universal experience which carries its own refutation.

Why did the Republican Party grow weaker the longer it acted on such a theory, and how did the Democratic Party carry a campaign under a reform candidate without federal officers to tax or to convert into henchmen? Who now pretends that the Republican Party gained strength when, in 1873, under the lead of Mr. Robeson and Mr. Blaine, it refused the appropriations requested by President Grant for continuing the competitive examinations he had established? As such examinations disregard political opinions, and substitute character and capacity for influence and partisan work, as the conditions of appointment, they naturally encounter the hostility of the whole politician and patronage-mongering class. These examinations have been so constantly misrepresented by the partisan press that they are still distrusted and grossly misunderstood. Many candid minds regard them as fanciful contrivances, having little regard for the needs of the service, for giving college-bred men or the literary class a monopoly of office-holding. Many people still believe that a patronage system

of appointments, based on the recommendations of politicians and members of Congress, has been giving us a competent public service. They are surprised when told that thirty years ago that system had become unendurable. The fact is, that in 1855, a system of examinations, known as pass-examinations, was substituted by law for the patronage system. It has ever since been enforced in the departments, except where superseded by the competitive examinations, first under President Grant and finally under the Civil Service Act. These pass-examinations, though largely useful, had serious defects. Those only could take part in them to whom Congressmen, great officers and chieftains gave tickets of entrance, save in cases where mere personal interest or perhaps sympathy prevailed. Hence, aside from the latter, only adherents of the dominant party, and generally of the dominant faction of that party, were admitted. It was a feudal, bureaucratic, exclusive system, which brought in a class either dependent or easily made so. It discouraged the independent manhood and womanhood that it repelled from the service. It contributed to make the minor officials the feudal vassals of their superiors. The pass-examinations were like the competitive examinations in the subjects they covered, but they lacked essential conditions of efficiency. By examining only one person at a time, they allowed no comparison of merit and no opportunity for a selection of the best among the applicants. Pressure behind the single applicant generally forced him in. His monopoly of being examined excluded many more worthy. The peculiar excellencies of competitive examinations are, that they are based on common rights and are open to all on the same conditions. No test of political opinion, no favor of an officer or a politician, no influence of a party, is needed to give access to them. Every person of proper age and apparent qualification can enter them. If he lacks capacity, he will fail. If he has superior merit, he can win a place. Such a system defeats the old feudal monopoly of appointments. It suppresses patronage by enabling the citizen practically to put himself into office. It makes impossible the bartering of places for votes. It arrests the evil of filling the departments with fierce partisan henchmen pledged to fight the battles of their chiefs or party. It wins respect for the Government by presenting it before the people as having supreme regard for character and capacity, and as seeking to do justice to all citizens alike. It aims to do the public business on business

principles. It says to a party in power, "You shall not degrade the public servants into henchmen, nor rob them of their salaries, to keep you in power." It says to the party not in power, "Make your contention on the basis of sounder principles and superior candidates. You shall not stimulate the partisan zeal of your followers, or draw into your ranks the hungry office-seekers, by offering the salaries and offices of this great republic as the spoils of your victory."

But what have been the practical effects of this merit system of examinations? Have they been tried on a scale large enough to make the results decisive? Taking no account of the salutary effects of this truly democratic system as enforced in Great Britain, where for twenty years its influence has been strong in the spirit of our institutions, its trial in the federal offices at New York for over six years might alone answer these questions. During no other six years of this generation has the public work been performed there with such economy and honesty as not to require an investigation by Congress. So strongly, on the other hand, has the competitive system there enforced commended itself to the people of the city and State of New York, that a law was passed in 1883 which required its enforcement in the State and municipal service. Colonel Burt, the leader in applying it in the customs service, is now chief examiner under a New York Civil-Service Commission appointed by Governor Cleveland. Mr. Pearson, the leader in applying it to the postal service there, has the rare distinction of being the first postmaster appointed in our day for his merits as a postmaster, and not as a politician; a fact as honorable to the President and the new administration as it is auspicious for the country.

The examinations under the United States Commission are extensive and varied. The questions for testing the qualifications needed range from those suitable for a mere copyist to those suitable where a knowledge of science, law, history, languages, or the practiced arts are essential. They avoid what is needless, or merely theoretical. For a thorough trial of the new system, two conditions were essential: that it should be broad enough to make the test complete, but not so broad as to make a thorough supervision impossible. If successful, to extend the system would be easy. The examinations in the outset extended to the three great branches of the service, including 5,650 places in the departments at Wash-

ington, more than 5,600 in the postal service, and nearly 2,600 in the customs service ; in all, to more than 14,000 places, known as the classified service, every vacancy in which must be filled from those certified under the Commission on the bases of superior merit as disclosed in the examinations. No mere workmen or laborers were included. As abuses were greatest in the largest offices, the customs and postal offices having fifty or more employés were included. At these post-offices almost half of all the postal clerks and carriers in the Union are employed, and at these customs offices five-sevenths of all the customs officials of the Union serve, and ninety-six per cent. of its customs revenue is collected. At Washington, 77 places, for which appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate, and 144 places, for various technical reasons, are excepted from the examinations, but not otherwise from the rules. The filling of the classified service under the Act and Rules began July 16, 1883, and has continued without exception under the present as under the last administration. For that purpose more than 11,000 persons have been examined, and more than 225 separate examinations, in all parts of the Union, have been held. Of the 6,347 persons examined in the year ending Jan. 16, 1885, 5,525 were males and 822 were females. Of those examined, about two-thirds have been found competent for appointment. From those graded highest among them, nearly 2,600 have been appointed on certifications made under the Commission, each appointment being made for the probationary period of six months, and a permanent appointment depending on good conduct and efficiency during the probation. Those appointees unquestionably are about equally divided between the great parties. In but a single case has political discrimination in making an appointment been charged. An investigation showed it to be unfounded.

The Act and the Rules have been found easily practicable. That has been done which their enemies have charged to be impossible and visionary. The useful effects of the merit system are decisively shown. At the end of the first year, President Arthur in a message declared the good results foreshadowed to have been more than realized. "The system has fully answered the expectations of its friends in securing competent and faithful public servants, and protecting officials from personal importunity." In his message of January last, expressing as he declared the views of every member of his Cabinet, he "congratulated the country upon the success of the

labors of the Commission." Accepting this view, Congress voted an increase of its clerical force. A committee of the last Congress, composed of eight Democrats and five Republicans, made a unanimous report, in which it declared itself "entirely satisfied with the thorough, conscientious, and non-partisan work" of the Commission, and declared that "the continuance of its work will in a large degree tend to eradicate the evils in the civil service of the government." The last report of the Commission sets forth in great detail the results of its work, and this report it sends to those who request it. The new administration appoints those certified by the Commission, irrespective of their political opinions.

Some special effects and conditions of the new system are worthy of notice. The theory of its enemies that it would fill the service with mere boys and girls, finds its answer in the fact that the average age of all those examined has been thirty years, thus showing an average period of nearly fourteen years of practical life between leaving the schools and entering office. The prediction that college-bred men would monopolize appointments, is answered by the facts that of 5,556 applicants as to whom the record is complete, the education was as follows: 3,920 only in common schools; 1,096 in part in high schools or academies; 91 in part in business-colleges; 449 in part in colleges. More than 70 per cent., therefore, had only a public-school education. This friendly relation between the merit system and the public-school system will greatly strengthen both. In no way can a nation do more to advance the dignity and success of the public-schools of the people than by making excellence, in the good character they develop, and the studies they teach, the tests for the honor and profit of holding its offices and enjoying its salaries. The youth of the country will be quick to see that the new system makes character and attainments more effective than partisan activity or flunkyism for securing appointments. It will be impossible for politicians to ridicule successfully the schoolmaster's-test, or to make that of the patronage-monger or the politician appear more reputable. It will never be possible to justify the taxing of all the people for educating all the children, and then to deny that superior excellence in that education is an irrelevant test for office. How effectively the tests of the merit-system are in securing practical men for the public work, is shown

in the facts given in that report, that of the 109 in the departments at Washington who served their six months' probation, 107 had won permanent appointments ; and that, of the more than 500 appointments under the rules there, only three were removed in a whole year! Neither the Civil Service Law nor the Rules in any way limit the authority to remove, except that Rule 2 forbids removals for refusing to pay political assessments or to render political service. Every official in a department may be removed once a year or once a month, if the appointing power thinks it good policy to do so. It would raise less opposition to remove all the 600 appointed under the Rules, at Washington, than it would to remove twenty *protégés* of as many great officers or politicians. But a more enlightened public opinion has unquestionably put some salutary limits to the abuse of the power of removal. Most of the unjustifiable removals are made, not to get Anderson out, but to put Snooks in. The power to put in the Snookses of the lords of politics no longer exists, and therefore the worthy Andersons are not so likely to be removed while they are both faithful and efficient. It is hardly necessary to add, that a system which thus arrests the despotism and monopoly of the politician class, which destroys patronage by enabling the people to work their own way to office, which forbids more than two members of the same family being appointed to the departments at Washington, yet allows removals at discretion, is fatal to every form of bureaucracy. I have no space for doing justice to the difficult work of the Commission in its more trying stages, now happily past, nor for indicating appropriate extensions of the examinations. The new system is permanently established. A merit service in place of a partisan service will be more and more demanded by States and cities. The people will triumph over the politician. Those seeking high office in the future will more heed the new power in politics. We are to have a new political science, the science of administration.

The old spoils-system spirit is, however, still alarmingly audacious. I could fill an article with illustrations. These are samples: Not many weeks since, a young lady in a great department, amid sobs and imprecations, charged the head of the office there, in my hearing, with putting her out of a laborer's place, to make a place for his "own sweetheart." The charge was not denied. That lady has since, by her merits, in an examination,

won a higher position. This advertisement is from a leading Washington journal, of April 17, 1885 :

"I will give $500 for a position in any branch of the government service that will evade the Civil Service. Address Plato, Star office."

The member of Congress from the 21st Ohio district authorizes me to say that in two instances within a few weeks he has been offered one thousand dollars for his influence for procuring an office. I have a letter dated London, March 7, 1885, written by a merchant of that city named Charles O. Olson, to the Hon. Leopold Morse of Boston, in which an offer is made of $1,500 for procuring the consulship at Gothenburg, Sweden. Does any one imagine these to be isolated or even rare cases ? Does it seem needless, in view of such facts, to have the examinations extended?

DORMAN B. EATON.

IS CHRISTIANITY DECLINING?

PAINTERS find a difficulty in representing the rising sun in such a way that it shall not be mistaken for the setting sun. Is the sun rising, or is it setting? That is substantially our question in this paper. Is it sunrise, or is it sunset?

No one can be familiar with what is now written in books, newspapers and magazines, or with what is spoken upon the street or in convention, without being aware that infidels are evincing great assurance of unfaith, and that among some even who class themselves as believers there are traces of disquiet verging at times even toward disheartenment. Considerable idea evidently prevails that Christianity is showing tokens of exhaustion, and that any expectations that may be cherished of its future achievement are to be founded far more on what it has done in the past, than on anything that it shows itself competent to do at present.

There is in the ranks of unbelievers such a show of obituary and such a lavish parade of funereal rites, that it is easily explained if some who are of the contrary mind are nevertheless dolorously affected by it, and constrained to suspect that the demise of our cherished faith is at least imminent, even if it be not already transpired. For such as well as for all, it will certainly be time well expended to come as closely as we can to the facts of the case, to discover what are the obstacles that lie in the way of a more rapid advance of Christianity, and to consult the data so numerously afforded, in order to learn whether Christianity is at present at a stand-still, and if not, whether its movements are forward or backward.

The tendency to prognosticate evil of Christ and his doctrine is no new thing in the world. In the sixteenth chapter of Mark we read, "And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet

spices that they might come and anoint him;" and this is what the world has been volunteering to do for Jesus now these 1800 years. The ointment and the embalmers are at the sepulcher betimes, but the Lord walks yet in the garden. In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of December, 1879, Froude says, "Protestantism has failed." In the "Atlantic Monthly" of a little earlier date Goldwin Smith writes, "Belief in Christianity as a revealed and supernatural religion has given way." In 1868 Dr. Ewer issued a book entitled "Protestantism a failure." Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England," claimed that Protestantism had seen its best days. "In the times of Aaron Burr," says Parton, "it was confidently predicted that Christianity could not survive two more generations." Of the same period another writer states that "Wild and vague expectations were everywhere entertained, especially among the young, of a new order of things about to commence, in which Christianity would be laid aside as an obsolete system." Considerably more than a century ago Voltaire said, "Before the beginning of the 19th century Christianity will have disappeared from the earth." It is an instructive coincidence that the room in which Voltaire uttered these words has since been used as a Bible repository. "They came unto the sepulchre bringing the spices which they had prepared, and they entered in and found not the body of the Lord Jesus." And it is still so; a redundancy of ointment, but no corpse.

The question whether Christianity is a waxing or a waning factor in history and society is not one that can be easily determined. No man's bare opinion or impression regarding the matter is of the slightest worth. If you stand on the *Mer de Glace* you will be likely to decide upon the instant that nothing like true movement pertains to it; but if you drive a stake into the ice at Trelaporte, over against another driven into the ground at the glacier's edge, on coming back twenty-four hours later you will find the stakes twenty inches apart. There are but twelve inches of water in the bay, and the first surmise will be that the tide is going out; but those twelve inches are no more likely to be the residue of an ebb-tide than to be the precursor of a flood tide, and which of the two it is you will be able to decide only by continued observation and successive measurements. An hour after sunrise the shadows are as long as they are an hour before sunset; and unless you have other grounds to base your judgment upon, you will have to watch

the drift of the shadows awhile before you can tell whether it is night or morning. So as relates to the condition of things morally and religiously, no single year or decade is competent to make to us any final statement as to the trend of events. "There is a great deal of vice in the world." Certainly; but how much was there thirty, fifty, one hundred, one thousand years ago? "Very few additions are being made to the Christian Church." That depends something upon what you understand by "few"; but aside from that, do you know how the number of church-members now compares with what it was in 1870, 1850, 1800? "An exceedingly small portion of the earth, even after eighteen centuries, has ever even heard of Jesus Christ, which certainly tells heavily against the claim of Christianity to be the final and universal religion." It has to be conceded that Christianity is a good way from being universal yet; but do you know whether there has been a gain or a loss in this respect during the last century, half century, quarter century? "Infidelity is rampant even on Christian soil." Have you the facts at command as to what infidelity was and did in 1785 or in 1835? It is in the books. It is a matter of history. It is infinitely easier to trust our impressions and extemporize our opinions than to search for the facts that will enable us to knit our conclusions into historic grounds.

Before going on to mention some few tokens of the inherent vigor of Christianity, and to state some successive measurements of its moving tide, I want to adduce a consideration or two that will help to a juster appreciation of those tokens and measurements. It has to be remembered first of all what sort of resistance it is that Christianity is attempting to antagonize. Power is calculable by the results it yields, but if we are attempting to estimate the force of a projectile, we shall take account not only of the velocity at which it moves, but also of the quality and tenacity of the resisting material which it shows itself competent to penetrate. One evidence of the vital energy of Christianity is shown in this, that in all its movements and demands and prohibitions it runs steadily counter to the whole grain of natural desire. Whatever Christianity has done or may yet be doing in the world, it is doing it all in the teeth of spontaneous impulse. It is a system that requires us to love our neighbor as we do ourselves. It enjoins upon us to crucify our affections and lusts. It is a religion that is contented with nothing less than sacrifice. It meets the soul at

the level of its higher needs to be sure ; but that is not the level at which we find it our first impulse to live. Christianity prohibits our doing a host of things that we would like to do, and requires us to do another host of things that we have no disposition to do. Every inch that Christianity has gained or may still be gaining it has gained by a square fight. All advance that it has made has been so much conquest on the one side over against so much reluctant and contested surrender on the other. In estimating the draught-power of a locomotive, we must consider not only the rate at which it moves and the tons of freight it drags, but the grade at which it is pulling. If I can row eight miles an hour, it is important to know whether I can do it with the wind, or in the teeth of it. There is nothing evangelical in a man's first impulses. So inestimating the inherent vigor of Christianity it must be studiously considered that in all its advances it has had steadily trained upon it the charged and primed artillery of man's natural lust and congenital ambition. All the way from the last man that became a Christian, back to Peter who forsook his fishing-tackle at the Lord's call, the process of becoming a Christian has been a process of surrender. Count that carefully in calculating the spiritual dynamics of the doctrine of the Nazarene.

In estimating the vital energy of Christianity, especially in our own country and times, account must also be made of the intellectual autonomy of the individual. Every man among us claims the right to reach his own conclusions by his own methods. The historic is everywhere in danger of being disparaged. Every year that is added to an institution is made just so much added ground for questioning its validity. If a man has not sufficient vigor to discover something new, he apes intellectual enterprise by discountenancing what is old. The consequence is that there is very little now of what might be called hereditary faith. A young man nowadays is not confessing Christ because his father confessed him. There is very little of what might be termed doctrinal momentum or evangelical contagion. The temper of the times might be expressed by saying that there is a prevalent intellectual mutiny against the traditional. So that if there is reason to suppose that Christianity is making any headway, it is another proof of the inherent vigor of Christianity that it is able to cope with such disadvantages and counteract such stern resistance.

One other troublesome element in the question felt so keenly

by us Americans, is our vast foreign immigration, and the questionable quality of so large a percentage of the population that reaches us by this means of accession. During thirty years ending with 1880, eight millions of foreigners came to us. These, with their immediate descendants, would mount up to something like twelve millions, or nearly a quarter of our entire population. And this adventitious element is foreign not only in point of birth, but also in point of ideas, notions and sympathies. In very considerable degree, as has been said, it is "anti-Protestant, anti-temperance, anti-Sabbath, anti-Bible." A report of the Howard Society of London states that "74 per cent. of the Irish discharged convicts have found their way to the United States." In this connection let me cite three or four facts from the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of January, 1884. "The Rhode Island Workhouse and House of Correction had received up to the beginning of the year 1883, 6,022 persons on commitment, less than a quarter of whom were born of American parents, and more than half of whom were of Irish parents." If we had no rum and no Irishmen we could tear down half our prisons and shut up three-quarters of our almshouses. "The Massachusetts Reformatory for Women gives the following statement for the year ending September, 1881 : Out of 182 inmates in that year, only 33 (18 per cent.) were born of American parents." "During the year ending June, 1882, 680 discharged convicts applied to the Prison Association of New York for aid. Of these 680, only 144 (less than 22 per cent.) were of American parentage." In estimating the vitality of Christianity in our own country we shall have therefore to take distinct account of this immense influx of immigrants, and the bad infection with which so much of it, particularly the Irish ingredient, is tainted. If, with a stream of sewage from north-western Europe discharging among us its reeking and continuous filth, it can appear that the current of American society is really becoming purer, and the faith of Jesus gaining ground, very intense must be the vitalizing and defecating energy at work among us.

And now as to the actual tokens which Christianity is at present giving of its own vigor, and the measurements which have been successively taken of its moving tide. Of course space admits of no detailed treatment of this matter. The facts that I cite will be rather in the nature of example. The authorities are numerous and accessible. The facts that I adduce are stated, or if not

stated, paralleled, in such works as Storr's "Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by its Historic Effects," Brace's "Gesta Christi," Uhlhorn's "Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism," or Dorchester's "Problem of Religious Progress." I mention these books as indicating that the subject is one that has received detailed and scholarly treatment. The appliances are at hand for making ourselves personally conversant with the matter. There is no more necessity for groping in the dark in reference to the general trend of Christianity, than in regard to the flux of the winds, the drift of the tides, the trend of the stars.

As to any suspicion that there is going forward in society a process of moral deterioration, such suspicion is historically unfounded and is explicable on three grounds: the avidity of newspapers, which stand in electric connection with the remotest quarters of the country and make a point of giving largest prominence to whatever will satisfy an appetite for the sensational; meager acquaintance with the moral condition of society fifty, a hundred, or a thousand years ago; and an elevated moral sentiment that takes offense now at what in times past would have been accounted as tolerable or even unexceptionable. Writing of a period a hundred years back, a recent contributor to "Blackwood's Magazine" says, "It was an age when delicate young women of the best blood and best manners in the land talked with a coarseness which editors of the nineteenth century can represent only by asterisks." It is part of the history of the old church at Andover, Mass., that the chief causes of discipline for 125 years were fornication and drunkenness. Theodore Parker, writing in regard to the fathers of New England, says, "It is easier to praise them for virtues they did not possess than to judge them with fairness and discrimination." As illustrating the coarse intemperance of the times among Christian people, he states that it is recorded in the probate office that "in 1678, at the funeral of the widow of John Norton, one of the ministers of the First Church, in Boston, above fifty gallons of wine were consumed by the mourners. Just two hundred years ago at the funeral of the pastor of the church at Ipswich, Mass., there were consumed one barrel of wine and two barrels of cider." If this occurred at the funeral of an old and loved pastor, we can infer what excesses would be habitual on occasions less stated and solemn. In a historical survey of the Congregational churches of one of the New England States, it is related that "not very far

from the period of the Revolution, several councils were held in one of the towns where the people were trying to get rid of a minister who was often the worse for liquor, even in the pulpit, and once at least at the communion table! but some of the neighboring ministers stood by him, and the people had to endure him till his death." This reminds me of the case of one who not above fifty years ago was deacon of a prominent church in western Massachusetts, who had habitually a drunken spree as an after-effect of tasting the wine at the sacrament, but whose irregularities were not considered by the church sufficient ground for ecclesiastical impeachment. Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods said, "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintances forty ministers who were intemperate." A gentleman, in writing to a Boston paper of about that date, said, "I have a list of 123 intemperate deacons in Massachusetts, 43 of whom became sots."

A word or two will be in place in regard to church attendance and church membership. Dr. Griffin became pastor of the Park Street Church, Boston, in 1811. So unpopular was it to be seen in attendance upon an evangelical church that, as Dr. Nehemiah Adams relates, gentlemen of culture and standing who ventured into Dr. Griffin's church Sunday evenings, attracted by the reports of his genius and eloquence, went in partial disguise, sitting in obscure corners, with caps drawn over their faces and wrappers turned inside out." That was in Boston less than eighty years ago! I find that in New York City less than sixty years ago a mob prevented the holding of a meeting planned by Dr. Spring and others for promoting the better observance of the Sabbath. In the year 1800 there were in the United States 3,030 evangelical churches; in 1850, 43,072; in 1870, 70,148; and in 1880, 97,090. A gain of 27,000 in ten years, ending in 1880, and this is what the critics have been pleased to call an effete Protestantism! As gleaned from the "Year-books" and "Church Minutes," the number of communicants in evangelical churches in the United States has been as follows: In 1800, 364,000; in 1850, 3,529,000; in 1870, 6,673,000; and in 1880, 10,065,000. Of course during all this time there was an immense increase in population, but the increase in church membership a good deal more than kept pace with that of population. Taking the whole country through, there was in 1800 one evangelical communicant to every 14½ inhabitants; in 1850, one to every 6½; in 1870, one to every 5¾; and in 1880, one to

every 5. Even during the period since 1850, in which materialism and rationalism have been subjecting Protestantism to so severe a strain, while the increase in population has been 116 per cent., the increase in communicants of Protestant evangelical churches in the United States has been 185 per cent.

The same pronounced drift Christianwards evinces itself if we consider the matter of American colleges and college students. Writing in 1810, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, said, "I can truly say that in every educated young man in Virginia whom I met I expected to find a skeptic, if not an avowed infidel." When Dr. Dwight became president of Yale College, in 1745, only five of the students were church members. In the early part of Dr. Appleton's presidency of Bowdoin, only one student was a professing Christian. In 1830, according to returns obtained from American colleges, 26 per cent. of the students were professing Christians; in 1850, 38 per cent.; in 1865, 46 per cent.; in 1880, according to the Year-book of the Young Men's Christian Association, out of 12,063 students in 65 colleges, 6,081, or a little more than half, were professors of religion. An American college is one of the very safest places in which a young man can be put. And it is by such steps as these that the religion of Jesus Christ is undertaking to die out from the respect and affection of our American people! So far from Christianity betraying the first symptoms of exhaustion, there has been no time since the Jordan baptism of Jesus when Christianity has moved with such gigantic strides, and put forth efforts so vigorous and herculean, as during these years of our own century when the disciples of Voltaire and the imitators of Paine have been most agile in their production of obituaries and accumulation of embalming spices.

It is during this time, in fact within the last forty years of it, that there have sprung up all our Young Men's Christian Associations, with organizations extending North and South, East and West, in North America and South, Europe, Asia, the Sandwich Islands, Australia, Madagascar. A strange way it is that Christianity has of dying! Our American Sunday schools, too, are all of them a growth of the present century, numbering only half a million pupils in 1830, with an increase of six millions in the fifty years following. It is during the last eighty years, likewise, that the American church has shown its colossal vigor in the inauguration of its missionary enterprises. Beginning with the second

decade of our century with a contribution of $200,000, the total amount raised for home and foreign missions in this country up to 1880 was $129,000,000; and 88 per cent. of that was raised during the last thirty years, the period during which Christianity is supposed to have betrayed accumulating symptoms of debility and senility. 70,000 mission communicants in 1830 had become 210,000 in 1850 and 850,000 in 1880. All of this, to say nothing of other organizations of evangelization and amelioration, the Bible Society, the Tract Society and the rest, which have sprung from the fecund soil of our own magnificent Gospel century.

Such are the facts. Like the Scribes and Pharisees would you see a sign from Jesus? There are the signs. The books are accessible, the facts are verifiable. To him who thinks he knows it all, and is going through life under cover of the impression that the world is tired of Jesus, and that the intelligence of the age has passed the defunct body of our senile faith over into the hands of the undertaker, let it be recommended to review the matter, and to treat it with the candid and studious respect due to a cause that in point of vitality, growth, vigor and productiveness is comparable with none that solicits the attention or engages the interest of mankind.

C. H. PARKHURST.

PROHIBITION IN PRACTICE.

THE lull in temperance enthusiasm, caused by the disgust resulting from political prohibition, will not be wholly disadvantageous, if the opportunity be improved to scrutinize anew the soundness of accepted principles, to reform lines of action, to discover and fortify positions that all will defend, to withdraw from indefensible points, to utilize weapons in our armory. The danger to temperance to-day is from the Prohibition Party. The advocates of temperance should everywhere insist upon what Dr. Porter and Judge Davis insisted so strenuously before election, and which was so strenuously denied—that Mr. St. John and the Prohibition Convention do not represent the great prohibition cause. The reason for prohibition stands now exactly where it has always stood, and it will be a sad thing if the folly of a few foolish women and a few bad men should blind us to the fact that the wise women and the honorable men who compose the great army of prohibitionists were as stanch to the other principles of Republicanism as they are to temperance, and fought against the prostitution of prohibition to the Democratic Party as loyally as was ever fought the battle of human rights in any other form.

There needs no sense, no system, no concerted action to do mischief. To do good often requires all three. Skill and study, the wealth and the toil of years, go to the rearing of a stately edifice, which barbarous hands, with a little dynamite wrapped in a ragged shawl, may destroy in a moment. For those whose only aim is destruction, there is no occasion to study principles or to take note of tendencies; but those who desire the elevation of character, should watch progress and observe carefully the result of experiment, for their own guidance in further action. All who are in earnest, making fight, not for their own prominence or emolument chiefly, not for love of fighting, but to remove temptation and to build up

national temperance, cannot fail to discern that there are a great many of their number who believe that an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, would be utterly futile if it were accomplished, is purely visionary and impracticable, and is moreover too antagonistic to the spirit of the Constitution to be even seriously attempted. While, therefore, this is a proper subject of argument and discussion, one would say that it was not a proper dividing line, because it would divide the advocates of temperance. What we want is a line sharply drawn between those who wish society to be self-governing and temperate, and those who wish it to be the slave of low vice and intemperance—massing and marshaling all the forces of the one against all the temptations of the other.

If a prohibitory Constitutional amendment be insisted on as the issue, the cause of intemperance will gladly accept it, and the victory of temperance will be indefinitely postponed. Anything that calls off attention from present dangers to remote dangers will be warmly welcomed, however serious the future danger may be. A contingent national prohibition is not half so menacing to a nuisance as an urgent, well enforced district law. Many temperance men believe that while the Government has a legal right to prohibit in the District of Columbia and in the Territories, it has no moral right, and it would be a stretch of power to the very limits of tyranny, to do so while prohibition is not yet enacted by the States. If the sentiment of the Territories is not yet educated up to the point of prohibiting for themselves, it is more in accordance with the American idea to await the development of such sentiment from within, than to force prohibition upon the Territory from without. Angry and disappointed Republicans should remember that this question was ably argued during the last Presidential campaign by leading prohibitionists, and nowhere more ably argued than by a woman before the Woman's Convention at St. Louis. Leading prohibitionists, male and female, maintained against their own adherents, that the American idea of personal liberty is a more sacred trust than personal temperance, and that a man must often be left free to do wrong rather than forced to do right. This can be made an issue in temperance action as well as in temperance discussion; but as such, it will divide and weaken the advocates of temperance

and will give a longer lease of life to measures that permit and promote intemperance.

The intemperance of some temperance people is causing the sober element of the Temperance Party to scrutinize most closely the paths before us, to see whether some that have seemed new and narrow, be not, really, disguised but direct avenues into the old, broad, familiar ways that lead to destruction. There are many temperate citizens who believe that while we are waiting "in the use of means" for all men to be educated to self-restraint, which is temperance, and for public sentiment to widen sufficiently to enact and to enforce that prohibition which individual men may not be strong enough to enforce upon themselves, society has the right, and necessarily therefore is under obligation, to protect its members by enacting and enforcing such laws as it can command; and that it should restrain, by the severest effective taxation, a trade which it cannot yet wholly abolish. Among these men are the most successful practical philanthropists of the day; yet against them, professional temperance men use language as intemperate as any that ever emanated from the vat of the brewer or the worm of the still. The "Temperance Review," "a family newspaper," thus speaks of a proposal to tax liquor-sellers five hundred dollars a year:

"Great divines, both Catholic and Protestant, make haste to sell the right to damn men for five hundred dollars per year. . . . Men who profess to be commissioned to labor with Jesus Christ to destroy the works of the devil, deliberately continue to let the devil open his by-ways to hell for five hundred dollars a way. And for what purpose? . . . Every drunkard shall have an opportunity to get drunk and beat and maim, shoot and stamp, if for the privilege of making men insane they pay five hundred dollars cash. God says, 'Thou shalt not;' the great lights of St. Paul [Minnesota] say, 'Thou shalt' for five hundred dollars a year."

It is to be hoped that the editor of this family newspaper wrote in the imbecility of intoxication. It is far more appalling that a sober mind should have produced these words with malice aforethought, than that a drunken mind should have hiccoughed them out half unconsciously. Inebriety would mean nothing but inebriety; sobriety would mean a habit of heedless and harmful speaking, a steady bent to total depravity. The leader of this class, the Presidential candidate of the Prohibition Party, evinced in his public speeches the same fatal inability to see facts, to comprehend

the meaning and the use of words. He averred that the Republican Party desires to make "the liquor traffic permanent in this country, to the end that the States and Territories may derive a revenue therefrom." Only a brain sodden with liquor or dull from some congenital defect could honestly make a statement that presents this total abstinence from truth. He showed an equal inability to cope with the English language when he declared that no man can run a saloon without a permit from the United States. He might just as well say that no man can smuggle whisky without a permit from the United States. The Government lays a tax on the saloons, imposes a fine upon smugglers. It might burn the saloons, it might hang the smugglers, if the popular sentiment could be embodied in legislation to that effect. If it did, it would not be a "permit" to the saloons and the smugglers, but it would be just as much a permit as it is under the present tax, only the conditions of the permit would be a little harder. Yet persons who profess to be working for humanity resist the attempt to restrain the liquor-traffic as strenuously as if it were an attempt to extend it. Misled by the word license, which is a term of restriction, they combat license as if it meant non-restriction. The Supreme Court of Michigan has lately rendered a decision declaring that "the imposition of a tax . . . . is not a license but a restraint." This is no matter of opinion merely; it is a matter of experiment and of evidence. The family newspaper accuses great divines of hastening to sell the right to damn men for five hundred dollars a year. One of these great divines is the Rev. Howard Crosby, D.D., of New York. Dr. Crosby is a man whose opinion will not be sneered at even by prohibitionists. He publicly advised votes for St. John. Religious newspapers in New York testify that his organization for the prevention of crime has been the most effective in the city. Constantly impeded by the low state of public sentiment in the community and among the public officials, his society shut up 1,790 places in the first year of its existence. Four years ago every liquor saloon had its front door open on Sunday; now it is closed and barred. Dr. Crosby is said to be the best hated man by the liquor-dealers in the city of New York. Such a man cannot be set aside as a brewer, a rum-apologist, a friend of publicans and sinners, and Dr. Crosby says that he considers the "prohibition doctrine both a blunder and a farce." He voted for Mr. St. John, because "he cannot legislate, if elected

President. He can only execute. The prohibition sentiments of St. John are, therefore, no hinderance to my voting for him."

It is a little extraordinary to see the reverend gentleman so publicly and needlessly giving himself a slap in the face, on the plea that it will not hurt; but the only point that concerns us is, that this eminent practical temperance worker counts prohibition, even with a small *p*, a blunder and a farce. The political prohibitionist takes the ground that all the by-ways to hell are open unless they are closed by his patent lock. The great divine points to the 1,790 shops actually shut, but the prohibitionist refuses to see them, because they are shut by high license and not by prohibition. The devil, of whom the prohibitionist speaks so familiarly and confidently, undoubtedly lends a hand, but it is as the father of lies, not as the father of liquor.

The same high authority that I have cited in the decision of the Michigan Supreme Court declares that "prohibition has been tried in this State. Failing, however, to accomplish the result desired, the people have resorted to the more usual means of regulation and taxation." The result is matter of fact, not of opinion. In one place where there were twenty-five saloons under prohibition, there were but nine under tax. In Detroit over 500 were closed out by tax law. In Ann Arbor, under prohibition in 1872, there were seventy saloons and breweries; there are now only thirty-two, and only sixty-four in the whole county. Magistrates and sheriffs tell us "there is not half the disorder there was under prohibition." Dr. Dio Lewis, who will not be considered an advocate of intemperance, says:

"I have recently been out to the Rocky Mountains, and on my way East I got off the train at several of the large cities, and among other things made inquiry into the practical benefits the public had received from the enactment of prohibition laws. In places where I had been told an intoxicating drink could not be obtained for love or money at any store, I saw men reeling on the streets in an almost helpless state of drunkenness. In Iowa City, where prohibition is supposed to be enforced, I saw from seventy-five to one hundred kegs of beer delivered on trucks from a brewery. I asked a resident of this place, 'How is it that such an open violation of the law and such a bold defiance of public sentiment is permitted?' 'Well,' said he, 'the brewer has given us to understand that any one who interfered with his private affairs took his life in his hand, and no one has yet appeared who has had sufficient courage to enforce the Law. This brewer means what he says, and I don't know any one among us willing to become a martyr to the cause of prohibition.' For many reasons I believe in temperance, but am of the opinion that prohibition

is simply a wild theory ; that in practice it has not met the claims of its supporters, and as an aid to the cause of temperance it is a failure."

In Minnesota, under high license—in the very State in which our family newspaper was dedicating its great divines to the devil's work—the five hundred and forty-seven saloons of a single city were in one year reduced to two hundred and seventy-four. The increase of the tax from one hundred to five hundred dollars, not only nearly trebled their payment to the city's treasury, but swept away nearly half the saloons. The police department testify that the effective policing of the city has become much easier in consequence ; that the saloons closed were generally of the worst character ; that there has been a discernible decrease of drunkenness, a large falling off in misdemeanors attributable to drunkenness, and a marked improvement in the good order of the city. Our family newspaper calls this "the high license craze let loose." There certainly is a craze, but it is not on the part of the great divines who advocated a course that has closed half the saloons of Minneapolis.

In Illinois a similar result has been reached. The saloons of Chicago were suddenly forced into paying a $500 tax. Under the old system they yielded to the city a revenue of $400,000. With the new license they yielded a revenue of $1,500,000. In nineteen other cities 733 liquor-shops yielded a public revenue of $89,950. With high license, the shops decreased to 468, but yielded a public revenue of $253,000.

Was any wrong done in forcing the saloons to contribute this sum toward mitigating the poverty and defraying the expense that temperance sentiment was not strong enough to prevent? More than this money, wrung from them to replenish the coffers which their trade tends constantly to exhaust, infinitely more significant than any money, is the testimony that throughout the State the total number of saloons was diminished by from three to four thousand. All these by-ways to hell were closed, and not one was opened. Arrests fell off, and there was 30 per cent. less of drunkenness, yet the "Temperance Review" accuses the clergy whose action helped on this beneficent result of deliberately contriving to let the devil open these ways to hell for five hundred dollars a way. This is the very dead-drunkenness of slander.

In Maine, the original prohibition State, a close and careful inspection, by a temperance man, so late as March 30 of the pres-

ent year, indicates that it is time for our great divines and for all who love their country and desire the improvement of humanity, to re-examine the foundation of their faith. For fifty years, says this report, Maine has been a temperance State. The Washingtonian movement originated a great number of total-abstinence societies. Licenses had been granted with discretion, and selling without license had been heavily punished. Finally the Legislature, under the influence of the growing temperance sentiment, forbade the granting of licenses, and liquor was practically driven out of half the townships of Maine and into dark corners of the other half. Open temptation ceased to exist. In 1851 the Maine law was passed, which, for medicinal and mechanical purposes, established State agencies and local agencies in every town, thus forcing rum and whisky into many towns from which they had long been banished. The actual result is, that liquor is sold to all who wish to obtain it, in nearly every town in the State. Enforcement of the law seems to have little effect. For the past six years the city of Bangor has practically enjoyed free rum. In more than one hundred places liquor is sold, and no attempt has been made to enforce the law. In Bath, Lewiston, Augusta, and other cities, no real difficulty is experienced in procuring liquor. In Portland enforcement of the law has been faithfully attempted, yet the liquor traffic flourishes for all classes, from the highest to the lowest. The prohibitionists pursued a rumseller for five years. They made him pay fines more than forty times, and finally got him into jail; and then his brother carried on the business at the old stand, and when, after a protracted siege, he was forced to retire, his brother-in-law took his place, and keeps it to this day. In a journey last summer for hundreds of miles through the cities and through the scattered villages and hamlets of Maine, the almost universal testimony was, "You can get liquor enough for bad purposes in bad places, but you cannot get it for good purposes in good places."

This is not decisive against prohibition. Much is accomplished when the tempter cannot sit at the corners of the streets, openly tempting the weak, but is forced to hide in the dark. What makes against prohibition is, that in the opinion of many of the most earnest total-abstinence men, the original Maine Law State, after thirty years of prohibition, is no more a temperance State now than it was before prohibition was introduced. In Kansas, where

the most stringent prohibition has been enacted and has had the inestimable advantage of Gov. St. John's fostering care, Dr. Cardner testifies that the drug-stores are little more than rum-shops, and that their number is astonishing. In Pittsburg, a thrifty little town of 4,000 people, he counted fifteen drug-stores and twenty doctors' signs on the main street. They scarcely pretend to keep medicines, save of the simplest kind, "but they sell any quantity of liquor. . . . I found this to be the principal business of the doctors and druggists in all the parts of Kansas I visited, and from my inquiries of others I am convinced that it is the case throughout the State." Neither the reason of wise and honest prohibitionists, nor the rant of wild and dishonest ones, can alter the nature of these facts or disprove their grave significance. In the face of such facts, the claim of any class of men to a special Divine revelation on this subject cannot be successfully established. When the temperance reviewer quotes the Ruler of the Universe as saying "Thou shalt not," he is forced to leave his quotation swinging in the air. "Thou shalt not"—what? Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, says the Bible. Three gallons of whisky are made from a bushel of corn, and the distiller may affirm that God says, "Thou shalt not forbid the manufacture of whisky." This would be a thoroughly unwarrantable interpretation, but no more unwarrantable than any interpretation of any Scripture into "Thou shalt not lay a tax of five hundred dollars on the sale of whisky." God—the God of the Bible, the God of conscience, the God of human society—says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." When the prohibitionist charges the great divines who are closing the doors of temptation with deliberately contriving to let the devil open them, he is violating the Divine Law formulated in the Bible, incorporated in the human heart, inwrought into the body politic.

Great divines in other parts of the world take the same view of the temperance action that is condemned as devilish in the great divines of Minnesota. Dr. A. W. Thorold, Bishop of Rochester, England, for the past three years has spent his annual holiday in helping to lay the foundation of the [Episcopal] Church Temperance Society. From Maine to Oregon, he bears witness to "the genuine and profound enthusiasm felt by the country in the cause of temperance." He has addressed public temperance meetings at Buffalo, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Salt Lake City, Detroit,

St. Paul, Minneapolis, Faribault, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New York, and the University of Virginia. Necessarily without partisanship, without claim to any five hundred dollars to be secured by damning men, and therefore with no temptation to aid in this fiends' work, what is the testimony of this divine? He says:

"The subject is uppermost in our thoughts because every one has sympathy with it. It is complicated because each man has his own nostrum and dislikes his neighbor's. It is prejudiced in the eyes of moderate men by intolerance and exaggeration, and it is not made purer by being mingled with politics. The duty of the friends of temperance is plain. They must combine their forces on one solid basis of total abstainers and of those who use intoxicants temperately. Instead of pressing for more legislation, they must first put in force what they have. Restriction is more practicable than prohibition, and restriction is best effected by the raising of the price of licenses. . . . If we in England could only get the legislation you have got in the most of your States for prohibiting the sale of liquors on Sunday and to minors and to persons who have had sufficient already, we should have enough legislation to last us fifty years."

It may be questioned whether we have legislation enough to last fifty years, but we have enough for the present. Legislation is already far in advance of public sentiment; too far, as we have seen, for it to feel the spur of public sentiment. Of a little town in Massachusetts, the citizens, in town-meeting assembled, voted for prohibition and against license, by a vote of 83 to 1; and they appropriated five hundred dollars to enforce the law. In that village were opened, during the ensuing year, three houses where liquor was sold; where any one could, and many did, freely buy, without attempt at let or hinderance, or prosecution. What could more law do for them? Public sentiment was strong enough to enact law, but not strong enough to enforce it when enacted; strong enough to forbid selling, but not strong enough to prevent drinking.

It is appalling to see well-meaning persons turn away from present work which, though difficult, is not impossible, to future work whose impossibility is not less because not immediately demonstrable. Instead of bringing the community up to the execution of laws already enacted, by machinery already existing, we clamor for new laws, for a Constitutional amendment, for the woman's ballot. In a prohibitory State, shortly after the November election, I heard a clergyman, who had seen, apparently, in the whole campaign nothing but a Prohibitory amendment to the Con-

stitution, deliver a sermon on the prevalence of drunkenness in his own city, the crimes consequent, and the great neglect of duty in the enforcement of liquor laws! If the appetite of drunken men is too strong, if the conscience of temperate men is too weak, for the laws that inclose them at home, what is to be effected by a future law at the center of government a thousand miles away? The one enemy to be grappled with is a consuming thirst and a weak will in the individual man. Few weapons are farther off or more ineffectual than an amendment to the national Constitution. What is wanted is an amendment to the man's own constitution. Far more practical and pointed is the truth contained in the pithy philosophy, that the only way to reform a man is to reform his grandmother. We may find this hard, but less hard than to reform a man by act of Congress or by a three-fourths vote of the States. The grandmothers of the drunkards of the future are closer to us than a Constitutional amendment that shall prohibit and prevent the manufacture of intoxicating liquors.

Here women can lay hold on temperance with a mighty hand. The president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union claims that the enforcement ballot of the nation must be woman's because —because women as a class are free from the appetite for drink! This is foreordained failure. Not one step is ever made by resisting somebody's else temptation. Man's appetite, pitted against woman's muscle, will always win. What women cannot accomplish by moral power they cannot accomplish by physical power, because men are stronger than women. A ballot is not might, any more than a bank-note is money. The bank-note, by common agreement, passes for money and is a convenient device. The ballot, by the common consent of the highest civilization, stands for physical power, and is even more convenient. It would be very clumsy to fight out every election, but voting it out would be of no use except to show that it could be fought out if necessary. A low civilization in the Democratic Party in 1860 refused to let the ballot stand for physical power, but found after four years of fighting that physical power was what the ballot meant. A very low form of civilization in the Democratic Party in Albany, in November, 1884, threatened to make another trial of the same kind, which would have had the same result, with even more emphasis. Women make a great mistake in assuming that a ballot is but a piece of paper, which a woman can drop into a box

just as easily as a man. A ballot means a bullet, and a bayonet, forced marches, digging trenches, sleeping on the ground, carrying a knapsack. Physical force, whenever needed, must be administered by men. The physical power of woman is not even a factor in the political problem. In our civilization she never has been, and she never will be, called upon to lift her hand in the enforcement of law; any more than if she did not possess a hand. No access of woman voters would bring any access of material strength to the nation. No access of woman prohibitionists will lend any material strength to the enforcement of the law. Whatever women cannot do by moral power, by spiritual energy, they cannot do at all. As long as men will to drink, drink they will. Women do effective temperance work just so far as they free men from the appetite for drink, and no farther. Prohibition is valuable just so far as it helps to free men from the appetite for drink, and not one step farther. The only preventive of drunkenness is character. The only remedy for drunkenness is character—and possibly, they now say, cocaine! The formation and development of character is woman's business. The cure of souls is her mission work. The child that is built up strongly within, increasing in wisdom as he increases in stature, disciplined, self-controlled, under the reign of law, will never be a drunkard. Thus to build up the human being is no easy work; but it is an easier work than, after he has shambled or thrust his way up into a violent, indolent, self-indulgent, weak-willed adult, to keep him from continually lapsing into degradation. Whatever can be done to shield this unhappy creature from temptation, without trenching upon the personal liberty of the unfallen, it is the eager desire of all temperate persons to do; but when that is done the hardest work remains—to build up the man himself, to supplement the defects of his training, to substitute healthy for diseased tissue, to change weakness into strength. This is hard; but if it is impossible, then all temperance work is futile. Societies, pledges, platforms, legislation, are worth only their effect on the drunkard's tissues, on the drunkard's will. Audiences gathered, newspapers circulated, towns visited, are no test whatever of work done. Men rescued from low habits, children reared to high tastes, an orderly and elevated social life—by that sign alone we conquer.

The one hope of an unrestricted liquor traffic is in the Democratic Party, and the one hope of the Democratic Party is in the

Prohibition Party. Before temperance as a public sentiment, as a moral principle, as a manly habit, the saloons must go down. As a political plank, as an election contest, as a Constitutional amendment, temperance is a mere diversion from the main issue, is not feared, is indeed desired, by the Democratic Party. There is not a State in which they do not hail it as a relief from impending, immediate danger. Intemperance apprehends no harm to its craft from the Prohibition Party, while absolutism is always endangered by the triumph of the Republican Party. The Democratic Party, with its principles outspoken and its record read of all men, has no chance before the people. In the South, where the Democratic Party has entrenched itself by force, political prohibition is not suffered to move the wing or open the mouth or peep. In Georgia three-fourths of the counties enforce prohibition; in Georgia, of a total vote of 143,610, the prohibition candidate received 195. But in the North, where the Democratic Party is weak, it cherishes prohibition like a nursing mother, and its caresses are returned with a collusive fondness. Straight as if winged from a Democratic bow, the prohibition arrow flew to the States where the Democratic Party had the best show for victory. Torpid in all the States where it could harm the Democratic Party and where it could not vitally harm the Republican Party, it was active in those States where even its small power could turn the tide against Republicans. What has been done may be done again, but it will be better understood. Prohibitionists may continue to be Democratic allies, but they will not be so well disguised Democrats. "God and home and native land" will always have a suspicious tang, and even woman's instinct will need to show its credentials when it appears on the stump bearing the St. John sort of "home" in a charger.

The logic of the universe is not disturbed by our refusal to recognize it. It amused Madame de Pompadour to play at political genius, to sit in councils, to dismiss and appoint generals, to direct battles, to act as if she were a great man instead of a lost woman; but the eternal procession of cause and effect was not for one moment delayed by her pretty airs, or deflected by her self-deception. Rather was she, unconscious, swept into the somber funeral march. None the less for her, all the more for her, came confusion and dismay to France. The royal dynasty went down to rise no more, and not the least of its fate-compelling and immortal infamies was

a puny hand clutching for one brief hour the scepter of control. More allied to those virtuous women who are piously paving the drunkard's hell with their good intentions, was the unhappy Isabella, who in thorough love and loyalty bent the neck of Spain to the yoke of the Inquisition. Religious devotion, conscientious conviction, single-hearted patriotism, availed nothing against the eternal law of the universe into which she was born. Just as fatally as if she had been its mortal foe, she fastened upon her beloved realm a burden too heavy to be borne, under which it sank into a stupor of centuries, from which it has never yet arisen.

GAIL HAMILTON.

THE EXTRADITION OF DYNAMITE CRIMINALS.

We seek an answer to the question, Ought the persons guilty of such crimes as have been recently committed in Europe by the use of dynamite, to be extradited in response to a regular demand of one government upon another? Let us ask first, What are the general grounds of extradition? These are found in the duty of a state to protect itself, and in its duty to aid in all proper ways in protecting human society against flagrant crimes. It is obviously for the interest of each nation to prevent its territory from becoming the resort of criminals from other lands, and also to bring back for punishment its own criminals who may have fled to foreign parts. It is for the advantage of every people, it is conducive to the peace and order of human society, that criminals should not be permitted to escape from justice by simply crossing a frontier. Especially since the means of rapid communication between countries have so multiplied, has it become essential to the safety of political societies that those guilty of grave offenses should find no refuge on foreign soil. No enlightened state can refuse to recognize the importance of having justice maintained everywhere, and the duty of states to strengthen one another in proper attempts to punish acts that are universally considered flagrant crimes. Accordingly, of late years extradition treaties have rapidly increased in number, until now the murderer can hardly find on the earth a place obscure enough to hide him from the pursuit of justice. Even without treaties, states occasionally surrender criminals, and some eminent publicists hold that it is their duty to surrender them, whether they have extradition treaties or not.

But while public opinion almost universally favors the extradition of criminals, it now as generally opposes the surrender of men for political offenses. Why is this? In many cases there can be no

agreement among different nations as to the moral quality of what is charged upon a man as a political offense. An act that one government would consider such, may be most meritorious in the eyes of another government. A deed of righteous opposition to the last King of Naples might have been branded by him as a political crime, but commended by England and by us as a patriotic and noble deed. We could not give back into the power of such a tyrant a hero whom he might demand as a political criminal in order to execute him for action that we admire. An attempt of a saint to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience might be, and has been, treason in some lands; but how could we ever surrender such a saint as a criminal for making that attempt? So-called political offenses are often offenses only against some particular form of constitution, and not against government in general, not against society, as are crimes at common law. Although Grotius recommended the extradition of men charged with political offenses, and in former days they were often surrendered, by general consent the refusal to extradite them is in our times justly regarded as necessary.

The men that commit what are called in these days dynamite crimes, attempt to shelter themselves against extradition under this principle of exempting political offenders. They say that their deeds are all committed with a political aim. They strive to assassinate sovereigns and police-officers in order to reform governments. They attempt to blow up London Bridge and the Tower in order by terror to compel the British Government to be more lenient or more just to the Irish. If reminded that they are slaying innocent women and children in their work of destruction, they may profess to regret the fact, but say that this is only a necessary incident of the warfare they are waging, and that in all wars and revolutions unhappily the innocent have to suffer with the guilty. Our inquiry is, whether this plea is valid, whether these men guilty of crimes that shock the moral sense of the race are to have the immunities of political offenders if they flee from the scene of their iniquities to some foreign land. I believe their plea for exemption from extradition should be treated as invalid. Take the crime that can with most plausibility be called political, the assassination by dynamite of the sovereign. This may be committed with a political aim, and may have a political effect. But in all civilized lands assassination has been considered utterly unjustifia-

ble, even in time of open war. The Roman consuls sent back to Pyrrhus the servant that offered to poison him. The man that resorts to assassination is entitled to no immunities. The moral sense of mankind brands him as a foul murderer, whom all nations should rejoice to bring to justice. It is incompatible with the safety of society that a political end should be sought by such means. None of the reasons above given for granting asylum to political offenders is applicable here. Would any government have declined to surrender the assassin of President Garfield? Dr. Wharton says no civilized government would have refused to deliver up the assassin of President Lincoln. The present Earl of Derby said in the House of Commons in 1866, "It is monstrous to say that if any private person is assassinated in the streets of Paris, and the murderer escapes to England, he may be punished; but that if the person so assassinated is invested with any political character, then the offense becomes a political offense, and the law of England declares that he shall not be given up to justice." An English commission, composed of some of the ablest jurists in the realm, including Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, Lord Selborne, and Sir Fitz-James Stephen, in 1877 reported in favor of surrendering persons claiming to be political offenders who sought to attain their ends by foul crimes like arson or assassination. A Belgian act of 1856 excludes from political crimes the attempt to murder, assassinate, or poison the chief of a government, or any member of his family. A provision subjecting a person guilty of such a deed to extradition has been inserted in at least nineteen treaties negotiated in the past twenty-six years.* Among them is the treaty of 1882 between the United States and Belgium. Our Government has thus solemnly recorded its views on that subject.

If assassination of officials should not be regarded as a simply political act, much less can those other wanton and useless crimes that are alleged to have a political end, such as the destruction of property and life by explosions of dynamite in underground railways and public buildings, be so regarded. No man of sense can suppose for an instant that they will have any such political effect as the perpetrators profess to desire. If so shadowy and slight a political element is recognized as lifting such crimes to the dignity of unextraditable political offenses, we may expect a rapid increase of

* For list of such treaties negotiated down to 1879, see Bernard, "*De l'Extradition*," ii. 390.

murderers and robbers, who will plead that their iniquities are all committed with a view to frightening the Government into some concessions. Even if there were a state of civil war, or an outbreak of organized insurrection, most of the attempts of the dynamite criminals would be outside the pale of acts lawful in war, and would deserve to be ranked with the poisoning of wells and the distribution of infected clothing. But committed in a time of profound peace they deserve to be considered not as political offenses, but simply as most flagrant crimes, the perpetrators of which all governments should gladly aid in bringing to condign punishment as *hostes humani generis*.

The Institute of International Law, composed of a large number of the most eminent publicists of Europe, at the session of 1880 in Oxford, formulated their opinions on the subject of extradition in a series of statements, from which are the following:

"Extradition ought not to take place for political offenses. The state on which requisition is made has the sovereign right of determining, according to the circumstances, whether the act on account of which extradition is claimed has or has not a political character. In judging these facts, it ought to be inspired by the two following ideas: (*a*) Acts which unite in themselves all the characteristics of crimes at common law (assassinations, arson, theft, etc.) should not be excepted from extradition on the sole ground of the political intention of the perpetrators. (*b*) To judge of acts committed in the course of a political rebellion or an assassination or a civil war, one must ask if they would or would not be excused by the usages of war."

These statements are so just and wise that public opinion cannot fail to sanction them.

JAMES B. ANGELL.

THE question under discussion relates primarily to persons who in any country are guilty of the offense of attempting to blow up public buildings with dynamite or any other explosive, and who escape to this country before they are arrested; and secondarily to persons in this country that may have aided and abetted them. It is asked whether there ought to be international treaties for the extradition of the first class, and what, incidentally, ought to be done in regard to the second class.

That individuals holding no public authority derived from a regular and established, or from a revolutionary or insurrectionary,

government, shall not be permitted to carry on war in any form, upon any pretext, has long been one of the maxims of public law. Civilized society is founded upon a code of public morality, which forbids the idea that private individuals should find any immunity for acts of violence against persons or property or public order, in any real or supposed grievance they or others may undertake to avenge or to redress. The sole justification that can exist for violence of any kind against the peace and safety of society as it is constituted in any country, is to be found in the fact that there is in progress a revolution of such proportions that it can openly bestow upon individuals some kind of authority or commission to do those acts that involve destruction of property, loss of life, and interruption of order. Aside from all the doctrines of treason or treason-felony, aside from all the legal principles that uphold the existing order of things in any civilized country, the law of sound morals, as well as public safety, forbids the idea that private individuals can be permitted to usurp the function of carrying on war, or of doing acts of war, or of doing acts of malicious injury, from any motive whatever. All this I assume to be perfectly plain and undeniable ; and therefore my general answer to the first branch of the question is, without any hesitation, in the affirmative. There ought to be treaties for the extradition of the class of offenders comprehended in the first category above described.

But perhaps I can best make some practical suggestions, by pointing out the mode in which this desirable object should be reached. In the first place, each country should define, by careful legislation, the precise character of the crime of which it expects other countries to take practical cognizance, so far as to arrest, examine, and, if sufficient grounds exist, to surrender, offenders that have escaped from the one country into the other. This new offense, which has come about in these very recent years, in consequence of the extreme facility for terrible mischief afforded by the substance called dynamite, requires exact and at the same time comprehensive legal definition. Its atrocity will justify any punishment, within the limits of those kinds of punishment that will tend to prevent its repetition, and at the same time will be within those decent modes of repression that civilized nations can employ without incurring the reproach of barbarism. But then, in order to lay the foundation for treaties of extradition, every offense must be carefully defined as a crime before extradition can be asked

for; because the country that is to make the surrender must act with some reference to its own laws, usages, and habits, in dealing with persons that have come within its dominions from abroad. There is, or ought to be, no such thing as an arbitrary and unregulated surrender by one government to another of a supposed criminal that has fled from the justice of one country into the territory of another. The first thing for every country to do is to define the crimes for which it will ask other countries to make extradition of fugitives. The next thing is so to shape the treaties of extradition that the kind and degree of evidence that is to make a *prima facie* case of guilt shall be carefully and accurately laid down. Not only must the *corpus delicti* be well defined by the country where the crime has been committed, but the treaty must establish some rule of evidence which the magistrates of the country making the arrest and asked to make the extradition can apply for the identification of the person charged with the crime. But as the extradition is to be made only for the purpose of having the guilt or innocence of the accused person determined by the proper tribunals of the country in which the crime was committed,—that is, for a purpose entirely analogous to the process and object of holding an accused person to answer a charge of crime under the municipal law,—every treaty of this description should bind the Government receiving the accused to put him on trial for the specific offense for which his extradition is asked, and for no other offense whatever. Guarded in this way, extradition treaties can be easily made consistent with all the claims of individual liberty that must be respected and cared for.

It is now more than forty years since the first treaty for the extradition of fugitives from justice was made between the United States and Great Britain, by Mr. Webster as our Secretary of State and Lord Ashburton as Special British Minister to this country. I happened to have some personal knowledge of the course of Mr. Webster's reflections when he first took up this important subject. He had at one time some doubt how far he ought to recognize it as an established principle of international law, that nations do not surrender to each other fugitives from justice without positive convention. But he soon satisfied himself that this is the modern rule; and then the only question was, how the convention was to be framed, and what should be the crimes for which the two nations should mutually agree to make extradition. The similarity be-

tween the English and American criminal jurisprudence made it comparatively easy to agree on a few crimes that were defined alike by the law of both countries. The fact that the first treaty has led to difficult questions, should not cause us to overlook the importance of what was done by the establishment of the first precedent. The most important matter that now demands the attention of statesmen and publicists is, how to extend the principle to new crimes, and to adapt new treaties to the requirements of justice and the peace and safety of society.

In regard to the other offense, namely, that committed by persons remaining here but aiding and abetting the actual perpetrators of the crime in another country, extradition is of course not the remedy. When a man in this country supplies another in a foreign country with the means of committing an act of violence in that other country, or aids him in his plans, the man that so operates from our territory does not commit a crime that either country can punish, unless the law of both countries is so framed that the offense is previously defined and punished by the law of the country where the offense of so aiding and abetting is committed, although he has committed an offense that is, morally speaking, of a most heinous description. What is to be done, therefore, is for the proper legislative authority to define and punish this particular subordinate and auxiliary offense. That authority, in this country, is Congress, which has ample power to regulate commerce with foreign nations. Dynamite and every other explosive substance that is carried across the ocean, from any port in the United States to any port in Europe, enters into commerce just as every other commodity does. Although Congress cannot tax exports of any kind, it has plenary power to regulate the mode in which any commodity shall be carried to a foreign country. Congress can require a manifest of the contents of any package whatever; can authorize proper officers to ascertain the name of the shipper; can require the shipper to give security that will satisfactorily show an honest and innocent intended use of the article shipped; can require the name of the consignee to be given, and can take many other precautions.

All such precautions might at times be eluded; but the chances of escaping the vigilance of competent executive officers, especially if seizures under suspicious circumstances should be duly authorized, would be exceedingly small. The exposure of the vessel

and its cargo, and of the lives of all on board, when dynamite or any similar explosive is carried, is so great that hardly any measure of repression would be too severe. It is almost impossible to imagine an honest and innocent purpose for which any commodity can be sent across the seas, which the sender or carrier should not be able and willing to show; and therefore it is impossible to imagine that innocent persons should be much annoyed by the most stringent regulations, and whatever might be the annoyance it must be submitted to for the public good.

I do not suppose it to be at all necessary to answer the absurd claim that this new and strange kind of crime belongs in the category of political offenses. There can be no sound and sensible definition of political offenses that will comprehend an attempt to blow up the English House of Commons, or the Tower of London, or the Admiralty office, when perpetrated secretly by an individual at a time when no war exists in which that individual is an authorized actor. There are acts of war that may be carried on secretly; but if those who do them happen to be caught, and cannot show that they are authorized agents of a belligerent power, municipal and international law will alike treat them as they would any pirate or brigand. As to what are commonly called political offenses, they comprehend only such as treason, and efforts to make an insurrection or a revolution, or to overthrow an established government by violence; and even some of these acts, which are properly included in the category of political offenses, might with entire propriety, and with no danger to the proper liberty of political action, be made ordinary crimes under the municipal law of constitutional and well governed countries.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

A CRIME is an offense against the sovereign within whose dominions it is committed, and the question of punishment belongs exclusively to that sovereign. Other nations are supposed to be indifferent in the matter, and if the offender flies to one of them for refuge, he is suffered to remain unmolested. This is the general rule. Among enlightened nations, however, the fact has come to be recognized that all offenses that are evil in themselves and do not derive their criminal quality from local policy and statutes, are so far injurious to the world at large that all are concerned in their

punishment. Murders committed in France or Germany do not merely shock the public mind and create a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity in those countries, but they affect, though in a less degree, the public of Great Britain and America, and do something toward rendering life less secure the world over. The interest that murder committed in France or Germany shall be punished, is therefore general; not merely on grounds of theoretical justice, but because immunity to crime in any part of the civilized world has a disquieting and demoralizing effect, which cannot be limited by national boundaries. Moved by this consideration, and by the obvious dangers that must threaten any country that invites to itself the criminals from other countries by offering them safe asylum, nations enter into treaties whereby they agree that offenders against the sovereignty of one, escaping to another, shall be returned for trial and punishment. From these treaties, however, two classes of offenses are commonly excluded: first, mere misdemeanors, which from their insignificance it would be beneath the dignity of nations to make the subject of such formal negotiation; and second, political offenses.

A political offense, like any other crime, is an offense against sovereignty; but it is peculiar in this, that it is either an act done in furtherance of an attempt to overthrow an existing government, or an act done in defense of a government that proves unable to maintain itself against revolution. The defeated revolutionist and the unsuccessful defender of a government overthrown, are, in the contemplation of municipal law, alike guilty of treason, and may be visited with its penalties. In these cases the event of the attempted revolution determines the criminality, and not any vicious quality that may be involved in the act done; and it will sometimes happen that other nations will sympathize with the political offender instead of desiring his punishment. But, whatever may be their sentiments, they cannot aid in punishing him without to some extent becoming parties to the controversy out of which his offense has sprung, and the fact is now generally recognized that criminality in the case of political offenses must be treated as essentially and exclusively local.

Difficulty may in any particular case arise in determining whether an act charged as an offense was or was not political. Treason is a political offense; and if an act is charged as treason, the charge itself settles the non-extraditable character of the act.

But in most cases in which treason may be charged, the act constituting it might also be complained of as some other offense, and perhaps might be indicted under some other name for the very purpose of obtaining the extradition of the offender, when, if he were indicted for the actual offense, extradition would be promptly refused. Thus, an unsuccessful leader of a rebellion might be indicted for the murder of the persons killed during the struggle. If this were done, nothing on the face of the indictment would indicate that the act charged as murder was anything but an act of private malice. But if extradition were demanded, it would not only be the right but the duty of the government upon which the demand was made to inquire into the facts, and to refuse compliance if satisfied that the accusation had been made to assume the particular form in order to evade a very proper exception to the rules agreed upon for extradition.

But while one government might thus indirectly and by a species of fraud undertake to make another a party to the punishment of a political offense, a person actually guilty of murder might fraudulently set up the pretense that his act was political, in order to escape just punishment. If, for example, a man, out of private malice and for revenge, were to strike down the Secretary of State, or blow up the building appropriated to that department of the government, and were afterward to fly to some foreign country, it would be easy for him to advance the excuse that his act was committed in the expectation, or at least the hope, that it might be the beginning of a revolution, and on that ground claim the benefit of the exception that shields political exiles. Any such case might present questions of fact to be passed upon by the executive upon whom the demand was made, or by such judicial tribunal as might be empowered to consider it. Neither the form of the charge on the one hand, nor the excuse set up on the other, can be accepted as conclusive; but the facts must be inquired into, and extradition refused or ordered according as it is found that the act was or was not, in its nature and purpose, in a true sense political.

All this is believed to be unquestionable; and what remains to be considered is, how it applies to the case of dynamite crimes. A prior question perhaps is, What is a dynamite crime? Upon this space will not permit us to enlarge, and we may content ourselves with passing by the matter of definition, and taking as

illustrative cases those of the destruction of the Russian Emperor and the attempt upon the Tower of London. These acts were committed with dynamite, but their essential criminality does not depend upon that fact; they would have been equally criminal, and belonged in the same category, had some other agency of destruction been chosen. Had the person that killed the Czar been discovered in this country, and been demanded for extradition as a murderer under proper treaty provisions (had there been such), he could have claimed no exemption because of the killing having been accomplished in the particular method that was chosen. Methods and agencies are immaterial; and the homicide would be required to show, in resisting extradition, that he had a proper political end in view in what he did. As no attempted revolution was then in progress, and the deed was an isolated act of destruction, the most that could be said for it would be, that it was hoped by means of it to inspire such terror among the governing class as would force concessions in the direction of popular liberty. If that excuse were advanced in this country, on behalf of one who had slain the ruler of another, it would be necessary for the executive, in dealing with it, to face the fact that whatever doctrine was applied in the case of Emperor or King, must be applied in the case of President as well. If we refuse to extradite the slayer of one of these, on the ground that his act was political, other countries must on the same ground refuse to return any assassin that may escape to them after killing a President. This is self-evident; no one country can concede to another a protection for rulers that is not reciprocated.

No doubt it would be said in such a case that dynamite crimes are only committed as a means of relief from intolerable tyranny; but any such suggestion would be without force in a country two of whose rulers have been assassinated in a single generation. But other than this there is abundant proof that dynamite may as easily be employed in the interest of tyranny as in that of liberty. Historically we find the methods of secret destruction and terrorism more often employed to rivet the chains of slavery than to break them. The assassination of William the Silent, under the instigation of Philip II., is a striking instance; and had dynamite then been discovered, the tyrant might perhaps have contrived the destruction of the whole Dutch Government, a crime to which his malice and his will were alike equal. But we need not

go back to Philip, or beyond the confines of Britain, for evidence that dynamite methods may be employed in the interest of oppression. Lord John Russell, in his "Recollections," speaking of the period immediately before the Reform Act of 1832, when the buying up by the aristocracy of burghage or freehold tenures in small boroughs was in vogue, says, "If a freeholder or burghage tenant refused to sell, it was not a very uncommon practice to blow up his house with gunpowder, and thus disfranchise a political opponent." Even such an outrage might be defended as political, as being an act intended to prevent a change in government that would amount to practical revolution.

Every political question must be considered in the light of probable consequences. The political concerns of Ireland are at this time of engrossing interest to the whole civilized world. Ireland has been greatly wronged. In our day Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, moving on different lines, have endeavored to obtain justice for her. Mr. Parnell has assumed to represent Ireland, and has proposed very radical measures. Mr. Gladstone has represented the ruling country, and has moved as rapidly in the direction of justice as it was possible to carry a governing majority with him, and he has no doubt done much good to that unhappy country. The assassination of either of these men would seem likely to be a loss to Irish liberty. Both are public characters, with great influence upon current events, and either of them might be taken off on the reasons that inspire dynamite crimes. Suppose Mr. Parnell to be thus taken off at the instigation of some English landlord; could our Government shield the assassin as a mere political offender? Suppose Mr. Gladstone to be stricken down because his reforms had not been more radical; on what ground could a distinction in the two cases be pointed out?

One fact not to be overlooked is, that a dynamite crime necessarily strikes in the dark, and reaches innocent parties oftener than the intended victim. The persons that commit such crimes are generally without the coolness and level-headedness that enable men to predict consequences, and they are not unlikely to defeat the cause they hope to aid. Orsini undertook to advance the cause of Italian liberty by the assassination of Napoleon III.; had his bombs, instead of killing innocent by-standers, killed the Emperor, Italy, whose liberation the despot soon did so much to aid, might have been in chains to-day. And no one can say that

the assassination of the liberator of the serfs may not have nipped in the bud some further contemplated reform.

In these inventive days no one can say how far dynamite may become an agent in legitimate warfare, whether international or revolutionary. But the danger of justifying or excusing its use when there is no war in progress and no revolution attempted, is very manifest. When we become accustomed to its use as a means of correcting public evils, we may reasonably look for its employment to obtain relief from supposed social or business oppressions, and must expect to hear the same reasons advanced in justification.

THOMAS M. COOLEY.

AN ENGLISH IMPERIALIST BUBBLE.

ANY person that reads English newspapers at the present time, will see much about a proposed imperial federation between England and her colonies, and if not very well versed in English affairs, he may be pardoned for imagining that there is a serious movement of great importance toward the attainment of this object by means of a sagacious and well-defined political scheme. As a plain matter of fact, nothing could be farther from the truth. During the year 1884 two conferences were held in London, at which a great deal of vague talk was indulged in as to the delightfulness of a permanent union between England and her colonies; but not a single practical proposal for the accomplishment of this object was placed before either conference. No two speakers seemed to agree as to methods; the only agreement consisted in inflated rhetoric about the splendor of the Empire. To the English Liberal or Democrat, most of those who took part in these deliberations were politicians of a doubtful kind, some of them connected with other very pernicious political movements, while nearly all were animated by what are termed Jingo sentiments.

Let it be noted that the strong political thinkers and leaders do not give any encouragement to this movement. Neither Gladstone, nor Derby, nor Chamberlain, neither Salisbury, nor Cairns, nor Northcote, so far as I know, has defended or proclaimed imperial federation as a theory. All of these statesmen may be, doubtless are, quite prepared to defend the colonies by force of arms, so long as they remain *de facto* portions of the British Empire. To this, few will object; but this is something quite different from imperial federation. Mr. Bright says he does not even know what this new theory means. Mr. John Morley calls it "pan-Britannic gimcrackery." Lord Randolph Churchill says it is "all moonshine." Mr. Courtney regards the movement as most pernicious,

as did his friend and political associate the late Mr. Fawcett. It is opposed by Mr. Frederic Harrison in the interests of a higher international morality, and by most advanced radicals as tending to perpetuate English political superstitions, and to impose them on the young and growing commonwealths beyond the seas. Of Canadian politicians, Sir Francis Hincks regards federation as impossible, and says that Canadians don't want it. Mr. Blake looks forward to severance between Canada and England as essential to the growth and dignity of the former country; and the majority of the Liberal party in Canada are with him in this respect. And the diners at the Empire Club in London, a short time ago, must have been disagreeably surprised to hear Sir John Macdonald declare that federation between Canada and England was prevented by insuperable difficulties. In South Africa the two principal leaders, Messrs. Sprigg and Upington, are not only opposed to federation, but seem generally to be decidedly unfriendly toward England. Australia seems a little more bitten with the idea; but recent events have shown conclusively a growing differentiation between the interests of England and those of her colonies in the Pacific.

The whole question is essentially a matter of details; for the question to be asked is, What are the necessary implications of a federation? The "Federalist," which is the principal summary of federal politics known to the world, alleges four reasons in justification of the American Federal Union: First, federation would remove the usual causes of war. Second, it would secure a more perfect administration of government. Third, it would defend the several States thus united against the neighboring powers. Fourth, it would prevent commercial rivalry. Not one of these reasons can be alleged in behalf of this imperialist proposal. There is practically no possibility of war between England and any of her colonies, or between any two or more of these colonies. But, on the other hand, it is possible that England's connection with two of them might involve her in war. South Africa might involve her in war with the Dutch, which, in view of current movements both in Europe and Africa, would sooner or later mean war with Germany. Canada might involve her in war with the United States. Such considerations would therefore lead rather to the dissolution of existing ties than to the formation of stronger ones. Let me dwell specially on the case of Canada, the colony that will probably determine the whole question.

Every one in England has admitted, since the civil war revealed to Englishmen the true stuff of which the Northern States were made, that, with whatever other nation we go to war, we must be at peace with the United States. There is one and, so far as I know, only one cause that would produce a quarrel, and that is any attempt on the part of England to build up a great empire in North America. This would mean, sooner or later, war. The excited London editors would ask for double the number of iron-clads, guns, and torpedo-boats they have recently been demanding, and a big American army and navy would soon be added to the armaments by which the world is cursed. Some English people suppose that England has already an empire in North America, and indeed such an assertion is constantly made even by educated Englishmen. Of course nothing could be more absurd. Empire, *imperium*, signifies rule, and England does not rule in North America. Canada governs herself without the slightest regard to what the opinions of England may be. The English Government exercises no more rule in Ontario or British Columbia than in New York or Massachusetts. By federation, therefore, England would not be developing still further a power already existing; she would be attempting to create a new power, and in so doing would inevitably meet with strong resistance. The path to peace, therefore, certainly lies not that way.

Nor would imperial federation secure a better administration of government. English administration may not be perfect, but it would certainly not be improved by subjection to the criticism and control of farmers in Manitoba, miners in British Columbia, lumbermen in Nova Scotia, tradesmen in Toronto, gold-diggers in Ballarat, sheep-masters in New South Wales, planters in Jamaica, and fighting missionaries and Calvinistic Dutchmen at the Cape. Nor, conversely, would the affairs of Canada or New Zealand gain by being remitted in any degree to English squires, Scotch farmers, Durham miners, London shopkeepers, and East Anglian agricultural laborers. And in any proper federation all these and many more would be called on to decide, for even in aristocratic England the days of limited suffrage are gone by forever.

Nor, thirdly, would imperial federation defend any state from the superior power of its neighbor. Practically, Canada is the only colony that has such a neighbor; and, as has been already maintained, imperial federation is just the one method

of inviting the hostility of that neighbor. A defensive alliance between all English-speaking states is practicable and just, and would answer all the purposes for which a federation could be formed.

In the next place, imperial federation could not prevent commercial rivalry, because that exists already and grows every day. Canada, Victoria, Queensland, maintain formidable tariffs expressly to keep English goods out of their markets. Interests have already grown up that will demand the retention of these tariffs as in the United States. In the case of the American Union, no interests of a special kind worth naming had grown up in any single State before federation. Hence we cannot argue from one case to the other. If commercial rivalry was to be prevented (an impossibility in the nature of things, for you cannot prevent manufacturing industries from developing in great countries abundantly supplied with raw material), it should have been done half a century ago.

But if an imperial federation were established, it could only assume one of two forms. It must either resemble the original union of the thirteen American colonies prior to the adoption of the federal Constitution of 1787, or it must resemble the present American Union as it has existed subsequent to that period. The original Union was a mere alliance of independent sovereign States, none of which could be constitutionally coerced, with a central apology for a government unable to raise men or money, with no real sanction, authority, or power. It would be superfluous for English and colonial statesmen to repeat the experiment made by the American colonies last century. But if they should adopt a true federal union similar to that of the United States, what would such a step mean? One of two things: either the *de facto* English government must become the government of the whole federal empire, or a brand-new government must be formed, to which every government in the Empire, including that of England, must be subject; or, in other words, England must cease to be a sovereign state. From this dilemma there is absolutely no escape. Can colonial politicians be admitted into the English Cabinet? Obviously not, for that Cabinet is formed necessarily on English party lines, and is pledged to carry out English party objects; unknown to the written law of the country, it is a purely national growth and cannot be made imperial. But, on the other

hand, can a new body be created to which the English Parliament, with all the colonial legislatures, should be subject?

If any kind of federal government or parliament were created, England would of course be related to that government or parliament as any particular State is related to President and Congress at Washington. How many Englishmen can be found who, with full knowledge of the matter and without any bias of interest, would be prepared to say that the "sceptered isle," which has been a sovereign state for centuries, shall be so no longer, but shall become a single unit within a world-wide federal empire? And under this scheme the English unit would gradually but surely decline relatively to the other units. They must increase, England must decrease; this is the decree of nature. To these colonies belongs the future; they must expand in resources and increase indefinitely in population. But England herself has no such future. She may be, probably will be, the great center of culture and of intellectual production for the English-speaking peoples. It may be given to her to spiritualize the English-speaking democracy of the world. To her the inhabitants of distant regions may repair to visit their ancestral seats and to drink from the ancient fountains of historical inspiration. But in the future power will depend absolutely on population plus material resources; and as the colonies will in time easily surpass England in these matters, it follows that in a federation she would sooner or later be relegated to a very subordinate position. As a sovereign state, even though small, England would control her own destiny; as a unit in a federal empire, she would be compelled to acquiesce in whatever millions of other people in every part of the world thought was good for her. The advocates of imperial federation do not, it is true, mean this. They intend, in some inexplicable way, that this federal empire shall redound to the glory of Great Britain, and give her a prestige she cannot otherwise acquire. They are for the most part people who hold that any country is specially honored by being connected with England, and cannot possibly imagine that a people may have great respect and regard for England, and yet may not in the least desire to share her political life. In short, they desire to extend and intensify the political power of England at any cost—at the cost of bloodshed in Egypt and the Soudan, Zululand and the Transvaal; at the cost of a gigantic and ever-increasing expenditure in England; at the cost of domestic democratic

reform, which many advocates of imperial federation wish to prevent by distracting the attention of the country with the problems arising out of a spirited foreign policy; and lastly at the expense of the whole future of the colonies themselves.

For it is this last consideration that is the real pith of the whole matter. Imperialists do not understand that this question will be settled by the colonies themselves, and not at all by England. The imperialists never concern themselves with the legitimate interests of the colonies, but always with the prestige and fancied interests of Great Britain. It is such an honor, they think, to be connected with England, that they assume that the interests of the colonies must lie in such a union. This may be natural from an English point of view, but it is a palpable *petitio principii*. English prestige and interests have nothing to do with what is purely a colonial question. And the chief objection to these federation schemes is, that they attempt to set aside decrees of nature and facts of politics in favor of some artificial contrivance of their own. England's colonies are separated from her by thousands of miles of sea, and they consequently belong to different political systems. England herself has always belonged, and will continue to belong, to the European system. She cannot help herself in this matter, but must remain within the limits of the European diplomatic circle, of which for centuries she has been an integral part. To this she is pledged by a hundred guarantees, a thousand treaties. She is interested in the Eastern question, in the neutrality of Belgium, in the independence of Holland. With none of these matters have the people of the United States anything to do. Why should the people of Canada have anything to do with them either? Their interest is on the American continent, that of English statesmen is on the European and the other continents of the old world. England has European possessions; she owns Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Heligoland. She is bound by the Anglo-Turkish convention to defend the Asiatic dominions of the Porte against attack; and there are not wanting people in England who would go to war to prevent Constantinople from falling into the hands of Russia. By her occupation of Egypt, England is more deeply involved than ever in the European system. Her troops must stay there, and probably in the Soudan also; and yet she cannot exercise supreme sway, owing to the European control that she is compelled to acknowledge, spite of the bluster of London journalists. And

in Asia England is absolutely responsible for the government of two hundred millions of people, while her rulers and agents are called upon to watch with unceasing vigilance the resistless stride of the eastern Slavonic power. In short, England has built up an ever-increasing empire, which needs an ever-increasing supply of men and money, and which everywhere comes in contact with the real or fancied interests of other European powers, resulting in endless wars and deeper and deeper complications. So much is this now the case that the English Cabinet is no longer master of the situation. The Liberal Cabinet comes into office with professions of peace and retrenchment; and its career is one long record of war, conquest, annexation, and huge expenditure. And this not because Mr. Gladstone did not honestly mean to carry out a policy of peace and retrenchment, but because imperial necessities overruled personal inclinations.

Into this lazar-house of old-world political diseases the advocates of imperial federation propose to introduce the healthy, vigorous peoples of the new continents, taking them from their proper sphere and connecting them with an old-world power in whose ever-increasing complications they would be inextricably involved. It must be deliberately said that he who knowingly and of set purpose does this, is an enemy of these young countries. And if we take the most important of them, Canada, we cannot fail to see that its interests are sacrificed even now to the imperial connection, and that they would be sacrificed to a far greater extent under imperial federation. While the debt of the United States has been reduced by enormous sums, the debt of Canada is increasing by leaps and bounds, until now a people numbering only five millions, who ought to have no debt at all and scarcely any expenses of government, are crushed to the ground with financial burdens. And how incurred? Incurred mainly for imperial purposes. First, there is the *roi fainéant*, with his silly court at Ottawa to keep up. This institution is positively degrading to democratic Canada, as well as being a prolific cause of corruption. Then there are the railroads, constructed so largely for imperial and strategic purposes, some of them almost useless, but all having cost enormous sums, out of which contractors and politicians have notoriously enriched themselves. What can be thought from a rational, commercial point of view, of the Inter-colonial Railway, which was built for political purposes? And would such a line have been constructed had

Canada not been politically connected with a European country? And the Canadian Pacific Railway, constructed mainly to keep the Dominion together and to prevent British Columbia from seceding, is proving a tremendous additional burden to the people.

Then, again, there is the huge tariff. Why should there be any Canadian tariff, except for purposes of revenue? And why should hundreds of customs officials be stationed at vast expense along an imaginary line of three thousand miles to collect insignificant dues, a process connected with which there is a large amount of inevitable corruption? The answer is, that Canada must be protected against the United States. But seeing that people who speak the same language, in whose veins flows the same blood, who have the same religion, and practically the same laws, and very nearly identical systems of government, and are separated only by an imaginary line, must have substantially identical interests, why do they not reciprocate, instead of keeping up this insane system by which Canada is being slowly but surely impoverished and exhausted? The answer is, that Canada is artificially connected with England, and so is prevented from consulting her own interests, and forming a commercial, leading inevitably to a political, union with the United States. There never was a more palpable instance of all the just interests of a great country being sacrificed at the shrine of imperialism. If the people of Canada cannot be induced to see that this line of policy is certain economical disaster for them, Carlyle's estimate of the proportion of fools in England will not be wholly inapplicable in England's chief colony. But happily a considerable and increasing portion of the Canadian people have arrived at the conclusion that they cannot afford to carry on this policy for the sake of an imperialist sentiment. At a conference of the Canadian Liberal Party, under the presidency of the Liberal leader, Mr. Edward Blake, a resolution has been unanimously adopted demanding the right of the Canadian Government to conclude and ratify treaties with foreign powers, without any reference to the Government of Great Britain. This means, of course, Canadian independence, to which the Liberal Party in Canada is now committed. Both in Manitoba and British Columbia there is a growing party in favor of secession, as there is even in the specially "loyal" province of Ontario. Such a feeling is still more widely spread in the Maritime Provinces.

Such facts as these show that, spite of the loyalty to England

which is admitted to exist in Canada, the people of that country will ultimately take whatever course may be regarded as conducive to her legitimate interests and necessary development. In a word, Canada never can become a great country so long as she is politically connected with England. That connection involves the crippling of her resources, the undue taxation of her people, the restriction of her immigration, and the reign of a stagnant provincialism which forces itself on the attention of every visitor. The connection likewise renders Canada liable to be involved in any war into which England may be plunged ; a contingency that may be brought about at any time by the course of events in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Further, the federal union of England and Canada would, by building up an English power on the American continent, probably bring about at some time a collision with the United States. It may fairly be demanded, therefore, that those who place the general interests of humanity above the prestige of Great Britain should resolutely oppose imperial federation, so far at least as Canada is concerned.

No one can doubt that the independence and secession of Canada, whenever accomplished, will produce a profound effect upon the whole imperial connection. It will destroy the prestige of the Empire and will act as a solvent upon the imperialist sentiment. But it would be erroneous to suppose that the connection of England with her other colonial groups stands on the same footing as her connection with Canada. In the case of Canada, the proximity of the United States is the great determining factor. Even were there no American Republic, the difficulties of a federal union between Canada and England would be immense, for the reasons already alleged ; but the presence of the United States—Canada's natural and inevitable ally—renders the difficulties insuperable.

The case of each of the other colonial groups must be considered on its own merits. The Cape has been a source of trouble and of enormous cost to England ever since she had it ; and the situation there to-day is worse, from the English point of view, than it has ever previously been. I do not know who would weep for its secession, except Mr. Forster and the editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette." The past seven or eight years of South African history form one of the most disgraceful chapters in modern records. The colonists have been unscrupulous, the British agents

have countenanced plunder under the specious names of protectorate and annexation, the natives have been swindled and murdered, religious cant and commercial greed have formed an unholy alliance, and the English Government has proved itself blundering, ignorant, and incompetent. Its blunders, however, are due, not to the ill intentions of its members, but to the system. England tries to do what, in the nature of things, she cannot do. A committee of gentlemen sitting round a table in Downing Street cannot possibly understand the condition of affairs thousands of miles away in South Africa. Accordingly, they rely on their agents for information. These agents are all of the class that believes in annexation and a spirited policy. They advise the Cabinet in accordance with their own predilections. The Cabinet acts on the advice, to find, when it is too late, that the facts of the case are erroneously reported to it. This was exactly what Sir Bartle Frere did in South Africa when he led the English Government to believe that a South African confederation was generally desired by the people, and that the Boers of the Transvaal were consumed with a burning desire to be incorporated into the British Empire. What disasters have accrued from that fatal policy all the world knows. A similar process, it may be pointed out in passing, has been going on in Egypt. The necessity for the ultimate cessation of the connection with the Cape is rendered the more obvious because Englishmen there are in a minority, and the present Premier is absolutely hostile to the home Government. Union is quite impossible, for a very strong assertion of imperial authority on the part of England would almost certainly lead to a great civil war throughout South Africa, which would not only dangerously tax the not too immense military resources of England, but would lead to further far-reaching consequences by reason of the probable reversion of Holland and of all Dutch colonies and possessions to Germany, and the very striking development of German commerce and colonization recently manifested in South and Central Africa.

The third group of colonies is the Australasian, comprising Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the smaller islands of the South Pacific. The position of this group is different from that either of South Africa or Canada. The Australasian colonies are more intensely English than either of the other groups. There are no fellow-colonists of foreign birth or extraction, like the Dutch in

South Africa or the French in Canada; nor is there any great neighboring nation like the United States. These colonies are to a great extent isolated from the rest of the world, and are peopled almost entirely by persons of English birth or extraction. Consequently, some of the forces that in Canada and in South Africa are making for political separation do not operate here, and it is possible therefore that the close relation of these colonies to England may be of much longer duration. But when all this has been duly allowed for, the objections to imperial federation between England and her Australasian colonies still remain. Such a federation would take these colonies out of their rightful sphere, and introduce them into the European political circle. Their blood and treasure would become liable to be spent in maintaining English rule in India, or in fighting France on the Egyptian question. If war broke out, what would be the situation of these colonies, on the unimpeachable testimony of the military and naval authorities that have lately been trying to frighten the English people about the condition of their iron-clads and coaling-stations and the supply of their torpedo-boats and big guns? It may be gathered from the testimony of these persons that a peaceful citizen of Sydney or of Melbourne might find a telegram in his morning paper telling of a rupture between England and France on the subject of Egypt, or between England and Russia on the subject of Afghanistan; might learn before retiring to bed that war had been declared; and after a sleep, broken, feverish, and haunted with dreams almost as awful as those of a London editor, might listen to the guns of a French iron-clad or a Russian cruiser while shaving in the morning at his dressing-table. Seriously, can any arrangement be permanently justifiable that places the peace, progress, and prosperity of Australia and New Zealand at the mercy of some European quarrel or intrigue with which those countries have no more legitimate concern than Greenland and Patagonia?

The sum of the whole matter lies then in this: What are the manifest interests of the colonies themselves? The question will not be settled, as most of the English imperialists appear to imagine, in England; it will be settled in the respective colonies. And the colonists will settle it in accordance with their own interests. They will consider whether their fiscal policy shall be molded in accordance with the wants and wishes of English capitalists. They will consider whether their interests will be promoted

by connection with the intrigues of European diplomacy and the rivalries of European statesmen. They will consider whether they should impose financial burdens on themselves in order to promote English foreign policy. They will consider whether either the British Parliament or some hypothetical federal council could manage any portion of their own affairs for them better than their own governments and parliaments can do. And they will do this freely and independently, quite regardless of the opinions or wishes of English "fair-traders" or military men or colonial agents.

It is the more necessary to insist upon this, since in England the question is always looked at from the English point of view. The imperialists in England always, avowedly or tacitly, advocate federation because it would be good for England, not at all because it would necessarily be good for the colonies. No doubt they assume it to be good for the colonies, or have persuaded themselves that it is so; but this is a matter with them of quite minor importance. To the average Englishman, England is as much the "hub" of the solar system as Boston to any Bostonian; and, to quote Dr. Holmes, "you couldn't pry that out of" an Englishman, "if you had the tire of all creation straightened out for a crowbar." Thus the "fair-traders," as they call themselves, look upon the colonies as convenient instruments for maintaining the supremacy of British trade. And the average Jingo wishes the colonies to contribute toward an imperial navy that shall be equal to the combined navies of Europe, and shall thus maintain English prestige in the eyes of European sovereigns and statesmen. All this is to be done for the glory and profit of England.

The real motive power, therefore, of this agitation for imperial federation becomes perfectly obvious. It is by no means a great humanitarian movement for securing peace on earth and good will among men. It is, stripped of all the pretentious verbiage and vague rhetoric with which it has been adorned, an attempt on the part of certain interests to maintain their hold over mankind. The military and aristocratic class has joined hands in this matter with a large section of the capitalist class, in order to secure the promotion of English financial interests, and to strengthen, if possible, English imperialism. Well-meaning men with other objects in view may have helped in the movement, and may do so in the future; for it cannot be denied that the idea of a close bond connecting English people acts as a powerful sentiment, which may

be felt to be convincing when unconnected with reason and with a complete knowledge of the facts of the case. But the accidental presence of well-meaning men should not blind any one to the real character of a movement that constitutes the greatest, because most insidious, danger that the cause of democracy in England has to face. It is a movement that in its essence is intended to divert the broad stream of human progress into the narrow channel of English capitalism. Readers of Professor Seeley's "Expansion of England" are misled by the glittering ideal they see in that book. The real thing is the union of such people as Lords Bradbourne, Rosebery, and Dunraven, who know perfectly well what they want, in the interest of a cause fatal to the development of English democracy, and still more fatal to all the just interests of those young commonwealths beyond the seas.

WILLIAM CLARKE.

THE SUBTERRANEAN HISTORY OF MAN.

THE methods and results of historic investigation have undergone striking changes during the present century; and one of the most important factors in the change has been the direct resort to memorials left behind them by the unknown ages—monuments above ground and relics beneath. Sometimes these monuments themselves have been preserved by burial, natural or artificial, and have also become part of the subterranean history of mankind. So great a mass of solid historic fact has been revealed by the spade, that one is almost ready to say there is more of veritable ancient history coming and to come from beneath the ground than from above it. The results of these excavations, often curious and surprising in themselves, are important chiefly from the comparisons they enable us to make, and the connections they are slowly permitting us to establish, among the races and events of the distant past. And though each new discovery too readily becomes the occasion of some unsubstantial theory, further investigation soon extinguishes the vagary. While we cannot avoid all disputed points, we can refer to a great mass of material thus accumulated, resting on high authority.

What could seem at first more impenetrable than the darkness that hung over this country prior to its discovery, or rediscovery, four centuries ago? Yet within a generation we have gained by exhumation a basis of facts whereby we can not only reproduce much of the life and habits of the earlier ages, but, by combining these with indications from other sources, can already reason with some probability upon the relations of the various occupants of the soil, and their migrations. Without the aid of a scrap of writing, we can say that hundreds of years, perhaps a thousand, before Columbus, probably while the mastodon was here, the area of the United States was occupied by a race much superior to the modern

Indian tribes. They were plodding and industrious, capable of great enterprises and persistent toil, constructing millions of cubic feet of embankments, thousands of mounds—ten thousand in Ohio alone—and miles of defensive works, commonly of earth, sometimes of earth and stone, and in one instance more than two miles of stone. They were cultivators of the soil, dwelling in large communities and for long periods in the fertile valleys of the interior and Western States, shrewdly pre-occupying the sites of the chief towns and cities—Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Marietta, Dayton, Portsmouth, Chillicothe, etc. Their center of progress, if not of power, was apparently in south-western Illinois, where within a radius of fifty miles there were five thousand mounds, one of them, at Cahokia, ninety feet high and covering half as much ground as the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh. They manufactured pottery in a great variety of forms, using some of it for cooking; made salt from the saline springs of Illinois and Missouri; procured shells and pearl from the Gulf of Mexico, and obsidian from beyond the Rocky Mountains; brought mica in great sheets from mines in North Carolina, and red pipestone (catlinite) from the head-waters of the Missouri; quarried flint (chert) on Flint Ridge, Ohio; wrought the copper mines of Lake Superior over an extent of a hundred and fifty miles, hammering the metal into implements, ornaments, and weapons, and learning finally—in Wisconsin, at least—to smelt it. According to Dr. Newberry, they wrought the oil-wells of Canada and Pennsylvania, and, according to the State Geologist of Missouri, they dug canals in that State, fifty feet wide by twelve feet deep. Their vast public works would indicate a despotic government, and perhaps a strong priestly influence. The definite sizes, shapes, and correspondences of their circles, squares, and other inclosures and embankments, are thought to imply standards and implements of measurement. They sometimes practiced cremation, if not human sacrifice. They were a race of smokers, and lovingly carved their pipes into admirable representations of birds and beasts; and their artistic turn showed itself further in small sculptures, often from the hardest stone, of more than forty kinds of animals and birds. They wove and wore cloth, sometimes in the shape of a blouse drawn in at the waist and reaching to the knees. If they did not play "chunky," they prepared the large sunken areas in which the Creeks afterward played the stupid game; and it requires but a slight stretch of

imagination to believe that their great earth-circles, graded ways, and high mounds witnessed the grandest processions and ceremonials. They adorned themselves with copper bracelets and necklaces of shell beads, claws, and teeth, and made whistles of buckshorn, and awls and needles of bone, horn, and copper. The diversity and extent of their agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and public works would involve a considerable division of labor. If we borrow a few circumstances from the Hochelagans (a sporadic tribe of Canada that had caught and preserved some of their traits till the visit of Cartier in 1535), we may understand that they raised maize, beans, and pumpkins, and added to these articles of food fresh fish from the streams, and probably smoke-dried fish from the lakes, wild fruits, and the various kinds of game immortalized in their carvings and pottery. Their clustered dwellings sometimes stood on straight, intersecting streets; their cultivated fields covered a hundred acres, and even three hundred; their situation on the streams suggests boats or canoes. They carefully buried their dead with ornaments and implements—seldom weapons—in cists under low tumuli, much like the British tumuli, and their distinguished dead in great mounds, sometimes seventy feet high and covering an acre and a half. They did not pass away by disease, but by hostile invasions, although syphilis had made its appearance. Cartloads of stone hammers and masses of detached copper left in the mines, would indicate a sudden abandonment. Cut off from the mines and the lakes, and subjected to incursions upon their cultivated fields, they evidently struggled hard, but receded to the south, to be merged with the Nahua or Toltec race of Anahuac, with whom their skulls and sculptured faces seem to ally them.

For the anterior history of this and the other American races we are obliged to appeal to a wider range of facts. Forty years ago Prescott expressed the opinion that "the civilization of Anahuac was in some degree influenced by that of Eastern Asia," and Humboldt still earlier had pronounced "an ancient communication" to be "most evident," on account of "striking analogies with the ideas of Eastern Asia," not explicable as simply the result of the uniform condition of all nations in the dawn of civilization. These opinions, founded on a different set of premises, find a strong confirmation in the excavations of the two continents. A still wider range is thus suggested. Nilsson (in 1868), though re-

ferring the facts to "an instinctive contrivance created by a sort of natural necessity," was yet constrained to comment on "the remarkable fact of the great resemblance in the stone implements of different tribes in different periods and the most distant countries." He even asserts "a similarity, or rather identity, not only of the simpler implements of stone and bone that occur among very distant nations in the Old and New World, but also between implements more or less complicated." He cites various instances, and "above all, the small heart-shaped arrow-heads of flint from Scania, and of obsidian from Terra del Fuego, both of which are, with regard to shape and mode of construction, even in the most minute details, and when viewed with the microscope, surprisingly similar, as if they had been made by the same hand on the same day." Dr. Dawson, in his "Fossil Man," notes such correspondences as these: the ancient tomb of Knock-Maraidhe near Dublin, "the precise counterpart of the oldest American interments;" the almost exact similarity of the gouges and other stone implements of the two continents; bone harpoons similarly notched on one side, from Denmark, Kent's Cavern (England), Nova Scotia, and modern Terra del Fuego; similar bone needles from Canada, Belgium, and France; grooved hammers of the same construction from many parts of the world; skull drinking-cups of the Hochelagans as of the old Norsemen; the Hochelagan pottery precisely like that from an English barrow, made of clay mixed with sand and kneaded out to give it a laminated structure; the edge-marking with finger-print and nail, alike in Canadian, British, and Swiss specimens. Dr. Foster, in his "Prehistoric Man," finds a strikingly similar chevron border on three pieces of ancient pottery, from San José near Mexico, from the Shell Banks of Louisiana, and from Lake Neuchatel in Switzerland; and axes from Wisconsin, "almost exact counterparts of those found in Ireland and in the Swiss lakes." Humboldt carried home from an ancient mine in Peru a bronze chisel containing the same proportions of copper and tin (94 to 6) with one found by Wilkinson at Thebes. The Egyptian bronze, however, had usually more tin. Even the "Westminster Review" (October, 1884, pp. 536–7) remarks that "the resemblance of the human forms in the sculptures of Palenque to some Egyptian gods and priests cannot escape the intelligent reader;" and while peremptorily denying all connection of Mexico and Peru with Europe and Asia, yet speaks of the "coincidences"

and "parallelisms" between the Mexican religion and Japanese Shintoism, as "odd," "striking," and "startling." M. Mortillet has recently found the flint axes from the valley of the Delaware so like those from the valleys of the Somme and Garonne as to make it seem "probable that there was formerly a great bridge between America and Europe." Add to this the necklaces of shell-disks and of animals' teeth, alike in France and Ohio, and the recent discovery in France, Michigan, and the Canary Islands of human skulls trepanned both before and after death. These curious coincidences continually come to light. Thus Dr. Stephen Brown writes from California that he has found specimens "identical with all the stone implements figured by Dr. Schliemann in his 'Mycenæ.'" The animal figures of the Mound-builders' pottery, including the head of a pig, are matched in part by terra cotta vases found by Schliemann at Hissarlik in the form of the cat, the mole, the hedgehog, and the hog's head; though animal forms rarely occur in the pottery of Western Europe. And of the owl's-head handle of a Missouri drinking-cup, the Marquis de Nadaillac says, perhaps strongly, in his "Prehistoric America," that it is "so like those found at Santorin or at Troy that they might be mistaken the one for the other." This list could be greatly extended. Nadaillac's volume alone would add more than twenty resemblances equally striking.

Such coincidences, many of which can not well be regarded as accidental or spontaneous, when combined with other facts and with the common traditions of the two continents—as of the deluge, more or less in detail—are strikingly significant. Indeed, there is one living race on this continent, the Eskimos, between whom and the flint-men of West Göthland and the cave-men of France, European excavations have established the closest connection. Nilsson found the old Scandinavian sepulcher in all its several great peculiarities "identical with the modern Eskimo hut," so that it seemed "scarcely possible to assume that all these various and important minute similarities should be only accidental." While he did not quite accept the necessary solution, Lubbock in 1869 saw "some reason to believe that the Eskimos once inhabited Western Europe." Mr. Boyd Dawkins, in his "Early Man" (1880), is perfectly pronounced. After reviewing all the facts, he declares the probable identity of the Cave-men of Europe and the Eskimos of America to be the only admissible hypothesis. This theory

is understood to be now somewhat generally accepted. In view of these and many correlated facts, especially the showing by many writers, from Lyell to Quatrefages, that transition by Behring's Strait is easy and not uncommon, by the Pacific quite feasible and probable, and by the Atlantic and its islands practicable, we easily frame a provisional American history thus: Successive waves of migration across Behring's Strait, dividing by the Rocky Mountains into separate lines of southward movement, variously modified by accessions from south-eastern Asia; these races and movements struck by hunting tribes from Europe by the Atlantic, driving the Eskimos and their congeners north, and the Mound-builders and their kindred southward to crowd and conquer each other there, and filling their territory with a variously modified race of savages. Future explorations, it may be believed, will reach much more definite results, and fill the outline.* We might indeed add to it now.

In Europe the researches of forty years upon fossil man have given us a moderately complete outline of centuries of unwritten history, without entering much on debatable ground or raising distinctly the question whether these types of men represent an advance or a degradation from a primitive condition and central origin. One main fact is settled, that the oldest, lowest form of manhood that the earth presents is a real manhood, with tools, ornaments, social life, and mastery of the brute world, able to capture and conquer the fleetest and fiercest of beasts. In the words of M. Joly, in his "Man before Metals," "the man who has left incontestable proof of his existence in the most ancient quaternary beds . . . . was man in all senses of the word, anatomically, intellectually, morally." We can picture his life and habits, the life of the man that certainly was contemporary with the mammoth and the cave-bear, the oldest of the so-called extinct animals. Without encumbering ourselves with minor subdivisions of the so-called palæolithic age—a matter still under discussion among the ablest palæontologists—we find a man (certainly at Cromagnon and Mentone) of powerful frame and large brain. He dressed in skins, which he had sewed with sinews and a bone needle, and which he laid aside for the summer hunt, and he protected his hands sometimes with a long, four-fingered glove.

* The somewhat prevalent theory that the Indians were descendants of the Mound-builders encounters very grave difficulties.

With his barbed harpoon he captured salmon, trout, pike, carp, and even the seal. With his light arrows he brought down the crane, duck, snowy owl, ptarmigan, and other birds, great and small. With his sharp spears, daggers, and arrows he not only struck down the musk-sheep, wild horse, ox, ibex, bison, urus, and great numbers of reindeer, but mastered the bear, lion, and perhaps the mammoth—one of which he has sketched in the act of charging, with eyes set, trunk up, and mouth wide open. He sent his arrows with such force as to imbed them in the skull of the stag, and hurled his javelin quite through the lumbar vertebra of the urus as it rushed upon him. Possibly—Steenstrup and Dupont say, probably—his dog then accompanied him. That he tamed the reindeer, Quatrefages considers "an open question;" that he had domesticated the horse, is, judging from the remains at St. Acheul, Abbeville, and Amiens, and the forty thousand specimens at Solutré, not unlikely. His winter house, but probably not his summer residence, was a cavern. He cooked his food by the fire, and made use of pottery.* Flint arrows lodged in human bones, a spear-head thrust through a human tibia, a flint axe buried in a parietal bone, a hatchet-cut in the skull of a Cro-magnon woman, who was struck with her face to the foe, betray the scenes of violence that checkered prehistoric life. The prehistoric man decorated himself at times with red paint, and ornaments of shells, bones, and teeth, and made himself whistles of the small bones of the deer. In his leisure he carved the likeness of a mastodon on its own ivory, sketched a pike, a seal, or a glove on a cave-bear's tooth, drew a picture of the cave-bear himself on a pebble, or cut on an antler a bison, a pair of horses, a reindeer grazing, two reindeer fighting, or the hunting scene where the urus is stalked or the horse is speared. He had his traffic too. Shells from the Isle of Wight found their way to Laugerie Basse, an oyster shell from the Red Sea to the Thayngen grotto, amber from the Baltic and white coral from the Mediterranean into Switzerland, the augite of Auvergne into Brittany, the green turquoise of Brittany into the south of France, and, as many think, the nephrite of Asia into Europe. He had his manufactories of flint implements at Laugerie Haute in Perigord, Chaleux in Belgium, Hoxne in Suffolk, and Pressigny in France. The presence of the

* This has been strongly denied, largely on theoretical grounds, but seems settled by the relics at Hohefels, Robschutz, and other places.

River-Drift man is traced by Boyd Dawkins through England, France, Spain, the Mediterranean countries, Palestine, and India, to the probable center from which they swarmed, the high plateau of Central Asia.

Still more complete is the disclosure of a higher, commonly counted a later, civilization seen in the lake dwellings. These have well been called "at the same time monuments of prehistoric architecture, a zoological museum, and a gallery of anthropology." We will not dwell upon them, except to allude to the vast amount of labor expended in preparation for the dwellings, to the domesticated animals, and to the extensive range of food, including three varieties of wheat, two of barley, and two of millet; also apples, pears, cherries, and plums. These things suggest a separation from some older stock, bringing *en masse* the accumulations of the former home. Similar lake dwellings found in several other countries form a striking bond of connection extending from Scotland to Italy.

One conspicuous result of continued excavations is to correct earlier hasty generalizations. Doubts or insuperable objections are cast on several of the proposed criteria of relative or absolute antiquity. Lartet's fourfold classification of stone ages by the fauna, has been found in that form untenable. So has Mortillet's fivefold division by flint implements been reduced by himself to a threefold one, and that open to objections. Garrigou's threefold division (1, cave-bear and mammoth; 2, reindeer and aurochs; 3, polished stone, epochs), though widely accepted, is still found "somewhat arbitrary," says M. Joly. Dawkins's separation between River-Drift and Cavemen is resisted by Evans. Many definite estimates from erosions and deposits have been greatly shaken. Even the division into palæolithic and neolithic, as denoting earlier or later, has been subjected to serious questionings, on account of such conjunctions as occur at Solutré and Duruthy, and even the finding, as at Beaumes Chaudes, of the bones of palæolithic men pierced with neolithic arrows.* Wider examinations raise doubts and denials as to the supposed extreme antiquity of the circumstances and facts associated with these remains. Thus it has

* There has been much reasoning in a circle on this matter, in the steady assumption that pottery, interments, well-made flint implements, and capacious skulls annul any otherwise clear marks of the great antiquity of the deposit, and remove it from the palæolithic age.

been for some time conceded by Lubbock and others that the "extinct" cave hyena is scarcely distinguishable from the living spotted hyena of Africa. The cave bear is declared by Vogt, Brandt, Dawkins, and Gervais to be not specifically different from the brown bear of Europe; and the cave lion is pronounced by Sanford and Dawkins to be only a larger variety of the living species. Late discoveries go to show that in America the mastodon was alive much more recently than was formerly supposed, and the mammoth is thought by some to be still living in the Himalayas. The glacial age, which has been connected with man's appearance so as to carry it back hundreds of thousands of years, is maintained by late intelligent investigators to have been in America an epoch of no enormous antiquity—according to the Winchells, Prof. C. H. Hitchcock, and Dr. Andrews, from 6,000 to 12,000 years.

If we turn from the extra-historic to the early historic races, we find ourselves greatly indebted to explorations beneath the soil for the solid facts of history. When the French artillery officer, Bouchard, in August, 1799, while digging for a redoubt at Rosetta, struck a large stone of black basalt inscribed with Greek, hieroglyphic, and demotic characters, he had found the key that was to unlock the history of Egypt and has given the impulse to a remarkable movement of oriental research. It took fifteen years to make any considerable progress with the hieroglyphics. But the final result is a knowledge of the public, private, social, and religious life of Egypt, thousands of years ago, more complete and vivid than that of most intervening periods. This knowledge has come largely, though by no means solely, through subterranean investigations. The papyri have all been taken from the tombs. There also have been found the delineations of daily life in every form. The Apis mausoleum, with its store of statuettes and votive tablets, the fine temple of Edfou, the temple of Abydos with its famous tablet, were all reached by excavation. Thus too was the full structure of the Sphinx ascertained. The portrait statue of Cephrenes came from the bottom of a temple well, the tablet of Sakkára and the "Sheikh el Beled" from the grave-mounds of Sakkára, the most ancient and life-like statues of Nefert and Rah-hotep, and of Sepa and Nesa, oldest of all, from those of Meydoum, the fine jewelry of Aah-hotep from the mummy of that queen. Such is the history of a large part of the instructive Egyptian relics now found in Boulak and the museums of Europe. The spade has just

settled it that Tel el Maskhutah was not Rameses, but Pithom, and has dealt the last blow to Brugsch's theory of a northern exodus. Not unreasonably are great expectations turned to the excavations at San, for further light on the mystery of the Hyksos kings, and possibly some traces of Israel; and Mariette Bey has left on record the belief that further knowledge of the first six dynasties must be sought at the foot of the pyramids of Sakkára. Egyptian remains older than the Great Pyramid, still extant in the Sinaitic peninsula, show it to be no absurd supposition that the spade might yet reveal some imperishable relics of Israel around Sinai and Gadis, although nearly three thousand years of Amalekites, Nabatheans, monks, and Arabs would have left no vestige above ground. Important questions received some light from the excavations of Wilson and Warren at Jerusalem, and still more important historical and topographical information would probably come from further excavations, were they practicable. We wait impatiently for free admittance to the caves beneath the so-called Tomb of David at Jerusalem, and the Haram at Hebron. The site of Capernaum will be determined only by the spade.

It is almost superfluous to refer to the knowledge of Roman life, history, and art thus gained; for we think of Pompeii and Herculaneum, the Roman forums, the Palatine Hill, the baths of Caracalla and Titus, the Roman catacombs, the old church of San Clemente, and the like. From the baths of Caracalla alone came an immense number of works of art, including the Farnese Hercules, Bull, and Flora, while the Laocoon came from the Vigna de Fredis, and so on. Raphael resorted to the wall-paintings in the baths of Titus for suggestions in his work upon the Loggie; and to these and similar excavations at Pompeii, the Palatine Hill, the baths of Livia, and elsewhere, are we indebted for all our definite knowledge of classic painting. What we know of the Etruscans comes mostly from their tombs. The indebtedness of Christian archæology to the Roman catacombs is not yet fully written.

But it is in Babylonia and Assyria that we find the most remarkable instance of a well-nigh complete history recovered by excavation. From beneath the mounds of Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, Warka, Mugheir, and elsewhere, we have not only reconstructed in good degree the monarchies and their wars, but have ascertained their religion, art, science, employments, social, commercial, and

civil life, and the lines and extent of their traffic. We recover, too, a singularly copious and varied literature.

When we follow the indefatigable labors of Schliemann at Hissarlik, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and the still later researches on the Hittite empire, we seem to be rapidly nearing the power of connecting the threads of ancient and lost history into a continuous web. Did our space admit, we might refer to the great number of buried coins that have come to light from innumerable places, some of them to determine critical or disputed points, such as the office of proconsul in Paul's time at Cyprus. For it is noteworthy how these researches are affecting the old authorities. Herodotus, Manetho Ctesias, and most early writers suffer greatly by the contact; Berosus less, though we know him but in fragments. The only ancient historical authority that walks in safety down the centuries by the side of all these unexpected disclosures, and is constantly becoming vindicated from hostile criticism, is the sacred Scriptures. While, in all this vast range of research, very few authenticated facts even seem to conflict with those frank narratives, many a new discovery is coming to their confirmation. The old Table of the Nations (Genesis x.) acquires fresh interest and value. A land of Cush (Gen. ii. 13), long remanded to Africa alone, is found in Western Asia. The land of Shinar reappears in old Sumir, with its burnt "bricks for stone" and its "pitch for mortar." The life and times of Abraham fall into their proper setting, both in Assyria and in Egypt. The marauding monarchs of the East put in an appearance, and Arioch (Eriaku) dwells in Ellasar or Larsa. Belshazzar also, long lost and even denied to history, comes forth from a buried inscription, and Cyrus declares the capture of Babylon, "without fighting," to have been made on just such a riotous feast-day as the Scripture describes. The whole book of Daniel, notwithstanding one or two remaining difficulties, is found to be so suffused with Babylonian life, customs, and institutions, as to make it entirely impracticable, says Dr. W. H. Ward, to bring down the date, as has been attempted, three hundred years. And whereas the book of Judith is thus revealed a sheer invention, the book of Daniel, on its historic side, stands firmer than ever. In Egypt, where Herodotus is found wanting, Genesis steadily gains new confirmation. Von Bohlen, who assailed its historic accuracy fifty years ago, was extinguished in the encounter. And so great an authority as Mr. R. S. Poole has not

hesitated to assert, that the effort to reduce the date of these narratives many hundred years is wholly incompatible with their minute conformity to all the circumstances of the age of the Ramessides, and that the late Egyptian discoveries "emphatically call for a reconsideration" of that position. The excavation in the earth will undermine the castle in the air. And so great have been the results attained, and so vast is the range for further research, as almost to inspire the hope that at some future day the work of excavation, supplemented by monumental records, comparative philology, anatomy, and tradition, may lift the veil of mystery that overhangs so much of the past, and give a somewhat coherent history of the dispersions of the human race.

S. C. Bartlett.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES IN ASIA.

For more than a thousand years Asia has been subjected to the influences of Europe. They began with the overland commerce that was largely controlled by the Italian republics, and were continued and expanded by the Portuguese, who had almost a monopoly of Oriental traffic for nearly a hundred years. Then came the Dutch and English with their powerful East India companies, which obtained the right of eminent domain and ruled the Orient with a hand of iron down to a very recent date. French and Danish East India companies were of brief existence, but the Dutch company flourished and became wealthy through its monopoly of trade, the oppression of the natives, and the exclusion of other Europeans than its own agents and people. Wars in Europe compelled its dissolution in 1795. Its successor, the *Handel Maatschapij*, or Trading Association, organized in 1824, had no such exclusive powers as the old company, though enough remains to make its business profitable. Probably no single association of men has ever exerted as much influence upon the commerce and civilization of the world as the English East India Company, which began in A.D. 1600 and practically continued without interruption down to the Indian mutiny in 1857. An association of merchants sent to the East in 1601 a fleet of five ships, the largest of 600 tons burden; in twenty years it had obtained land and established trading stations at half a dozen points in India, and also in Java, Sumatra, Siam, and several islands of the Malay archipelago. Its fleets increased, and so did the tonnage of the company's ships, and it is not surprising that in course of time it required an army to protect its interests. In 1661 it was authorized to make peace or war with any power not of the Christian religion, and it lost no time in making use of its authority. We are probably indebted to "John Company," as this powerful corporation was known in the East,

for the historic preamble and resolutions, sometimes attributed to the Pilgrim Fathers: "Whereas, it has been decreed that the saints shall inherit the earth; therefore Resolved, that we are the saints." Said the Duke of Alva, on his death-bed, "I leave no enemies behind me; I've shot them all." John Company had a peaceful monopoly of commerce in the East, as it allowed no interlopers to establish competition, and silenced as far as possible all accounts of oppression of the natives in the interest of its coffers or of the private purses of its officials. Native potentates were instructed by the logic of the sword, rather than by documentary argument, and the English musket had a weighty influence in teaching the advantages of commerce with the white stranger from the land beyond the seas. Rivals from other nations were not to be tolerated; the Portuguese were reduced to the single possession of Goa, with a population of not more than half a million; the Dutch were expelled from Ceylon, where they had a valuable commerce; and *Les Indes Orientales Françaises*, which once covered a large part of the great Indian peninsula, now include Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore, with fewer than two hundred thousand inhabitants. Just before its extinction the English East India Company ruled a territory containing two hundred million people. It had a standing army of 240,000 soldiers, its commerce had extended to China and other parts of the East, and its board of directors formed a court from whose decisions there was no appeal. Its charter came up for renewal once in twenty years, and from Elizabeth to Victoria the British sovereigns had signed it with little or no hesitation. There was every prospect that the charter would again be granted in 1858; but the mutiny of '57 attracted the attention of Government and people to the misrule of India, and with one stroke of the royal pen the Company was blotted out, and its vast interests and responsibilities were transferred to the Crown.

To point a moral rather than to adorn a tale, have I sketched the history of John Company through a period covering more than two and a half centuries. To the Company we owe much for the spread of occidental ideas in India from 1600 to 1857, but we owe a great deal more to the Government that succeeded it for the progress of the work since that time. The Company was organized and managed for the sole purpose of making money, and if India derived benefit from its operations, the event was not due to any philanthropic ideas of the board of directors. Since the mu-

tiny things have changed greatly for the better. India is still held and managed mainly for commercial purposes, and to afford places for surplus men of the upper class, and the British gush about "our noble mission in the East" must be taken with a good many pinches of salt, or rejected altogether; but commerce has been thrown open to everybody, and no company or individual has any longer a monopoly; many restrictions upon the natives have been removed or greatly modified, and the condition of the subject race is vastly improved. In 1857 there were but two hundred miles of railway in operation in all that enormous peninsula—one line of a hundred and twenty miles northward from Calcutta, and another of eighty miles from Bombay. Now there are eight thousand miles of railway in India, and the iron horse has an unbroken track from Cape Comorin, where he sniffs the spicy breezes of Ceylon, to Darjeeling or Peshawur, where he drinks from the melted snows of the Himalayas. He can traverse the country from Bombay to Calcutta by way of Allahabad and Benares, and before long he will have a shorter route through the Nagpore Hills. Steamers ply along the coast and upon the rivers, the telegraph line is everywhere, native newspapers are in all the towns, and the mails are transported with the certainty, security, and celerity that are made the conditions of contracts for postal transportation.

Steam is the most efficient missionary that India has ever known; not all the teachings of St. Francis Xavier and his followers, nor the eloquence of Bishop Heber, who lies entombed at Madras, can equal the work of the fleshless steed of George Stephenson. The locomotive has shaken the faith of the Hindoo more than centuries of Christian teaching, and brought confusion and perplexity to the heart of the native priest. Pilgrimages have been enjoined upon the faithful from time immemorial. A century ago a pilgrimage was a serious matter, and the devotee that journeyed on foot to the holy places of Benares, Allahabad, or Jagannath was absent from his home for months, and perhaps for years. The wealthy worshiper, traveling with all the luxury of the East, was compelled to move leisurely, and could not make his pilgrimage without a liberal expenditure of time. At present the railway shortens the road of the pilgrim to a wonderful degree; and four classes of carriages are run by the Indian companies, so that poor and rich are provided for. The priests have sought to compel their followers to make their pilgrimages on foot, as before; but,

unhappily for them, the sacred books do not specify the mode of reaching a holy place, so long as it is reached at all. Little or no attention is given to the commands of the religious teachers, and the fourth-class trains are crowded to their utmost capacity during the season of pilgrimage. The nabob on a similar mission charters an entire carriage for himself and family, and is whirled to the place of worship by an express train. The magic of the white man is more potent than the ordinances of the priests, who are seeking for new light by which to control their unruly subjects, but thus far have found none. The motion of the railway wagon is shaking the religions of India till they threaten to crumble in fragments.

Caste, too, is being destroyed by the iron horse and the road on which he runs. Under the rules of caste, the population is divided into four great bodies, with numerous subdivisions. A man of a high caste cannot touch one of a lower without being polluted; under the native laws in some parts of India, a Brahmin had the right to slay a Sudra that touched him ever so lightly by the merest accident, or even allowed his shadow to fall upon him. A man may not drink from a cup, or eat of rice cooked in a kettle, that has been used by a member of a lower caste; and if a Sudra in the disguise of a Brahmin should mingle with a dozen Brahmins, the innocent twelve would be polluted to a degree that would require long and costly penances to restore them to a condition of purity. I was once on a steamer going up the eastern coast of India, where three or four Brahmins were nearly starved to death by the accidental breaking of their cooking-pot; every other pot on board had been touched by the detested European, or the equally detested Moslem servants, and was therefore polluted, and of course the pearly rice cooked in the ship's galley was the very embodiment of wickedness. They were four days without food, and were more dead than alive when the steamer reached Calcutta. The railways do not make provision for the separation of castes, other than allowing those who can afford it to buy the exclusive right to compartments or carriages. In the third and fourth class carriages all castes are bundled in together—Sudras, Brahmins, Vaisyas, Pariahs, *et id omne genus*. A railway pilgrimage is like poverty in that it makes strange bed-fellows. The pilgrims sit on long benches running athwart the carriages, and the Brahmins congratulate themselves that by sitting carefully away from their inferiors they can avoid pollution. But the rolling of the carriages around the curves, the

bustle at the stations, the hurry of entering or leaving the vehicle, together with other things incident to the journey, spoil the charm, and the pilgrims are mixed up worse than were the infant charges of little Buttercup. The polluted Brahmin decides to keep the matter to himself, to avoid the trouble and expense of restoration to purity; soon he finds he has suffered no bodily or spiritual harm, and in course of time his reason tells him that the whole caste business is an absurdity. His dread of pollution is at an end or is greatly shaken, and while he has been learning respect for those beneath him, the lower castes have been losing reverence and fear of those that rank higher.

The railway in India performs the same office as in other parts of the world, in facilitating commerce and distributing the products of the soil or the sea. The coast communicates rapidly with the interior, and the interior with the coast; the fruits of the hill regions are exchanged for those of the plains and the maritime country—the orange for the mango, and the cocoanut for the durian; and in this way the people are taught that the world is not bounded by their horizon, and the blessings of all parts of the country are more evenly distributed than ever before. European modes of work and European ways of transacting business are being steadily diffused, and it is safe to say that the effect of the western civilization in the land of the Shastas and the Vedas has been greater during twenty-five years since the extinction of John Company than in any entire century preceding it.

Let us turn now to Java and the Malay archipelago. With the exception of four years, from 1811 to 1816, Java has been a Dutch possession in one form or another for about the same time that the English have been established in India. Down to 1830 the country made comparatively little progress in the adoption of European civilization, but since then there has been a wonderful advance in that direction. To the genius of General Van Den Bosch, regarded in his day as a visionary dreamer whose schemes were utterly impracticable, Java is indebted for the culture system that has dotted the island with prosperous villages tenanted by an industrious people, covered the whole region with well-tilled farms, and established a system of roads that render every locality accessible. Railways extend inland from the three principal ports, and before long they will be stretched from one end of the island to the other. Thirty thousand Europeans hold twenty millions of natives

in subjection; the administration of the government is costly, and money is expended freely for public works; but after paying all expenses the Dutch East Indies deliver annually five million dollars into the home treasury. Java is one of the most densely peopled countries in the world, averaging 337 persons to the square mile. The population has trebled since 1826, and the recent earthquake may have been a providential dispensation to reduce the rapid growth of the census-tables. Travel through the length and breadth of Java, and you will rarely see a beggar; good order prevails everywhere, and there are no idlers, for the simple reason that the Government compels every man to be industrious, and guarantees him the reward of his labor. Doubtless the native princes may wish to return to the old system, but there are few of the lower classes who would favor it. The same conditions prevail in a general way through the whole of the Malay archipelago; the Dutch rule is by no means mild, but it is less rigorous than was that of the Dutch East India Company, and is far preferable to the constant warfare with which the native princes managed to kill time and their neighbors.

The most important part of Burmah is under British rule. Steamers navigate the Irrawaddy to its head-waters, while the railway extends to the frontier of the native kingdom, and will soon be at the gates of Mandalay, the capital. Siam preserves its independence unimpaired, but its capital city shows many evidences of the influence of the Occident. Its enlightened young king has adopted many of the customs of the West, and is an earnest student of our civilization. His army is officered by foreigners, is equipped with foreign weapons, and is drilled after the manner of Europe; he has established a postal system through the aid of the American Minister, and his kingdom has been admitted to the Postal Union; the telegraph connects Bangkok with the other capitals of the globe, and the Siamese flag floats above a fleet of steamers plying on the Menam and forming a regular line to Singapore. The Malay peninsula is largely under British control, and the port of Singapore is one of the most important commercial centers of the Orient. Farther to the east are Cochin-China and Cambodia, under French domination; and quite recently the tricolor has been extending its influence into the territory claimed by China, the greatest, oldest, and most populous empire of the world. The French are spreading the ideas of the West with the aid of

the chassepot and the mitrailleuse, in the same way that the English have carried the blessings of commerce to the people of India with the musket and sabre.

In the interest of commerce, England made war upon China and compelled her to buy the opium that was the chief export of India; and the entering wedge made by the opium war has been slowly but surely driven till the wall of seclusion is everywhere broken down. Foreigners may now travel unrestricted from end to end of China, though they run occasional risks from a lawless mob, and the foreign merchant enjoys commercial privileges that are denied to the native. The Chinese were quick to perceive the advantages of Western civilization in some of its features, and have adopted them, somewhat to the discomfiture of the intruders. There are banks, shipping houses, and insurance companies on the western system, wholly capitalized and managed by Chinese, and there are Chinese steamboat and steamship companies plying on the great rivers and along the coast. In the open ports the Chinese are steadily encroaching upon the business formerly monopolized by foreigners; in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Saigon, Chinese merchants are supplanting the stranger and driving him into bankruptcy. A navy and an army have been created upon the European model; Chinese dockyards are building ships of war like those of the great maritime powers; and Chinese arsenals at Tientsin, Shanghai, Foochow, and Canton are making Remington rifles, 2,700 daily, and a proportionate number of Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns. Two hundred thousand Chinese soldiers are armed and drilled in the European fashion, and the number can be increased as fast as it can be provided with weapons. Less than twenty-five years ago an American adventurer named Ward organized an army of a thousand men for the capture of Soo-Chow; it soon grew to three thousand, and under his successors—Burgevine first, and then Gordon—its strength and fame increased. So triumphant was its course that it became known as the "Ever-Victorious;" and from that germ has come the Chinese army of to-day. What may another twenty-five years develop? Some there are who foresee the expulsion of the foreigner from China through the arts and arms we have given to the Orient. Nothing is so abundant in China as men, and a population of four hundred millions could muster an army of two, or four, or ten millions without a serious drain upon its resources. May there not

be, in the next quarter of a century, another Genghis Khan, or another Tamerlane, who will roll the Orient upon the Occident over the route that was followed centuries ago by the great conquerors?

Corea, the Hermit Nation, has recently opened her doors to the West and its influences, having first opened them to her neighbors, Japan and China. The whole of Siberia, from the Ural Mountains to the littoral of the Pacific and the Arctic Ocean, is under Western rule, and the events that have followed the European tours of the Shah of Persia give promise of a rapid decrease in the despotic powers of that monarch. Telegraph lines are stretched over the length and breadth of his dominions, the railway is in the near future, and the European populations of Teheran, Tabreez, Asterabad, and other cities grows numerically and influentially greater year by year. Russian soldiers are carrying their flag southward over the great plains and through the mountain chains of Central Asia, simultaneously with the northward advance of the English from India. The skirmishers of the armies of two powerful nations are confronting each other in the mountains of Afghanistan, and at any moment may come the news of battle beneath the walls of Herat.

Last but by no means least of the countries of Asia that have received the teachings and influences of the West, comes Japan. Within the memory of men hardly yet in middle life, Japan remained closed to the world, save at the little island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki, where for two centuries the Dutch had maintained a trading-post. In 1854 American audacity, under the pretext of an errand of charity, forced an entrance, and the story of Japan since that time reads like a romance. The whole system of government has been changed. The Emperor, once secluded from the gaze of all but a very few of the most favored mortals, now appears in public and can be seen by his most humble subject; the *daimios* or feudal princes have been shorn of their power ; the *samurai* or military class no longer subsist upon the labor of the rest of the population, but must earn their living ; equality for all has been established by imperial decree ; and Japanese etiquette no longer requires a man to disembowel himself because another has affronted him. More than in China, and more than in India, European customs have been adopted in Japan ; the railway and the telegraph, the postal and banking systems, insurance, coinage, and many other institutions have been taken from Europe and

America, including an inflated currency of paper, impaired national credit, and impending repudiation. Let us hope, for the reputation of our part of the world, that the latter will be long deferred. Japan has even gone so far as to adopt the dress of Europe ; the tasteful clothing of Nippon has been laid aside for the dress coat and its appurtenances, and the nation has lost greatly in picturesqueness. A Japanese is as much out of place in our western garb as we should be in his. The Oriental rarely appears to advantage in the garments of the Occident, and it was a most unfortunate day for Japan when the imperial decree was issued prescribing European dress for occasions of ceremony. The progress of Japan toward the civilization of the West has been, in the opinion of some of its friends, more rapid than was judicious, and there have been fears of a reaction. Such an event is not by any means impossible, but the old-time seclusion can never be restored, and Japan is destined to remain among the accessible nations of the world. With an army on the European model, with a navy of her own construction, with fleets of her own steamers plying along the coast and to foreign ports, with the railway and the telegraph, and with schools where the learning of the whole world is taught to intelligent youths and to men of middle age, Japan has undergone a change little short of miraculous since the day when Commodore Perry anchored his fleet in the shadow of Fusiyama, and trained his guns upon the osier walls of the forts of Shinagawa.

THOMAS W. KNOX.

COMMENTS.

MR. EDITOR : There is a wide-spread and deep and dangerous discontent, not abroad, but at home, against what is regarded as corporation despotism. It lighted the incendiary fires of Pittsburgh, and it breathes threatenings and slaughters by the lips of applauded anarchists. The discontent is increasing. What shall be done ? Neither sneering denials of the justice of this discontent, nor threatening denunciations of it, will avail us. Mr. Field suggests the association of capital and labor. But the best and most equitable co-partnership of labor and capital is the state itself, and the resumption and assumption by the state of certain great powers now exerted and perverted by corporations, would be colossal strides in the right path of progress. The state, for example, should own and operate all the railroads within its limits, and all the telegraphs, and it should monopolize the insurance business. This is not a "communistic" proposition. The governments of continental Europe own and operate the railroads and telegraphs, and the result is pre-eminently satisfactory. The work is done speedily, cheaply, and well ; and the state absorbs all the profits now grasped in our country by railroad kings and electric eels. Surely, for life and fire insurance, no security would be so ample as the entire wealth of the state. The cant that was first coined in the crafty brain of the Shylocks, that "the state should never interfere with private interests," whatever element of truth it may have in Europe (where the state is not the people, but the privileged order) or in the primitive era of our own history, is both inapplicable and illogical now, especially when by "private interests" is meant the chartered privileges that involve the power of eminent domain with the added usurpation of taxation without representation. Charles I. lost his head, and George III. a continent, for attempting to levy taxes without a direct vote of the people ; and yet the sum that they asked for would be a mere beggar's copper-coin-pittance compared with Gould's and the Vanderbilts' levies, wrested from the people under the names of "watered stock" and "rates as high as the freight will bear." Yet their partisans talk of the dishonesty of politicians ! When did Tweed ever dare to sweep millions into his coffers by a single vote, as the railroad kings have done again and again ? Our saxon blood is shown more by the way in which we submit to a king on wheels and rebelled against a king on a throne, than by any other of our national traits. No loyal Englishman every seriously complains of being robbed ; he only insists on his British birthright of being robbed according to law. As

long as corporations shout "Thus saith the bond," we do not seem to see that we, as a state, have delegated a power that the legislature as a body cannot itself wield, namely, the power of taxation without the consent of the people.

T. R. STEPHENS.

MR. EDITOR: In the discussion of the question raised by Dr. Shedd, both he and his friends seem to have wholly overlooked the personal character, asking, not what an individual is, but what he may have done. Nothing in the universe stands still, and the human being obeys the general impulse. The moral character is undergoing constant change, progressing or retrograding, climbing higher or sinking lower. And the moral quality of the same act varies with the circumstances and motives of the actor. He that pilfers for the love of it is on a low plane morally, while a saint might take a loaf of bread to save life. The man that takes the life of another under a deep sense of injury, though bad enough, is not so degraded as he that murders for the gust of it. Human laws, indeed, call all murder by the same name, and prescribe the penalty. But this is from our inability to look into the motive. Doubtless, if man possessed the eye of infinite intelligence, penalties would be graduated somewhat according to moral culpability. Is it not reasonable to suppose that the All Father, who

> "knows each chord, its various tone,
> Each will, its various bias,"

will not trouble Himself to look into the "book of accounts," but rather will inquire into the qualities of the being that has come up to judgment? What is this thing here? Is it gold, or dross, or an amalgamation with the baser metals? This is what is constantly being done on the earth through the operation of nature's law, which is God's law; and to assert a less beneficent rule for some time in the future, however many ages hence, is to impeach Infinity. Every day, every moment of our lives, we come to judgment, and are sent to the left or are awarded the right, according not to the outward acts but the inward actions of the soul. This, being justice now, will be justice forever. The world does not so much refute as outgrow its superstitions, and it often clings to the name of an error long after it has abandoned it in fact. Less than a quarter of a century ago half the Christian world would have approved the atrocious doctrine set forth by Dr. Shedd. To-day it is a religious anachronism, and makes one feel as if contemplating an archæological object disinterred from the site of Tyre or Sidon. Nevertheless, Dr. Shedd has done positive good. His incisive statement of an antiquated creed stands in such sharp antithesis to the more enlightened modern teaching, that it serves as a sort of theological waymark, showing that the world has moved on apace.

ISAAC KINLEY.

MR. EDITOR: If the human race has been benefited by Christianity, and if woman is a part of the human race, then the only logical conclusion is, that woman has been benefited by Christianity. Any one that accepts the premises

of this proposition must accept its conclusion; and in order to prove the opposite, one would have to show, either that woman is not a part of the unit humanity, or that humanity has not been benefited by the Christian Religion. That the canons of the church have been unjust to woman is true, but that these caused her degradation is a mistake; for the degradation of woman (and of man also, since the two "must rise or fall together") existed before the coming of Christ. And the church, instead of causing the middle ages and woman's humiliation, was really the only beam of light in the midst of the darkness. Indeed, one might as well try to prove that civilization has not benefited woman. But the statement of Bishop Spalding concerning the headship of the man over the woman in the family, is hardly relevant or consistent with the rest of his argument. To say that "either the husband or the wife must be the depository of domestic authority," is a mere assumption; and to add that the man shall be the authority because "the defense of property and rights is naturally intrusted to those whose hands hold the sword," is to advocate the continuance of that principle which elsewhere he relegates to barbarism. "When strength is made the measure of right, woman is inevitably driven to the wall," he says, and gives us to understand that this is to be deplored. Yet physical force, the criterion of barbarism, he makes the criterion of the family. As a matter of fact, the families that are nearest the ideal are those where neither the man nor the woman rules, but where both rule and are ruled. To assume that man is to rule over woman, is to encourage in him that spirit of tyranny which needs no encouragement, and to arouse in her a desire to retaliate which quite often results in an inversion of "headship." H. R. SHATTUCK.

MR. EDITOR: During three years of my course at Harvard, I enjoyed a large measure of the academic freedom that Prof. West deprecates, and I would like to supplement his article with a little of my experience. The faculty tries to dissuade the student from choosing absurdly unrelated studies by means of a paragraph in the catalogue, in which he is "strongly recommended to make his choice with great care, under the best advice, and in such a manner that his elective courses, from first to last, may form a rationally connected whole." I have not known of any other means being used to secure this end, and some choices are made which appear to be dictated only by indolence or caprice. Students are often refused admission to a course because a more elementary or a more advanced one in the same branch is better suited to them; but I never heard of a refusal on the ground that the course was not rationally connected with the student's plan of study. A large part of the undergraduates are earnestly desirous of making such a selection as the catalogue advises; and there have been repeated calls in the students' papers for systematic advice from the faculty, which have elicited a partial response in the form of circulars describing the courses in several departments. Still, I think that nearly all who have been through Harvard under the present policy would agree in rating Prof. West's remedy—a return to a two-thirds prescribed course—as worse than the disease. A remedy that would not involve the loss of any of the benefits of the elective system, would be to enforce the excellent recommendation

that I have quoted from the catalogue. Prof. West recognizes that every young man must begin sometime to make decisions for himself, and he recommends as a preparation for this independence a course of study like that of the German gymnasia. He scouts the idea that giving an immature youth freedom will "bring out his sense of responsibility, and compel him to rise to self-possesssion, discriminating judgment, and intellectual ripeness." But it often occurs that a youth, no older or more carefully trained than the average freshman, is called upon to assume large business responsibilities, and if he is made of the right kind of stuff, the effect is to make a man of him, precisely what Prof. West says it could not be. I wonder how he would account for the surprising "self-possession, discriminating judgment, and intellectual ripeness" of the city street Arab. The Harvard movement does not "put a premium on the avoidance" of Greek and Latin; it merely withdraws artificial support from these languages, leaving them to stand before the public on their merits. The amount of mathematics and physical science that the Harvard faculty proposes to require as a substitute for Greek is not likely to attract a lazy boy. It is actually unfair in its severity.

FRED. A. FERNALD.

MR. EDITOR: Prof. Hunt, in the REVIEW for April, told us how to reform English spelling. What is his notion of reform? As a college professor, he assures us that "in the average class of an American college there is but a very small proportion of accurate spellers." Whose fault is it? He has a notion that "the reform of our spelling is a necessity," and quotes with approval Prof. Whiting's crude assertion that "of all spellings in the world the English is the most absurd." The fact is, our spelling is much better than our pronunciation. "In all languages," writes Prof. Hunt, "the relation of sounds to signs should be close and uniformly correspondent." That is true; but why does he immediately turn his whole attention to the reverse of the principle, and throughout his article go on the absurd assumption that the relation must be that of signs to sounds? Let us conform sounds to signs. We are all agreed that "light" does not spell *lite*. Why pronounce it so? The German school-boy knows better; his "licht" is *licht*. I have lost all patience with the spelling performers. They go backward. Our spelling is not perfect; our pronunciation is absurd. Their rules are utterly unphilological. They would have us spell the word as they pronounce it; but we might prefer a pronunciation of our own. For instance, we are instructed to "change *ed* final to *t* where it has the *t* sound." But when and where is "the *t* sound" proper to *ed* final? "Wished" is not *wisht*. And Prof. Hunt should know that "lashed" is not *lasht*, and that "fixed" is not *fixt*. As long as our college professors can make no distinction between sounds, the average class will probably mistake the signs. Is "wished" to be written *wisht*, and "bored" not *bort?* Would even Prof. Hunt pronounce the word "saved" as *saft?* "Learned" is not *learnt*, and "leaned" is not *lent*. We are told to "drop *i* in 'parliament'." Must we throw out the corresponding *i* in "Christianity"? "Drop silent *b* in 'bomb', 'debt', 'limb', etc." I don't see any silent *b* there. Even in these words there is no silent *b* where English is spoken. "Drop the

h of *ch* in 'choler', 'school', etc." And in "church" too? Our *ch* is but a mongrel form of *k*. We pronounce "school" correctly. We pronounce "church" incorrectly; it is *kurk*. I. J. STINE.

MR. EDITOR: There is a portrait of Schopenhauer in a sitting-room in one of the hotels of Frankfort, presented by the sage to the proprietor, at whose *table d'hote* he dined for many years. The face justifies Robert Buchanan's description in his article on "The New Buddha," in the May REVIEW. Schopenhauer's philosophy was largely influenced by his dinner. He led otherwise a life of seclusion, and his nearest daily contact with his fellow creatures was amid the changing herd of a *table d'hote*, recruited in by the greed and haste of tourists. He thus came to think that the prominent attribute of men and women was animal appetite. His observations of love and marriage were equally superficial; he saw only the external phenomena; no wife or child exhibited to him the spiritual concoid of pure affection. But Robert Buchanan is unjust to both Buddha and Schopenhauer when he describes the latter as "The New Buddha." Schopenhauer was not a plagiarist, nor did Buddha believe in eternal death; on the contrary, Buddha taught that atomic life, upon the fall of its earthly tenement, merged into the Universal, Ever-existing Spirit, as "the dewdrop sinks into the sea." Schopenhauer anticipates some of the physical data of Darwin; as, for instance, that the sexes try to repair in their offspring the physical loss inherited from some ancestor, *e.g.* a short man desiring to mate with a tall woman. This is good detail, but Buddha's view was vastly more comprehensive of spiritual unities. He defined what Herbert Spencer gropes at in his "Eternal Force out of which all things proceed." Christianity is more understandable than either, conveying its definition of life and natural law through the allegory of human forms. It does not affect the spiritual character of genuine Buddhism to say that some sincere Buddhist really believes that its vast comprehensiveness is located in an idol; nor would it be just to say Christianity is untrue, because Dr. Shedd, with equal sincerity, minimizes its eternities in a graven image of his imagination. WILLIAM MCMICHAEL.

MR. EDITOR: Your correspondents who comment on "The Law's Delay," "Why Crime is Increasing," etc., offer us remedies of no special value. The true remedies must start even with the original cause. That cause is the mental organization of the individual, affected favorably or unfavorably by education and surroundings. It must be regarded as immaterial who or what the individuals are, or why they are as they are; the question is, whether they are dangerous to the public order and the personal rights of others. If they are, they must be treated as other dangerous animal are; that is, be placed where they will be harmless. If they can be cured there, let them come back among the order-observing people; if not, keep them under restraint and make them as useful as possible. We quarantine when cholera prevails. We take victims of small-pox to a pest-house, and keep them until they are cured. We prohibit

marriage between near relatives and insane persons, for fear of diseased bodies and minds in the offspring. Much more should we do these things with persons of vicious and depraved natures, or those with diseased and criminal mental tendencies. The prison at Elmira is on the right road, but legislation is far short of the full requirements. So long as we regard a criminal as a thing to be "punished," so long crime will increase; and the more extreme the punishment the more the depravity. It is not a question of punishment at all. It is a question of public order with personal liberty. Those who desire personal liberty must observe and uphold public order and obey the law. Those who will not must be deprived of personal liberty and of the power to disturb that order. Under restraint and classification, education can be made to do its utmost to develop a healthy mentality. Mercy, philanthropy, and punishment can there have a fair field for exercise and experiment, and the results can be used. As now exercised in reforming the vicious, these means are largely lost. There are only two things that can be applied to unruly persons: restraint, and education that aims to teach them it is best and safest to be orderly. The restraint must come first, and be absolute, beyond escape; then classification, and the education while under restraint; and the restraint must continue until the education is successful, and for life if it fails. Abolish the idea of punishment, and let it be understood that the wrong-doer goes to his civil death, unless he can "be born again," and crime and criminals will rapidly decrease. Let restraint, useful labor, and education looking to development of healthy mentality, take the place of the vicious regulations now existing and called punishment, and a few generations will work wonders in the eradication of criminal tendencies.

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EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

August, 1885.

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NEW YORK:

No. 30 LAFAYETTE PLACE.

LONDON: THE AMERICAN EXCHANGE. PARIS: THE GALIGNANI LIBRARY.
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Entered at the Post-office at New Yor

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1885.

No. 345.

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NEW YORK:
No. 30 LAFAYETTE PLACE.

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1885.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1885.

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I. CAN CHOLERA BE AVERTED? By JOHN B. HAMILTON, M.D., Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States; JOHN H. RAUCH, M.D.; JOHN C. PETERS, M.D.; H. C. WOOD, M.D., LL.D.; CHARLES A. LEALE, M.D. . 101

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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CAN CHOLERA BE AVERTED?

In the discussion of measures for the prevention of cholera, it is premised that the germ origin of the disease is admitted ; that cholera is contagious, and portable from place to place ; that India is its home, and that it is essentially a preventable disease. The commencement of the work of prevention, therefore, should, scientifically speaking, be in its native home, and there is little doubt in the mind of the writer that the vigorous enforcement by the Indian Government of the necessary sanitary measures, would thoroughly eradicate cholera, and make India no longer a dangerous member of the international family. The fact of its endemicity is not disputed. No other country admits that cholera is endemic within its borders, and nearly all nations have suffered from their contiguity to this deadly neighbor, whose atmosphere is pestilential to the pilgrim, and whose "cup of cold water" is death dealing to the traveler. That the world tamely submits to repeated inoculations of cholera by another nation, however friendly, is simply due to the fact that public sentiment has not yet crystallized upon this point.

It has little bearing upon the question whether or not the bacillus of Koch or of Emmerich be accepted as the true cause of cholera,

for the method of their growth, propagation, and cultivation are the same. That the two forms of bacilli are present in a given case, and can be roughly and easily differentiated in a gelatine culture by the differences in the shape of their colonies, is not an essential factor in prophylaxis or treatment. It is simply an etiological refinement. Whether one or both are hereafter determined to be the cause of the disease, is an inquiry the solution of which cannot affect the treatment, and the directions necessary for the destruction of the one will apply with equal force to the other. The object of all attempts at disinfection is to destroy germs, and the object of quarantine is to exclude them until the process of disinfection is complete.

In the absence of international treaties having for their objects the suppression or "stamping out" of disease in its endemic habitat, and the prevention of the spread of epidemics, a system of international notification has become necessary. It is accomplished very efficiently on the part of the United States by its representatives abroad. Every consular officer is now bound by existing regulations of the State Department to inform the Government of the existence of any contagious disease in the district to which he may be assigned; and in the event of the departure of a vessel from an infected port for any port in the Republic he is also required to inform the local health authorities of the port of destination. In the case of sailing vessels, notification by mail is deemed sufficient, and in case of steamers, the telegraph is used. When a dangerous epidemic is prevalent in any consular district, if in the judgment of the Home Government the exigency requires it, a sanitary inspector is appointed and attached to the consulate. The duty of this officer is to keep the consular officer fully informed of the progress of the epidemic, to inspect vessels bound for the United States, including their passengers, crew and cargo, and as well to investigate the sanitary history of emigrants intending to sail thereon. This system of notification, which was originally devised by the late Surgeon-General Woodworth, is as complete as is possible at the present time. For economic reasons the appointment of these inspectors is only temporary, made from time to time to tide over a present exigency, but there are many reasons why in coming time, as the growth of the knowledge of the power of applied hygiene extends, it may become apparent to the legislative branch of the Government that the permanent employment of

skilled medical men to be attached to the consulates is demanded by the needs of the country.

The old doctrine of detention at quarantine, with its barbarous and cruel exactions, has gone to the limbo of exploded dogmas. Its enforcement was due to the lack of information of the cause of contagious diseases, and was based upon the observation that all contagious diseases were characterized by a period of incubation. It was thought that if the vessel were detained in quarantine until the passing of the period of incubation, the danger of the importation of the disease would be over, but owing to the extremely limited knowledge of the length of that period, it was apparently thought wiser to err, if at all, on the safe side, and the term of detention at quarantine was fixed at forty days. It is now known that germs may remain in a state of hibernation almost indefinitely, and that although the passengers and immigrants may be detained for a long period without any discoverable traces of disease, yet when the cargo is taken out, and the germs exposed to air currents, they may be wafted into suitable propagating media, and there revivified.

The following are the Woodworth propositions on this point, now undisputed in their practical bearing :*

"V. The period of morbific activity of the poison—which lasts, under favorable conditions, about three days for a given crop—is characterized by the presence of bacteria, which appear at the end of the period of incubation, and disappear at the end of the period of morbific activity. That is to say, a cholera ejection, or material containing such, is harmless both before the appearance and after the disappearance of bacteria, but is actively poisonous during their presence.

"VI. The morbific properties of the poison may be preserved in *posse* for an indefinite period in cholera ejections dried during the period of incubation, or of infection matter dried during the period of activity.

"VII. The dried particles of cholera-poison may be carried (in clothing, bedding, etc.) to any distance ; and when liberated may find their way direct to the alimentary canal through the medium of the air—by entering the mouth and nose and being swallowed with the saliva—or, less directly, through the medium of water or food in which they have lodged."

The practice of detention alone, is therefore a delusion and a snare. The germs must be destroyed. Modern quarantines are inspection stations, where the application of germicides may be made most safely and efficaciously. Simultaneously with the

* "Cholera Epidemic of 1873," Washington, 1875.

crystallization of medical thought upon the truth of the germ theory of contagion, there has come—not less in the interest of commerce than of science—a demand for the more speedy and effectual application of germicides ; for the more speedy the destruction of the germs, the earlier the release of the vessel, and her restoration to the carrying trade fleet.

The President of the Board of Health of the State of Louisiana, is the first in this country to test the efficacy of the modern theory. His plan is as follows :*

"When a vessel arrives from a port against which quarantine precautions are required, she is brought alongside the wharf, where she finds every arrangement for the rapid discharging and reloading of cargo, if required. All on board, officers, crew and passengers, with their effects, are at once taken ashore, where, in a room provided, everything they carry, apparel and baggage, is subjected to powerful disinfection. All clothing and articles that will admit of it will be laundried, and in this process subjected to boiling water and the hot iron. The clothing worn is presently exchanged for other already treated, and this, in turn, disinfected. The passengers and crew will be received in commodious quarters, comfortably prepared for them, there to undergo the prescribed detention or observation determined according to circumstances of the possibility of their being infected with the disease in its incubatory stage. If one should fall ill, he is at once removed to a properly isolated hospital, distantly located. The period of observation concluded, without evidences of infection, these people will be returned aboard their ship, which during their absence has been cleansed and disinfected in every part. A strict surveillance will be continued over all shipping in port. The first division of the new system provides for the supplemental station for infected vessels only. The second, for the management of persons arriving at the upper or regular station. These having been described, there remains to be considered the third, for the sanitary treatment of cargo and ship. A detailed account of this process is unnecessary here. It is sufficient to mention that its speedy and effective accomplishment is assured in the employment of a full corps of acclimated stevedores, a powerful tug-boat provided with flushing hose, steam siphon, a battery of twelve furnaces for the energetic evolvement of germicidal gases (we will use sulphurous acid gas), driven into the ship's hold by a powerful fan at the rate of six thousand cubic feet per minute. In this manner, after thorough washing, the gas in immense volume and with tremendous force is driven into the limbers and air strakes, into every crevice and part of that ship until she is completely filled. In doing this we displace the mephitic and dangerous atmosphere inclosed in her when she started from Rio, we will suppose, and which, if allowed, would have been set free at our levee—the infected atmosphere of Rio to commingle with the atmosphere of New Orleans, deadly ripe,

* "Review of Quarantine and Maritime Sanitation," Joseph Holt, M.D., New Orleans, 1885.

perhaps, for its reception. We have displaced this not only with a non-infected atmosphere, but with one intensely germicidal—one that destroys organic elements in the air, or on exposed surfaces, with instant greediness. The decks, ballast, and all such parts as are usually treated with carbolic acid or other disinfectant fluids, objectionable on account of odor, staining or inefficiency, will be subjected to the action of an odorless, colorless solution of the bi-chloride of mercury, the most powerful and unsparing germicidal agent known."

If carried out with strictness, this plan should succeed. We shall know positively in a season or two; at any rate, the experiment is well worthy of trial. Congress has not yet provided for the permanent equipment of the quarantine stations of the United States, and as they are only temporary in character, hurriedly established to meet an exigency, little can be expected of them now. The usual detention, and as rapid disinfection as the primitive methods in use will permit, are all that are practicable at present. It is proper to say, however, that through the Revenue Cutter Service, the coast guard is efficiently maintained, and the quarantine hospitals are under the control of the Marine Hospital Service.

In case the disease should appear in the interior, or on shore, certain sanitary police measures will become necessary. They may be summarized in few words: municipal cleanliness, isolation of the sick, disinfection of dejecta and all things in proximity to the sick. In the term municipal cleanliness is included the destruction or thorough disinfection of all organic filth wherever found, whether on the ground or in the water supply. To insure this requires the most careful police regulations, watchful and systematic inspections of the city in its thoroughfares, its by-ways and alleys, its markets and tenements, and the frequent chemical and microscopical examination of the water. The quarantine in all places where a State has not efficiently provided for it, should be left to the care of the Government, and the necessary legislation urged upon Congress to perfect it. When cholera breaks out in a place, in addition to the other municipal measures mentioned, special hospitals and public laundries should be provided; and cremation of the dead is also to be advised.

As regards personal prophylaxis, I find that my allotted space is exhausted, and I shall therefore only refer to the recent incomplete Spanish experiments in regard to the inoculation of the attenuated cholera-microbe as a preventive of cholera. If it were proved that the action of the cholera germ upon the human system was such

as to secure an immunity from a second attack in a fair proportion of cases, as does the bacillus of small-pox, it might be a fair deduction that inoculation with the attenuated germ might altogether prevent an attack of cholera, or modify it so as to rob it of its terrors; but so far from its having been proved, all that is known of cholera seems to force the conclusion that one attack only predisposes to another by increasing the susceptibility of the mucous lining of the intestine to the peculiar irritation of the parasite. Doctor Ferran, from present appearances, has a heavy task yet before him, before his hypothesis arrives at the dignity of an assured fact.

JOHN B. HAMILTON.

WHETHER Koch has really discovered the actual cholera germ, or Ferran is destined to rank with Jenner; whether von Pettenkofer is right in substituting a soil causation for his discarded ground-water theory; or whether the contagionists defeat the non-contagionists in the wordy battle now being waged between them —all these questions have a minor significance for the sanitarian in this country in view of the undisputed fact that Asiatic cholera never originates on this side of the Atlantic.

For us the disease is a foreign enemy, which, by international comity, should be prevented, through the good offices of friendly powers, from attacking us. No vessel from a port infected with cholera, or carrying persons or things from an infected region, should be allowed to depart for this country without being first made secure against the possibility of conveying the disease. If this could be accomplished it would of itself render unnecessary all other means of combating cholera so far as we are concerned; but although repeated attempts have been made to this end, the exigencies of commerce, aside from all other considerations, have thus far sufficed to defeat them; and it is more than doubtful if the International Sanitary Conference, now in session at Rome, will be more successful in this direction than its predecessors.

Failing this, there remains the duty of meeting the disease at the various avenues of entrance into the country, and by thoroughly enforced measures of sanitation of preventing it from being landed upon our shores. The difficulties in the way of accomplishing this end lie not alone in vessels actually infected or with known cases of

the disease on board, but also in the personal effects and household goods of immigrants from infected localities arriving on apparently healthy vessels from apparently healthy ports. The system of notification adopted by the National Government is defective in this: That it embraces only vessels sailing from infected ports or from ports in the vicinity of infected localities. This is not enough. It must be remembered that the existence of Asiatic cholera is rarely voluntarily disclosed; on the contrary, it is usually concealed and denied as long as concealment and denial are possible. The history of the present epidemic, like that of all previous ones, furnishes abundant proof of this. Cholera occurred in Marseilles in the fall of 1883, but those cognizant of the facts were sworn to secrecy, and its existence was not acknowledged until the spring of 1884. It existed at Toulon long before the fact was admitted; the first cases in Italy were concealed, as were those in Paris; and Spain has persistently denied its presence until within a short time. It must also be remembered that means of intercommunication are so numerous and rates of travel for emigrants are so low, that the cholera poison may be conveyed from regions at very great distances from the port of embarkation. In 1873, for example, as I have cited elsewhere,* there were outbreaks of epidemic cholera in Ohio, Minnesota and Dakota, caused by cholera poison packed up in the household effects of emigrants in Holland, Sweden and Russia respectively. When the infected goods were unpacked in the interior of this continent they set free the poison which caused the local outbreaks.

These considerations—to wit: That the disease has always been introduced by immigrants, and that it is not practicable to learn in advance what immigrants are dangerous in this respect—lead me to the conclusion that during the existence of Asiatic cholera on the European continent, at least, the safety of this country can only be assured by enforcing a thorough system of sanitary supervision over all immigrant travel from the time of the arrival of the vessel in the roadstead to the settlement of the immigrant at his point of ultimate destination. Such supervision should deal not only with the person of the immigrant, but should embrace the thorough disinfection and purification of every article

* Practical Recommendations for the Prevention and Exclusion of Asiatic Cholera in North America. An Address delivered at the opening of the National Conference of State Boards of Health, St. Louis, October 13, 1884.

which he may bring with him.* For this purpose the vessel should be detained long enough to establish a perfect sanitary condition of her entire *personnel*, contents and belongings. If cholera, yellow fever, small-pox or typhus be discovered on board, she should be removed to a refuge station, or other suitable place out of the track of commerce; the sick should be isolated; the compromised or unprotected placed under observation, and the appropriate precautionary measures duly enforced with them. And neither vessel, cargo, passengers nor crew should be released until they have been rendered incapable of conveying the disease to others. The period of detention for this purpose need not be long, but whatever time is necessary to secure the end should be rigidly exacted. Under some circumstances surveillance of the passengers after they are released and until they have reached their ultimate destination should be continued.

The feasibility and the value of such a system of sanitary supervision have already been demonstrated both in yellow fever and in small-pox. To the extent that it is enforced in the present contingency the probability of an epidemic of Asiatic cholera in the United States is reduced. But in any event it requires to be supplemented by State, municipal and domestic sanitation; for it is especially true of cholera that it derives all its epidemic destructiveness from filthy conditions and especially from excremental uncleanliness. In Illinois, the State Board of Health, with this in view, took steps toward a systematic and thorough sanitary survey of the entire State as early as the first of July, 1884. This work embraces a house-to-house inspection, covering the health conditions of some 330,000 houses, both in the domicile and upon the premises; a similar inspection of all public institutions, asylums, jails, almshouses, etc.; of every public school building and its surroundings; and of all railway stations, depots, and other buildings and grounds. The sanitary defects and evils disclosed by these inspections have been already remedied to a very gratifying extent,

* I have repeatedly urged the suspension of immigration from infected districts of other countries as an alternative measure, and the late Mr. Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, caused a section to be inserted in the public health bill prepared for Congress last winter, giving the President authority to issue a proclamation to this effect upon the recommendation of the national health authority. The fact that every epidemic of cholera in this country is directly attributable to the immigrant and his effects, is sufficient argument for this measure.

although the work is not yet completed. Especial reference is paid to the correction of conditions unfavorably affecting water supplies; thousands of vaults have been emptied and disinfected, stagnant water drawn off and the ground cleansed; and, in short, every effort is being made to secure the best possible sanitary condition of every portion of the State. In addition to this, plans have been formulated, and provision made for their enforcement whenever the approach of the disease renders such action necessary; such plans to embrace the maintenance of a service of sanitary quarantine and supervision at the State boundary lines, including provision for the care of the sick and exposed, and measures to prevent any spread of the disease from place to place within the State should it, unfortunately, be introduced at any point. Within the infected locality itself the health authorities will take charge of every house where the disease appears; patients will be rigidly isolated, and no more persons allowed on the premises than are absolutely necessary; whatever sanitary defects are discovered will be at once remedied, and thorough cleanliness enforced; especial care must be paid to the condition of the water supply, and its protection from possibility of cholera pollution; the dejecta from the patient must be thoroughly disinfected, as well as all articles of clothing, bedding, etc., which have come in contact with the sick, and if there be any difficulty in the way of their thorough disinfection, such articles will be at once destroyed by fire. Every person in the infected house and locality will be placed under surveillance so as to promptly meet the first symptoms of the disease.

In brief, my experience with Asiatic cholera since 1850, both as a practicing physician and as a sanitary official, coincides with the results of my experience in the management of epidemics of yellow fever and small-pox, and warrants the assertion that, while an outbreak of either of these diseases may be promptly suppressed by the intelligent application of well-understood principles of preventive medicine and sanitary science, their epidemic extension may be prevented by the active enforcement of a thorough quarantine of observation and sanitation. I have no sympathy with the *laissez-faire* policy which condemns quarantine for such diseases—not, be it understood, a mere quarantine of detention, but such a quarantine of surveillance, isolation, disinfection and sanitation as is herein indicated. These measures, which are the essence of

quarantine practice as advocated by practical sanitarians in this country, may be confidently relied upon as the best means of combatting cholera.

JOHN H. RAUCH.

THE study of Asiatic cholera is beset with difficulties, but enough is known to formulate rational plans both of treatment and prevention. The disease always prevails for one or more years in Europe before it appears in this country, so that there is always an abundance of time to prepare for it. It has always come in ships, on board which the pestilence has already broken out at sea. The great importance of a good quarantine system is evident. All the poison of cholera is contained in the discharges from the stomach and bowels, and possibly the kidneys. The disease almost always breaks out among immigrants in the steerage of passenger ships, and it is very difficult to completely purify and disinfect such crowded ships before arrival at Quarantine. The rest of the virus is contained in and on the persons of the sick and on bed and body clothes soiled by them. The attack almost invariably commences as an ordinary acute diarrhœa, with dark-colored discharges for several days before the characteristic rice-water discharges appear. Some weak and decrepid persons succumb in this first, non-complete stage, and excusable doubts often arise whether these deaths arise from true cholera. Many physicians, especially some health-officers, do not count these cases, and thus confuse the whole history of the initial cases and throw a great darkness upon the origin of the whole outbreak. These primary colored discharges are just as infective as the more characteristic ones. Fortunately they are usually alkaline, which can easily be detected by means of litmus paper; while those of ordinary diarrhœa and cholera morbus are generally acid.

The discharges in true cholera always abound in germs or so-called bacteria or bacilli, all of which are easily killed or destroyed by acids. These germs thrive enormously in alkaline fluids, containing decomposing organic matter, when aided by warmth; and of course the stomachs and bowels of those afflicted with foul stomachs and bad digestion are the best places for their development. Under such favoring circumstances, it is believed that one germ will produce sixteen millions in twenty-four hours, and many billions in forty-eight hours. Nineteen men accidentally

drank of water in which rice-water cholera discharges had been placed for microscopical examination from day to day. Five were attacked with cholera and three died; the rest escaped. The only differences that could be detected among these men were that the victims were weaker, had bad digestion and entirely empty alkaline stomachs. The rest had strong stomachs, had partaken of wholesome food, and had much healthy acid gastric juice which killed and digested the germs.

The mineral acids counteract this alkaline condition, act as antiseptics and disinfectants against the decomposing material, and quickly kill all the germs, or microbes. They can be given sufficiently dilute to be harmless, and can be used in quantities large enough not only to quench the great thirst that tortures cholera patients, but to fill and reach every portion of the bowels which has been invaded by the germs. Pepsine is also a good antidote. Dilute muriatic, nitric and sulphuric acids are all good; but the latter, especially in the form of aromatic sulphuric acid, is supposed to be the best. Dilute phosphoric acid may be used as a harmless preventive or prophylactic drink, and also as a curative remedy. Lemon-juice is a citrate of potash, and may be useful, but is not absolutely reliable. Gallic and boric acids are safe and pleasant remedies even in quite large doses. Nedweksky found that a whole teaspoonful of laudanum would not kill the germs which swarmed in only two teaspoonfuls of choleraic rice-water discharges. Neither did the same quantity of tincture of nux vomica, nor ten grains of chloral, nor ten grains each of calomel or quinine, nor any of the alkaline remedies, like chalk or bismuth.

Unless there is sudden water contamination cholera always commences slowly in every large town. First a few cases occur in houses far distant from each other and at rather long intervals of time. Then every one may be perfectly certain that ambulating cases, with premonitory diarrhœa, have slipped through Quarantine and are going to and fro, sowing the seeds of the disease in many places. Or that clothing soiled with cholera discharges, and swarming with live and active germs, has been let in without proper cleansing and disinfection. This slow uprising of the pestilence has been regarded as one of the most fixed and positive laws of the disease since 1848 and 1849. It is one of the most perplexing facts in connection with an outbreak of cholera that life-long citizens, exposed to these influences, are apt to die before

any of those who introduced the disease succumb. In 1866, in New York, cholera was brought by the steamship "Virginia" on April 18th, with 31 deaths at sea and 56 more in Quarantine; by the "England," on April 20th, with 257 deaths at sea; and by the "Peruvian" with 66 deaths, while 2,477 more or less infected emigrants were let loose in the city. Yet up to July 8th there had been only 21 deaths in New York from cholera, and those in 17 different streets, on 18 different blocks, and in 19 different houses; and, stranger still, not one of these cases was discovered to have been directly exposed to any persons or things from Quarantine, or from the emigrant landing or depot. Yet every one of them resided in or frequented localities that were daily traversed by freshly landed emigrants.

It is not uncommon for these ambulating cases to introduce the pestilence into almshouses, hospitals and prisons, and there some old and decrepid long residents will generally die first. In Chattanooga, in 1873, the first death from true cholera was of a little boy, who had been sick in bed for two weeks with measles followed by pneumonia. But he had been visited by railroad men from Nashville, where there had been about 1,000 deaths. They had premonitory diarrhœa and brought him cakes, fruits and toys, handled with their soiled hands; they also had sat upon the side of his bed. He was weak and died first; but the robust men followed him to the grave a few days afterward. The disease was long supposed to have been blown through the doors or windows, or down the chimney.

When any of these early cases are discovered it is the duty of physicians and health-officers to hunt down and find out every place they have visited and to disinfect them all. A party of sailors started from Havre, by way of Dover, for Liverpool, where they arrived with well-developed cholera. The English health-officers went back over their route disinfecting every house and outhouse visited by them and no new cases arose. The Dutch and English authorities allow all well persons to pass over their boundary lines at once, but detain all the sick and every particle of soiled clothing belonging to the sick and well. This clothing is carefully washed and disinfected and sent after the owners within three or more days to their addresses, which must always be left with the authorities.

No amount of impure air will cause Asiatic cholera unless

the germs have already been swallowed down into the stomachs of the sufferers. But the great smokes, smells, gases or effluvia, coming from dirty streets, gutters, sewers, docks, gas works, filthy stables, yards, slaughter-houses, or offal-rendering works, will render all cases more severe, or even fatal and hopeless. It is the duty of all citizens who suffer from these nuisances to complain to the authorities, who will generally render prompt redress in emergencies.

No amount of impure water will cause true Asiatic cholera unless the germs of the disease have already got into it. But contaminated and polluted water will render cases of Asiatic cholera hopeless ; it is quite as dangerous and injurious as unripe or unwholesome fruits and vegetables and spoiled meats and fish. The United States and other navies have long protected their crews not only from cholera, but from dysentery, tropical diarrhœa, and almost all bowel complaints, by the exclusive use of distilled water. When hundreds and almost thousands of cases of diarrhœa and cholera occur daily or weekly in large towns, it is quite certain that cholera discharges have got into the drinking-water supplies. Then nothing but boiled or distilled water should be used. The alkaline mineral waters may be allowable as long as absolute disease has not set in, but not afterward.

No amount of imprudence in diet alone will cause Asiatic cholera unless some of the articles have been handled by those already suffering from the disease, and then a piece of bread will be as dangerous as an apple. But any and every imprudence and mistake in diet will greatly aggravate a case of Asiatic cholera; and then in addition to the specific remedies, those for common diarrhœa or cholera morbus may have to be used. Opium and bismuth may then not be amiss.

Reliable disinfectants and germicides for all cholera discharges and soiled clothes are now well known and are cheap. One pound of corrosive sublimate in 500 pounds of water is the best. This may even be drank with impunity by the wine or claret glassful or more, and will kill all the germs in the systems of the patients, will disinfect all the clothing which is placed in it, and all the discharges to which it is added. Still it should be kept under the control of physicians and health-officers. Weak sulphuric-acid lemonade seems well established, practically, as a preventive and curative remedy ; but phosphoric acid is far safer

for the populace, and doubtless equally good. In cholera times it is calculated that there are about sixty cases of premonitory diarrhœa to one of fully developed cholera; and householders, physicians and health-officers must be active with disinfection, and daily house to house visitation is all important.

Cholera is a disease that may occur more than once. One attack does not confer immunity; hence inoculation cannot well prevent it. All the Spanish cases of inoculation were imperfect, as they did not produce symptoms of cholera, but only local symptoms and some blood poisoning from septic substances. Cholera is not a blood disease, but most distinctly a primary stomach or bowel affection. While the best wishes of practical physicians go with the inoculators, they are not very sanguine or hopeful of this method. The preventive and curative treatment with acids is far more rational, more securely based upon experiments and results, and has been successful enough to recommend it to every one; while it can be used with little trouble or expense or danger by every person, physician and householder.

JOHN C. PETERS.

IN the space allotted to me I shall consider the question how to avoid the cholera if it overleaps the feeble barriers of a North American quarantine.

In order to guard against any danger it is essential to know its nature, and fortunately we have reached definite facts in regard to the contagiousness of cholera. We know that in certain places and times the environment is full of the cholera poison; that the disease is only feebly contagious through the air, so that with proper precautions those nursing the sick may well expect to escape; that the cholera virus is most abundant in the alvine discharges, and probably also escapes in the urine; and that such virus is endowed with a veritable genius for finding its way into water, and thence into the intestinal canal of its victim. Who has not heard of the doings of the great London Water Company, which supplied its customers with contaminated water and reaped a death harvest of thirty-five hundred persons? A person who has apparently a simple diarrhœa may be in the incipient stage of cholera, or be suffering from a mild attack of it. Such a person is a most dangerous center of infection, and has decimated a railroad train and

scattered the seeds of the disease over miles of territory. There are therefore two great dangers during the cholera epidemic: one, poisoning in inscrutable ways when the environment is full of the virus; the second and most important, poisoning by water affected by the discharges of the sick.

For our present purposes the good citizens even of this democratic republic may be arranged in classes, but there are certain considerations which apply to all. Everything which maintains the health of an individual lessens his danger; but it is especially necessary to keep in complete order the gateway primarily assaulted by cholera; *i.e.*, the alimentary canal. A perpetual equanimity, an avoidance of fruit and indigestible foods, excessive caution in the use of purgative medicine, the taking of immediate measures of relief the moment the slightest diarrhœa or gastro-intestinal irritation appears—these are essentials for every one.

One class of our citizens are those who have no other duties in life save to protect themselves. My advice to such may be summed up by saying that presence of mind may be good in an epidemic, but absence of body is better. In the choice of a summer residence it is to be remembered that the disease follows lines of travel; that it especially attacks populous and low-lying places; that it is infrequent in remote hamlets, and that high mountainous regions are rarely affected. The continual influx of visitors; the demands of self-interest, compelling hotel keepers and civic authorities to conceal the existence of the first outbreak; the almost universally bad sewerage; the lack of control which the individual has over his food and drink: these render the large watering-place an especially dangerous abode. An isolated country residence in the mountains, the depths of an Adirondack wilderness, the loneliness of a yacht upon a Northern ocean: such are the places to which a rich man thinking only of his own safety should resort.

A second class of persons are those who are forced by the exigencies of business or domestic life to remain in large cities or to travel. Such persons should remember that cholera especially attacks the lowest classes of the population and rages most virulently in the slums. Indeed, if our cities were kept perfectly clean in all their parts, and their water supply pure, cholera would be a disease scarcely to be feared: but the Dives of one block perishes because he has neglected the Lazarus of the next. Thus, unless stringent measures be taken, the so-called Italian quarter

of New York will probably be a raging center of the pestilence. Such localities are to be absolutely shunned. The great danger in infection being through the drink, too much care cannot be given to the latter. Those who are forced to travel should remember that railroad trains are not rarely among the most dangerous localities, and that the miscellaneous use of drinking waters in them is one of the great causes of peril. The person who lives at home during a cholera epidemic should drink only water that has been boiled for at least two hours, it being well established that such boiling will destroy the germs of the disease. There is very little danger from the use of ice, since it is usually gathered at seasons and places not affected. The traveler may not be able to get boiled water, but by depending largely on tea and coffee for liquid he gains some immunity. Adding brandy to water is of no use at all in directly preventing cholera, and, unless great care be exercised not to use the stimulant too freely, the indirect results may be more harmful than useful. It is otherwise with bottled light wines and malt liquors. They contain so much water as to need no dilution to supply the necessary liquid, and it is much safer for the traveler to drink a bottle of claret or of beer with his dinner than to take water. Reliable bottled waters may be freely used ; but all liquids on draught should be avoided. Experience has shown that sulphuric acid has some prophylactic value. Moreover it destroys the noxious qualities of limestone water, and taken during the summer months in small quantities is very good for the general health. Two drops of it may be added to each tumbler of water.

The last class of persons that I shall speak of are those who are forced to come in contact with the sick. For these the danger is much minified by our recently acquired knowledge. Every speck of filth should be at once removed from a locality in which cholera appears. The room in which the patient is should be thoroughly ventilated, the windows being left open day and night. The attendant should be scrupulous in his personal cleanliness, washing his hands thoroughly whenever he has touched the patient, for there is great danger of self-infection by the carrying of particles to the mouth. The receptacle which is to receive the discharges of the patient should have the germicidal liquid placed in it before use, so that the contact may be immediate. After use it should be covered over and set aside for some little time in order that the drug may do its work. Even when thus

disinfected such discharges should not be thrown into a common cesspool, but into some large receptacle where for the second time they should meet with an abundance of the disinfectant. The clothes of the cholera patient should be disinfected by heat, and should never be given out to be washed. The records of epidemics are full of accounts of the spreading of the disease to washerwomen, and by them to their families and to neighborhoods. The clothes seem indeed to be more virulent than the patient himself, the poison appearing to increase in power in their interstices. No scrap of bedding, no handkerchief or rag which has been connected with a cholera victim should be overlooked. In gathering up the clothes or bedding the attendant should fold them rapidly into as small a bundle as may be, so as to expose as little surface as is possible to the air. These bundles should be at once dropped into a brisk fire, or into a kettle in which water is boiling and over which a cover can be placed so as to prevent the possibility of living germs being carried up by the first escaping vapor. The boiling should be for not less than two hours, and in most cases it is well to add salt to the water so that the temperature may be raised above 212°. In case of death, the corpse should be at once wrapped in a sheet soaked with a saturated solution of corrosive sublimate, put in a tight casket and buried privately without unnecessary delay.

There are only two disinfectants which should be employed for the purpose of destroying the cholera germs; *i.e.*, chlorinated lime and corrosive sublimate. It is of the utmost importance that the public understand that all proprietary disinfectants are to be eschewed. Most of them are of uncertain, varying composition, many of those most lauded are absolutely without power, and probably all of them are excessive in their cost in proportion to their power. Chlorinated lime is probably as efficient as corrosive sublimate, but our knowledge is not so positive in regard to it. If employed, four to six ounces of a saturated solution of it should be used for each stool. The objection to corrosive sublimate is that its solution, lacking odor and color, may give rise to accidental poisoning. This may be obviated by the use of the following formula, which affords an absolutely reliable germicidal solution, not readily mistaken for harmless liquid. Corrosive sublimate half an ounce; permanganate of potassium half a drachm; water ten ounces. For use this solution may be well diluted with ten times its bulk of water, and of this diluted solution two ounces may be used for each cholera

evacuation. For washing the hands the dilute liquid should be further weakened with a hundred times its bulk of water, and always after the use of even this diluted solution the hands should be at once rinsed with abundance of water and then washed with soap and water.

The possibility of self-protection from cholera by inoculation is a question of the near future. Dr. Ferran, a Spanish physician, claims that he not only antedated the discovery of Koch of the comma bacillus, but has also traced elaborately its development and the production of spores by it; and that he has found that injections with its cultures will produce choleraic symptoms in guinea pigs and protect them against attacks of the disease. The Committee of the Madrid Academy of Medicine has reported favorably upon the work of Ferran, and have also stated that in a number of human beings cholera symptoms have been produced with the cultures. According to telegraphic reports large numbers of people have submitted to these inoculations, but at present the only deduction that is allowable is that much more extended researches are necessary before any conclusions can be reached.

H. C. Wood.

Asiatic cholera, traveling westward, is now epidemic along the Spanish shores of the Mediterranean. On June 15th there were 114 new cases in Castellon, with 34 deaths, and 214 at Carthagena, with 60 deaths. Such violence indicates that this resembles previous epidemics, which have generally ended in America after having passed to the Rocky Mountains or the Andes. Each time, in its course from India, the disease has proved fatal to more than a million people. The natural life of an epidemic of cholera in America rarely exceeds two years. It may enter like an avalanche, rapidly extend along the highways of travel, and almost as quickly disappear, showing no tendency to be renewed. The students of cholera cannot accept without question the doctrine of Koch, and they regret that at the recent conference in Berlin, Pettenkoffer, who has made cholera a life long-study, did not receive that consideration that his accumulated store of knowledge entitled him to. Cholera has never originated on the American continent. Neither fright, nor bad food, nor impure air, nor filth, nor the vilest dissipation causes cholera; but all these will undoubtedly, after it is once

planted, increase the luxuriance of its growth and wonderfully magnify its harvest.

Cholerization, the most recent theory promulgated to combat cholera, during the spring of 1885 has been extensively resorted to by Dr. Ferran, of Spain, who claims that exemption is produced by inoculation with attenuated cholera material, which, he says, induces symptoms resembling a mild attack of cholera, and that the operation never proves serious; all recover and are rendered exempt from the malignant form of the disease. It is reported that in the Alcare Hospital all the inmates were inoculated, with the exception of two who declined to submit to the operation; that these two were attacked with cholera and died, while all the others escaped. The symptoms following Dr. Ferran's inoculations are said to appear in about four hours—cramps and diarrhœa, followed by fever and delirium—all of which terminate in sixteen hours, when those that have been inoculated are well, and are believed to have been placed in a safe condition not to be affected by the disease. As a large number of inoculations have been made—on over eight thousand people, it is said, in Valencia in one week—the experiment appears to have proceeded far enough. The recognized facts in regard to the course of the modified disease following inoculations for variola, which have been resorted to by the Bramins from time immemorial, do not encourage the belief that Dr. Ferran's method will be of any use. The Spanish Government prohibited further inoculations until their utility had been demonstrated.

The importance of rigidly guarding the source of the water-supply from contamination and keeping the reservoirs free from all putrescent animal or vegetable substances, cannot be too strongly urged. More especially is this the case where great changes are in progress, requiring many men to reside along the borders of the water-courses, as in New York during the present year at the Croton and Bronx rivers, where so many hundreds of men will occupy new, temporary, and unsanitary residences. These men, exposed while at hard work to the mid-day sun, and, with their families, eating improperly cooked food and unripe fruit, need special sanitary care, not only for themselves, but to prevent them from polluting the water supplied to nearly two millions of people residing in or near New York City.

The purity of the water that people drink is generally beyond

their control. They simply take it, without any power to inspect the source whence it came. Therefore, when there is the slightest doubt in regard to its purity, it is best to remove even the shadow of danger, as it may be easily made pure by two simple processes. The first is by boiling, which destroys all germs of disease. The Chinese keep exempt from cholera by drinking an infusion of tea or of a cheap vegetable. But many are unable to have all their drinking water boiled. In such case, a small quantity of common alum may be added a short time before it is used. Alum is a powerful and perfectly safe water purifier.

Disinfection has been of great service in stamping out cholera. The generation of sulphurous acid gas or chlorine gas appears to have been the most effective. Heat above 212° F., and an abundance of dry air, will also in a short time destroy the cholera germs; while for washing, any chemical capable of coagulating albumen will suffice. Alum is the best, cheapest, and safest. When properly used, it does not affect either the fabric or the color. The use of chloride of lime, carbolic acid, and the elimination of aromatic fumes only tends to deceive the imagination, and from their frequent unpleasant associations, causes harm. For the cracks and crevices in cellars nothing is better than whitewashing, the lime and water being applied thickly and evenly. In 1866 we were fully alive to the importance of observing the strictest quarantine, yet, as it sometimes inevitably will, cholera escaped detection. A car-driver, while in perfect health, sat on bundles of clothing belonging to five German immigrants, and in a few hours was in the collapse stage of malignant cholera. The disease spread to nineteen of his relatives, causing three immediate deaths.

During epidemics of cholera, comparatively few of the inhabitants of the place can or will leave their own homes, and those living in sanitary places run few risks. In my studies during the epidemic of 1866, I found that even where it did occur in sanitary houses, if proper care was taken, it manifested very slight power to extend, and those stricken down recovered, when properly nursed; while the inhabitants of badly drained and crowded places ran greater risks. But even then the disease could be controlled. Every city, town, and village ought to have its local health board. If Plymouth had had a proper health board, it might have escaped its terrible scourge of typhoid fever. Cholera in healthful homes

does not show a tendency to spread. During the epidemic of 1866 the writer, when called early, did not see a single instance of more than one serious case in a sanitary home; and all that had the premonitory symptoms properly treated, recovered, except a very small proportion whose attack was ushered in with fatal violence.

How shall we, who are well and strong, care for ourselves if we have to remain in the midst of an epidemic? Do not be frightened, but observe the following rules:

1. Cleanliness in all things—the streets, the home, and the person. Keep the cellars, tanks, and sewer connections in good condition. For the person a daily bath, also a wash of the face, hands, teeth, and mouth after each meal.

2. Proper clothing, easily fitting and comfortable. It is better to have too much than too little. A broad flannel band around the abdomen, worn day and night, will be useful.

3. Temperance in all things, with a generous diet of all wholesome articles—fish, meats, vegetables, and clean, ripe, seasonable, native fruits, with extras to a proper degree. If any article is known to disagree with you, avoid it. Do not eat or drink indiscriminately between meals, and if any distress is caused by improper substances in the stomach, quickly reject them.

There should be inspection, under consular direction, at exit ports where cholera may be present, of all persons or articles that may convey disease; enforcement of rigid quarantine at all entry ports; establishment of quarantine hospitals; thorough disinfection of all suspicious articles; compliance with the law that requires cases to be reported. As soon as cholera appears, all infected places should be divided into districts, to be presided over by a proper official. Small temporary hospitals should be established, fully equipped with physicians, nurses, telephone communication, and an ambulance. All that cannot be properly cared for at home should be immediately removed to a hospital.

We who have battled with epidemic Asiatic cholera in its most malignant form at the homes of those affected, can testify that absolute quarantine prevents its entrance, thorough disinfection exterminates it, and proper treatment carries a very large proportion of even the severest cases to recovery.

CHARLES A. LEALE.

THE ANIMAL SOUL.

THE author of "Eothen" remarks that the history of Spain, from the landing of the Carthaginians to the expulsion of the Moors and Jews, is the chronicle of a protracted duello between Aryans and Semites. If the contests of the moral world should be summed up in the same way, we might say that their history for the past three thousand years has been the record of a continuous struggle between naturalists and anti-naturalists. The philosophers of Greece and Rome, Kepler, Newton, Rousseau, Goethe, Humboldt, and Darwin fought on the one side; the Buddhists, St. Augustine, St. Francis, Loyola, Calvin, and Wesley on the other. The naturalist appeals to reason and experience; the anti-naturalist appeals to authority. The one enforces his doctrine with arguments, the other with threats or entreaties. The one invites free inquiry, the other deprecates it. The one seeks to explain the phenomena of life by studying the laws of nature, the other by assuming the interference of supernatural agencies. The one insists on the essential analogies, the other on the essential contrasts, between the constitution of man and that of his fellow-creatures. The metaphysicians of all nature-loving nations inclined to the former side. Poets wove their romances about the creed of Greece, but there is no doubt that her gods were originally nothing but the deified powers of nature, the deified passions and emotions of the human soul. The worshiper of nature sought paradise on this side of the grave. He held that to enjoy is to obey, and that the wonders of creation were not made to be despised. He did not make his life a discord in the harmony of nature; he found friends and playmates among the lowliest of his fellow-creatures. The gods themselves shared the joys of earth. Life was emphatically thought worth living, and nature-worship remained the almost universal religion of mankind, till Buddha, the Nepau-

lese, proclaimed the sheer antithesis of that system. The worthlessness of earthly life and the necessity of salvation by the renunciation of earthly sympathies, were the keystone dogmas of the new creed. The westward spread of its doctrines inaugurated the era of a long war against nature. It is well known that the progress of civilization was interrupted for twelve hundred years. It cannot be denied that natural science was almost wholly superseded by supernaturalism. The constant activity of preternatural agencies was deemed as unquestionable as the influence of atmospheric currents. Speculative thinkers postulated a spook for every unknown phenomenon. Yet a still more significant, though less often admitted, characteristic of that period was its anti-naturalism. "Whatever is natural is wrong," was the shibboleth of the mediæval Buddhists. The enforced worship of sorrow darkened the life-light of countless millions. All cheerful instincts of the human soul were denounced as sinful. Earth was supposed to be, not only possessed of, but possessed by, malevolent demons. The pagan deities were changed into devils. Woden, the hunter-god, became a Wild Huntsman, Hulda a night-hag, Venus a lamia; the first May-night, when Hertha awakens the slumbering wood-spirits, became a Walpurgis-nacht with its hellish revivals. Even objects of scenic interest, the trysting-places of the nature-worshiping Druids, became "devil's pulpits," "devil's bridges," and "devil's caves." Nay, an elaborate treatise was written to prove that the actions of animals are inspired by the devil. The cosmogony of the mediæval schoolmen was, in fact, a systematic demonology. In their writings Nature and Sin (like the world and the devil) were frequently used as synonymous terms. "Natur ist Sünde, Geist ist Teufel," says the Prelate in "Faust." Hence their intense mistrust of naturalism and natural philosophy, the suppression of the Olympic games, the savage laws against "sophists and mathematicians." Hence, also, the equally bitter, but perfectly consistent, opposition to the introduction of the Copernican heresy, which they instinctively recognized as the entering wedge of a naturalistic reaction. Hence at last the forlorn-hope assault upon the doctrine of evolution, which has completed the triumph of that reaction.

For Superstition clings to the last tenable shred of her tenets. Lecky observes that multitudes "who recognize the fact that the celestial phenomena are subject to inflexible law, imagine that

the dispensation of rain is in some sense the result of arbitrary interpositions, determined by the conduct of mankind . . . It is still customary to speak of 'plagues of rain and water, sent on account of our sins,' and corresponding language is employed about the forms of disease which science has but imperfectly explained." Worsted dogmas seek shelter in mysteries, like vanquished armies in a mist, as favorable to a discreet change of front. When it became mathematically certain that our earth is not the center of the universe, but only a subordinate member of the solar system, subject to laws that could not for a moment have been suspended without subverting the established order of that system, the discomfited dogmatists fell back upon biology, and confronted their assailants with the announcement that our air-ship, though not itself a play-ball of supernatural agencies, is occupied by a certain number of supernatural passengers, distinct from all their fellow-travelers in origin and consequently in constitution and destiny; and since Darwin exploded the premises of that syllogism, its exponents seek a new basis for its intricate superstructure. In other words, the opponents of naturalism try to reconcile the doctrine of evolution not only with the harmless belief in the eternal duration of life, but with their test-dogma that man is an *alter ens*, a being governed by laws distinct from, or even opposed to, those of nature in general—an earth-child, descended perhaps from that species of quadrumana known as catarrhine monkeys, but characterized by certain preternatural qualities not shared in the least degree by any of his fellow-catarrhines.

Nor is the obstinate defense of that position disproportioned to the importance of its dogmatical significance. There is a story of a moss-trooper who assured a country laird of his personal good-will, and lamented the business necessity for blowing up his house; and an almost similar irony seems to lurk in the demure comments of the Shrewsbury philosopher and his deprecatory allusions to a system that he proceeds to attack with the explosives of his "fatally plausible theory." He traces the river of life to a chasm, which for a little space seems to hide it with its overhanging rocks. He points out the gap where the river emerges from the cliffs. He proves that its current has retained its general direction. He proves that the gravel of the delta is the detritus of the rocks at the source of the river. He demonstrates that the rains of the upper valley affect the level of the lower stream. He analyzes the waters below

and above the gap, and proves that they contain the same solutions in the same proportions of admixture. "Notwithstanding," he says, "I shall continue to entertain the most extreme respect for the hypothesis of the Pundits, who hold that the effluent of the river is essentially different from the upper part of its course; that its lower current does not move in obedience to the law of gravitation, but under the impulse of supernatural agencies, and but for the virtue of certain propitiatory rites might cease to flow; and that only the lower river will ever reach the ocean or ascend in the form of clouds to its proper home, the sky."

Yet the outworks of that hypothesis have already been carried, and its defenders begin to concentrate their forces upon the debatable ground of gradual evolution. For *Natura non facit saltum* is a reversible weapon, and if that *saltus*, a sudden leap from lower to higher planes of development, could be anywhere demonstrated, it might form a presumptive argument for the interposition of preternatural agencies. But the basis of that hope is becoming rather circumscribed. "Catastrophism" is losing ground. From year to year the progress of science leads to clearer proofs of the unity of the cosmic laws, and convinces the despisers of nature that the lowly roots of life have evolved many a marvelous flower, and that the goat-feet of Pan can climb the very summit of Olympus. The study of comparative biology has revealed the most surprising analogies between the operation of animal instinct and the functions of conscious reason on the one hand, and the action of the organic forces on the other; analogies that make it impossible to mistake the agency of the same formative law in the growth of a coral reef and the development of a system of political organization; analogies that dissolve all differences of kind into differences of degree.

"Adaptation of means to an unconscious purpose," is a definition that fails to distinguish the primitive manifestations of that law from the functions of the lower animals. The young bee observes the metrical rules of her craft with scrupulous exactness, yet, like the constructive agencies of a vegetable organism, evidently without a conscious plan. Like reason and instinct, those agencies are able to adapt themselves to special and wholly abnormal circumstances. Convolvulus Major, confined in a paper box with a small air-hole, will direct its tendrils toward that aperture, and, if necessary, attenuate their budding points, in order to force its way to the outer air. The thorn-liana sprouts along the ground

in a direct line toward the next convenient tree, and changes its direction if that tree is removed. In the animal body the responsibilities of a damaged organ are assumed by other organs. The eye-sight of a deaf mute, the hearing and feeling of a blind person, become abnormally acute; the skin, the lungs, undertake to eliminate substances that overtask the functional energy of the digestive organs, nay, during the progress of certain diseases the digestive apparatus often suspends its functions in order to enable the organism to concentrate all its energies on the work of expurgation, just as ants interrupt their foraging expeditions in order to repel the attack of an enemy. The preservation of life is the highest law of nature; yet, in order to avoid hopeless suffering, she hastens the event of an incurable disease, as wasps, at the approach of winter, kill the last brood of their larvæ, rather than see them starve. The faculty that enables animals to distinguish food from poison is not more marvelous than that by which our digestive organs select their proper nutriment from an infinite variety of organic and unorganic substances. For both are clearly the result of natural adaptation. In frugivorous animals, for instance, the cumulative experience of countless generations has at last become a hereditary instinct, but an instinct that fails to warn them against poisons that escaped the cognizance of their ancestors. The fruit-eaters whose intuitions enable them to distinguish the vaccinium vacillans from a strikingly similar poison-berry, will unhesitatingly swallow a mixture of sugar and arsenic. The imported ruminants, whose ancestors acquired their experience on the mountain-pastures of the far East, were at first deceived by the poison-herbs of the new world, but gradually learned to avoid mistakes of that sort, for the highland counties of western North Carolina have now a breed of sheep that will rather starve than touch the tempting leaves of the evergreen calmia. On the other hand, they have learned to appreciate various nutritive herbs which they at first refused, probably because they reminded their "instinct" of poison-plants indigenous to the highlands of central Asia. And exactly in the same way the digestive organs of the domestic dog have learned to appreciate, *i.e.*, to distinguish and utilize, the nutritive elements of bread and other substances which the stomach of his lupine ancestor would have rejected as so much worthless stuff. The teguments of the stomach are connected with those of the palate, and the selective instinct that guides the sense of

taste is but a modified manifestation of the law that governs the process of digestion and the action of chemical affinities.

And as surely as the problems of the present world are amply sufficient to account for the purpose of the highest faculties of the human mind, the origin of those faculties will yet be traced to the lowly well-springs of earthly life. No tenable theory of the relation of human reason to animal instinct has ever succeeded in demonstrating a difference of kind. Buffon's definition, for instance, that instinct acts on impulse from within, reason on motives from without, would fail to establish that distinction. For both modes of incentive influence both kinds of action; the proportion of their respective influence only varies by imperceptible degrees. "Disposition," "character," "passion," are so many different words for the inner impulse that modifies or intensifies the external motive; and "instinct" is not moved exlusively from within. Its manifestations are prompted by external incentives, by exigent circumstances, by favorable opportunities; as first October frosts prompt the departure of the migratory bird, as the approaching summer of the tropics awakens his home-sickness after the temperate zone. The discovery of a convenient nook stimulates the weaver-instinct of the spider: even the imperious sexual instinct is prompted by casual opportunities.

Reason has been likened to a musical instrument that requires practice, which, once acquired, can be used or abused in an infinite variety of ways; instinct to a musical automaton, which plays its tunes with uniform correctness, but has a rather limited *répertoire.* The instincts of the lower animals would, indeed, justify that comparison. A bee can defy any mathematician to excel the symmetry of her fabric, but her talent is limited to wax-work. The nest-building bird succeeds at the first attempt, but does not improve with practice; the spider can only weave; the dauber-wasp only plaster. Such instincts are one-sided business qualifications, sufficient for, but confined to, a single purpose. But as we ascend the scale of evolution we must either modify that definition of instinct, or admit that the actions of the higher animals are guided by reason. If the mental faculties of the quadrumana are so many instincts, that term could claim some curious synonyms, for those faculties can be applied and misapplied to an extravagant variety of purposes. Does instinct, "the exhorting voice of nature," teach a young Rhesus baboon to purloin the jacket of his

fellow-Rhesus and try it on like a pair of breeches? "Does reason?" it might be asked in return. But has reason, "the faculty of adapting means to conscious purposes," never been misapplied? Does the Salvation Army play less fantastic tricks before high heaven than the most eccentric baboon? Nor could it be asserted that the talents of our next relatives are unavailable for business purposes. They plan their foraging expeditions with a skill that would make the fortune of a Mexican patriot. No politician, angling for a collectorship, can surpass the Macacus radiatus in the art of making himself agreeable to his patron; and the holy apes of Benares enjoy the emoluments of their sinecures with all the self-asserting dignity of a Grand Metropolitan.

All the mental characteristics of the undegenerate specimens of our race have their germs in the character-traits of our tree-climbing relatives. Inquisitiveness, the presumptive root of science —though Peter Lombard enumerates it among the obstacles to salvation—is a besetting foible of the simian mind. Altruism, as modern psychologists have named the instinctive interest in the welfare of our fellow-beings, is in some of its forms almost distinctively a monkey-virtue. The little Javanese macaque, which trembles at the squeak of a mouse, will fly in the face of the fiercest bull-dog to make a diversion in favor of a helpless comrade. At the mere sight of a cruel act, the chimpanzee, though otherwise meekness personified, will break out in a violent passion, strike the ground with his fists, and protest in savage whoops. According to a story from India, that instinct seems to assert itself even in favor of distant relatives: Colonel Lawrence, of the Agra Planters' Hotel, keeps a tame leopard, which once followed its master to the freight-dépôt of the railway station. The shady platform at the north end of the dépôt is a great resort for baboons and loafers, and while the colonel talked to the receiving-clerk, his leopard strolled out to the platform, where a little street-Arab had fallen asleep upon a pile of gunny bags. The moment he approached that pile a troop of baboons (probably the Papio Rhesus) leaped upon the platform, and, instantly surrounding the boy, faced the intruder with bristling manes and menacing growls, evidently resolved to defend their little relative at the risk of their own lives.

Quite apart from educational influences, the same instinct sometimes manifests itself in the human species, and with the

same disregard of consequences. "Two young sons of the Burggraf," says Carlyle (Frederick, Vol. I. p. 97), "once went out riding with their tutor, when a big hound of theirs, in one of the streets of Nürnberg, accidentally tore a child ; and there arose a wild mother's wail; and all the scythe-smiths turned out, fire-breathing, deaf to a poor tutor's pleadings and explainings ; and the tutor, who had ridden forth in calm humor with two princes, came galloping home with only one, the smiths having driven the other into boggy ground and there caught and killed him"—though not one of them could hope to escape the wrath of the prince's father. But would the scythe-smiths have risked their lives for a young Hindoo, not to say a young Rhesus baboon ? The Hindoos themselves are perhaps nearer to nature in that respect; for when Captain Elphinstone's servant had crippled a bhunder-monkey, he was repeatedly "pursued by a howling mob, and on one occasion was chased all over Delhi before he could give his pursuers the slip in the Mohammedan quarter, where a stout Unitarian kept the rabble at bay till the fugitive had effected his escape through a back-door." We may laugh at the excitement of the sympathetic mob, but a feeling much akin to theirs is perhaps the basis of the civic virtues.

Speech and music in their present development, are acquired arts rather than innate faculties, for in solitary confinement a child would grow up inarticulate ; but their germ—the disposition to express emotion by modulated sounds—distinguishes the quadrumana from all other mammals. No one that has ever heard the voice of the long-armed gibbon, can forget the strange musical cadences of its cry, perfect *solfeggios* in zigzag scales and with rhythmical pauses and crescendos. A specimen in the shop of a Hamburg pet-dealer attracted a large assembly, who crowded around the house under the impression that the proprietor had imported an operatic South-Sea Islander. The Brazilian capuchin-monkey (Cebus capucinus), especially the white-headed varieties, have a vocal organ of still wider range, though of less musical timbre. They grunt, they pipe, they chatter, they yelp, they combine a whoop with a strange coughing guttural, they utter all the simple and compound vowels with an endless variety of modulations, evidently not prompted by the almost exclusively erotic motives of the singing-bird, but rather by an exuberance of complex emotions, which the unisons of the lower mammals would fail

to express. The mental development of the anthropoid four-handers has already reached a degree that enables them to dispense with the aid of those mysterious instincts that one is tempted to ascribe to the agency of a sixth sense; the faculty of direction, for instance. Monkeys have no abiding homes, and are very apt to lose their way in the maze of the virgin-woods; but they roam at will, well knowing that their mental resources will enable them to master the situation under any circumstances. With one (doubtful) exception, they build no nests, but carry their young wherever they go, and have thus emancipated themselves from the thraldom of locality, which roots the plant to its native soil.

Man has been called the "only creature whose thoughts range beyond the present life." That the thoughts of our fellow-creatures have never strayed in that direction, we may justly doubt, however soon their intuitions may have admonished them to desist from a hopeless task. I have seen a female leopard stand motionless and mute before the dead body of her mate, deaf to the voice of her keeper and all other appeals, till at last the wailings of her kittens seemed to awaken her as from a dream. Colonel Godolitz, of the Austrian army, gave me an account of a dog that exhumed the buried body of his master, and with an appealing look of inquiry turned his head toward the men that came to repair the mischief. Who shall say that no musings on the mystery that has employed philosophers as often as Trappists, passed through the souls of those animals? Though as for "other-worldliness," or the habit of neglecting the business of life about such musings, and the consequent "yearning after a better life," the natural history of the animal soul might, indeed, fail to furnish a parallel. The right to despise this world and expect a celestial sinecure as a reward of that contempt, may be a human prerogative, but a prerogative that has always been most eagerly claimed by those whom this world has weighed and found wanting. Superannuated coquettes become brides of heaven. Every border-ruffian that fails to "get the drop" on the sheriff pities his friends that have to tarry among the vanities of a disappointing world. Unmasked hypocrites become candidates for a martyr's crown. When the French had beaten his last army, Charles IV. of Spain soothed his soul by embroidering a petticoat for an image of the Holy Virgin. This "best-known of all worlds" seems good enough to our fellow-creatures, as it did to the Greeks and

Romans and still does to all manful and successful men. Other-worldliness is the virtue of the vanquished.

It is, indeed, the difficulty of reconciling the ways of nature with the principles of pessimism, that makes the antinaturalists so loath to admit the unity of nature's laws. Like Faraday, who lived in a twofold world, a world of science and a world of faith, they would distinguish between the ghost-disturbed soul of man and the nature-guided, or automatic soul of his fellow-creatures. Animals consult their welfare by following the guidance of their instincts; their inclinations indicate the will of nature; the natural inclinations and the true interest of man are supposed to be hopelessly at variance. Nature has made happiness the normal condition of her children by associating every normal action with a pleasurable sensation. In the catechism of the antinaturalists, the sinfulness of pleasure is still a cardinal dogma. The natural affections that have aided the survival of the higher animals are considered unworthy of a model saint. "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The greenwood harbors no pessimist. "The wood-thrush does not modulate her anthems in a whining drawl; no dread of a joy-hating priest-god disturbs the gambols of the squirrel and the aërial dances of the brook-midge." But the children of man are taught to frown on the smiling face of nature. "Blessed are they that mourn," "Woe unto you that laugh," "Be afflicted and mourn and weep."

Only men that hoped to be forgiven on such terms, could "claim themselves a sole exclusive heaven." The dying Indian hopes that his faithful dog will rejoin him in the happy hunting-grounds; the horses of Achilles follow his shade to Elysium; and in the still earlier ages of the world, when the spirit of man had not yet strayed so far from its source, the repulsive exclusion of our lowly fellow-creatures was wholly unknown. The forms of plants and animals are gracefully interwoven with the tissue of Hindoo mythology and the sagas of our northern ancestors. The dog Sarama discovers the theft of the Panis; the horses of the Asmins fight in the battle of the gods; Hanuman is summoned to the council-hall of Indra. Our mediæval devotees retired to convents that never harbored a sparrow; the saints of Brahminism retired to the hills and spent their last year in communion with

the guiltless creatures of the forest, as our pathologists have again begun to study the hygienic instincts of animals, in order to correct the prejudices of our denaturalized modes of life. For pessimism is passing away like a moral epidemic, and its fever-dreams will soon cease to be confounded with the normal tendencies of the human mind.

But if antinaturalism is a symptom of disease, it must be admitted that supernaturalism requires a different definition, and the fact that the imagination of all primitive races has been haunted by ghost-terrors, opens out a field of very curious inquiry. Were the lullabies of our species chanted by priests that could not dispense with bugbears? Rather more significant seems the circumstance that ghost-fear is a night phenomenon. Midnight is the ghost-hour par excellence. The goblins hide in day-time. "It was about to speak, when the cock crew." "Up! my horses shudder—the dawn is near!" Mephistopheles warns his companion. Knight Roderick, fleeing from the pursuit of the Wild Huntsman, feels himself safe when he sees the morning light. And the same sight must for ages have cheered the hearts of our arboreal relatives. In day-time a panther would find it easier to kill ten birds than to catch one monkey. The nimble fourhander can mock his claws; they disdain to flee; they pursue him with hooting yells from tree to tree and seem to invite his attack by their defiant boldness. But the tables are turned after dark, when the fourhanders have to rely on the vigilance of their sentries, whose sharp ears are no match for the owl-eyes of the prowling felidæ, though they give the alarm at the slightest symptom of danger. These alarms, almost nightly disturbing the sleep of untold thousands of generations, must have impressed the simian soul as well as the soul of our sylvan ancestors with an indelible dread of nocturnal apparitions, haunting a vague imagination with all sorts of monstrous shapes. "It is not books or pictures," says Charles Lamb, "nor the stories of foolish servants, which create these terrors in children; they can at most give them a direction. The stories of the chimæras and gorgons may reproduce themselves in the brain of superstition, but they were there before. They are transcripts, types: the archetypes are in us, and eternal." May we not guess that those archetypes were the night-walking *ferœ* of the primeval forests? Every menagerie-keeper knows that after dark the approach of any unknown ("uncanny") object

will scare monkeys almost out of their wits. The fluttering of a window-curtain, the stealthy steps of a late visitor, a mere flitting shadow, is enough to throw them into a paroxysm of abject fear; capuchin monkeys dash to and fro like blind chickens; baboons, which in day-time would brave the attack of a mastiff, huddle together and seem disposed to lose their wits at a moment's notice. Hereditary influences have transmitted that disposition to some of their higher relatives, as Hannibal well knew when he routed his blockaders with a stampede of fiery phantoms. The sibyl of the Egerian fountain declined to appear in day-time, and professional ghost-raisers greatly prefer to begin their séances after dark. The persistence of hereditary tendencies is proportional to that of the predisposing cause. The love of forest-life has survived its modifications, the hot-house mania and the park mania of our French and British cousins; and even among nations so thoroughly secularized as the people of northern Germany, superstition still survives in the fear of night-hags.

The study of animal characteristics may furnish, indeed, many suggestive commentaries to obscure, because half-obliterated, traits of the human soul, just as the caudal appendages of our next relatives explain the meaning of certain prolongations of the human spine. Dog-trainers often notice that a whipped hound falls savagely upon his mates, and exasperated monkeys reach around into the next cage to pull the tail of an inoffensive neighbor. I had a raccoon that never failed to inflict that sort of vendetta upon some one or other, sometimes even upon the cows that passed its den on their way to the pond. Few civilized men that stump their toes against a stone would act upon the impulse of flinging that stone at the head of a by-stander; still, the truth that misery loves company well enough to supply the want by aggressive measures, is apt to assert itself in various disguises. Rejected suitors and dyspeptic gluttons are much inclined to engage in a crusade against the vanities of this world. Tea-drinking spinsters with nervous headaches take care that their affliction shall compare favorably with that of their servant-girls. Jupiter, after the death of Semele, makes a raid upon the astonished Argives; and when Krishna, the son of Heaven, was crucified, millions of mortals were sentenced to renounce the joys of this life. *Cætera qui nescit?*

The evolution of plants and animals presents a curious but rarely noticed analogy—the sudden change, namely, that their

forms undergo at the approach of perfect development. The slowly budding rose unfolds all its leaves in a single day. In a single hour the crawling mummy that emanates from a chrysalis, becomes a broad-winged butterfly. The pheasant, the male tanager, and the bullfinch, acquire their plumage by a sudden transition from neutral to brilliant colors. Is it not as if nature had intended to furnish us a commentary, suggesting an explanation of an apparent anomaly, namely, the wide interval in the scale of development from ape to man? In the evolution of man, nature approached the climax of her work, and unfolded a flower that the teguments of the inclosing bud had partly concealed. Science might adduce still closer analogies. At the dawn of creation the march of development moved very slowly; so slowly, indeed, that Sir Charles Lyell specially commends the Darwinian theory for "enabling us to dispense with a law of progress as a necessary accompaniment of variation." Myriads of ages after the first appearance of life on this planet, he tells us, "there were still as many beings of the simplest structure in existence as ever." Ages may also have passed before our hirsute ancestors learned to exchange their stone clubs for bronze hatchets. Within the past thirty years science has surpassed the progress of thirty centuries of faith. On the higher planes of life, evolution strides with wider steps. In tracing those steps across the gap of the problematic transition, we should remember to compare the nearest points of approach: the advanced dawn of animal intelligence, and the first sun-glimpse of human reason. That sun seemed to rise in a mist. The occupations of our early ancestors were confined to defensive and offensive warfare, their children were cradled in the bulrushes of the lacustrine swamps that protected them against the approach of their enemies, in Lernean bogs and Swiss lagoons, while they left the fair uplands to their four-footed rivals. The anthropoid apes, too, are swamp-dwellers, and without pile-forts manage to hold their own against all quadruped aggressors. The gorilla, and, according to Brehm, also the nshiego and a nest-building ape of the upper Gaboon, stampede elephant herds by breaking off clubs and following the troop with furious yells. The first biped hunters probably used no other weapons. The poor hill-folk of the Malabar Ghauts eat several varieties of venomous snakes, which they catch by pinning them to the ground with a forked stick. But in times of scarcity the Abyssinian kutch-baboon takes greater

risks, for he catches scorpions with his hands and breaks off their tails before they have time to twist around. The vocabulary of the Veddahs, the probable aborigines of Ceylon, contains fewer than a hundred words ; that of the white-headed capuchin at least twice as many expressive sounds. Sir Emerson Tennent says that a Veddah hunter's attempts at conversation sounded to him like a combination of clicks and rasping grunts ; the long-armed gibbon and the capuchin pronounce their vowels as distinctly as a trained vocalist, and modulate them to express all possible degrees of approbation, displeasure, fear, desire and surprise. If the Veddahs can ever be even half civilized, it is certain that they have declined all invitations in that direction for the past three thousand years ; and what compulsory education might do for the anthropoid apes we may imply by comparing, first, the mental status of the domestic dog with that of his wild relatives, the canis pictus and the Syrian jackal ; and secondly, the docility of the ape with the stubborn misanthropy of the wild dog.

The social virtues are supposed to constitute a generic distinction of the human soul ; but the difference between the social systems of Great Britain and Dahomey is greater than the difference between the family life of the African baboons and that of the Papua Islanders. Fish trust their spawn to the sea ; the female tortoise disdains to hatch her eggs, though she deposits them in a kind of nest ; the male wolf leaves the care of his whelps to their mother ; but the adult baboons of both sexes not only attend to the wants of their own offspring, but watch over orphans and the stray youngsters of a neighboring tribe, and nurse their sick with a solicitude that shames the perfunctory services of many professional human nurses. I have seen a female Chacma nurse a wounded babuin, or Berber-monkey, rock him to and fro with a soothing purr, peep under his plaster, but hastily replace it when his twitching betrayed pain, cover him with her own blanket, and for hours lick around the wounded spot and rub it with her finger-tips. In their native rocks a whole tribe of the sympathetic brutes will rush to the rescue of a crippled brother and lug him off to a place of safety, where the champions of the encounter surround him, strutting grotesquely in the pride of their hearts, or souls, though the antinaturalist would probably grudge them the honor of a term that he would apply to the mental apparatus of the Polynesian, who cures his sick children in the

smoke-house and sells his wife for a glass of grog. Yet we must admit the probability that the Chacmas have acquired their virtues without the aid of preternatural revelations. Sympathy led to co-operation; co-operation enabled them to hold their own against enemies that eliminated the less sympathetic varieties of their species. Natural selection favored the development of an altruistic disposition, as surely as any morbid aberration of that tendency would have been speedily suppressed. The penalties of unfitness would have been enforced against those whose altruism had tempted them to seek glory in self-torture, to whine instead of fight, to hate their friends and children and bestow their affection upon their enemies. Such forms of virtue would have succumbed in the struggle for existence, as they succumbed in the struggle of the Protestant revolt; but by just as much as altruism conduced to the welfare of the species, it was favored and perpetuated.

Have the social virtues of the civilized nations been developed in any other way? We see no reason for that assumption. The "power behind phenomena" acts by self-regulating laws.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

A PROFANE VIEW OF THE SANCTUM.

My day's work was done. I try to be one of that very small class of men who are wise enough to leave "shop" at the shop when they go home for the night, in order that, after mental excursions in other directions, they may come back to it with fresh vigor the next morning. So, when fortunate enough to have an evening all to myself, I sit in my easy-chair, with my newspaper in my lap, smoke a cigar — "to the glory of God," of course, like Mr. Spurgeon — and dream. I reconstruct the history of the olden times; and then, in the light of present tendencies, I forecast the possible future. Thus I picture the reforms that might be, and think out at length what other people ought to do in order to create an ideal world. I suppose no one ever yet objected to an ideal world, provided other people would bring it about; for, in each man's ideal world, he himself is the center, and he always has everything he wishes. The only trouble about creating it is the fact that it requires present labor and sacrifice, and the aforesaid other people are not unselfish enough to undergo them on our behalf.

Among the things I have always wanted in my ideal world — when it comes — is an ideal newspaper. I have long objected somewhat seriously to the real newspaper of the real world. I think that I have always appreciated, quite as fully as anybody, the wonder and glory of its past achievement and its present position and power. And yet I have never been quite satisfied that it had, as at present conducted, earned the right to supersede the school and the church — all the old educational, moral, and religious institutions — as some of its more enthusiastic advocates have modestly hinted. I may as well here frankly acknowledge, for it is sure to come out incidentally if I do not, that my editorial experience is somewhat limited. It consists chiefly in the fact that I have read editorials frequently, have had a more or less inti-

mate personal acquaintance with a good many editors, and have sometimes been obliged to note the limitations of the editorial mind as revealed by their dissent from my opinion as to the value of certain articles, both in prose and verse, which I have offered for publication. But this limited experience has not at all shaken my confidence in my editorial theories. It may even have had the opposite effect, and I am all the more comfortable in my opinion when I reflect that majorities rule in a democratic country, and that I am quite sure I shall have the majority on my side. Let me illustrate this point a little, and see how the same principle works in other directions.

If any one imagines that my lack of experience, or even knowledge on the subject, diminishes the value or validity of my opinions as to the editorial function, I can easily silence him by pointing to a few facts. For example, I suppose it is an unquestioned fact that nobody knows so little about preaching as the minister. If in these times when everybody is discussing the question as to why people do not go to church — though, curiously enough, the churches are increasing in number all the time — a minister should be so fortunate as to have a thousand hearers, he knows perfectly well that at least a thousand people know better how to preach than he does. If he does not know this, he must be a dull man, even for a minister. One person knows that his sermons are too long, though the whole service be no more than an hour and a half. Another knows that he ought, or else ought not, to preach without notes; still another, that he ought, or else ought not, to let politics alone in the pulpit. Somebody else is aware that he furnishes too little of the sincere milk of the word, or else that he does not deal enough with the secular topics of the day. It is common talk that he is too aristocratic, or else is not high-toned enough; that he does not sympathize enough with the young, and so make himself a successful rival of the skating-rinks; or, perhaps, that he is not grave enough to suit the old, who have outgrown their youthful follies. It is not at all necessary that a man should ever have preached, in order to be abundantly qualified to tell a minister what he ought to be and do to satisfy a thousand contradictory tastes and opinions. It will even be found generally true that a person who does not go to church at all is wiser in this matter than anybody else.

This point might be further illustrated by noticing the wisdom

of unmarried people in the matter of training children. Having received a good deal of advice on this subject from unprejudiced old bachelors and old maids, I have learned thoroughly to appreciate its worth. And the same is true in business matters generally. What man ever yet failed, after a brave fight with circumstances that he could not control, that he did not find a host of friends about him ready most cordially to acknowledge that he had made a fool of himself, and that, if he had taken their layman's advice, in a matter in which they had had no experience, everything might have been all right? So I think it must be plain, to every thoughtful person, that my ability to tell how a newspaper ought to be edited, is presumably beyond question.

The always wise Mr. Hosea Biglow, in his last deliverance to the public, says, referring to the fact that he had never been in Congress:

> "I hain't no chance to speak
> So's't all the country dreads me onct a week,
> But I've consid'ble of that sort o' head
> That sets to home an' thinks wut *might* be said."

So, though I have never edited a newspaper, I have had the audacity to do a good deal of thinking as to how one might be edited. And, after all, I suppose all candid men will admit that a man need not be a French cook in order to have a well-grounded opinion that his soup is not improved by finding a fly in it.

I sat, then, one evening in my easy-chair, with my feet elevated at the angle that every one of my gentleman readers will appreciate, looking across the paper lying in my lap at the glowing coals in my open grate, and seeing in the fire the growing outlines of the newspaper that is to be. At first, my thoughts wandered over the past and the present, and noted the really wondrous and grand things that the newspaper has become and is doing to-day. Four things I chiefly thought of, and it is only fair that I do them full justice, by way of suggestion at least, before I proceed to those things for the mention of which the whole editorial fraternity will think my presumption exceeds all bounds.

In the first place, as I glance over my paper, I think of the scattered tribes of long ago. Then, of the isolated peoples, each one, like China to-day, fancying itself the center of the earth; shut in with its own petty egotism, and with no means of communication with the rest of mankind. Then, I see the

courier on horseback, on a laborious and dangerous journey, taking some message over a slow and little-traveled route. Picture after picture, phase after phase, of industrial development passes by my mental vision, until at last I see the seas turned into ferry-ways, and the continents into net-works of rail and wire. The earth has become a vast whispering-gallery. And the paper in my lap has caught up and stereotyped all that the great world said and did yesterday, and thus has tossed the globe upon my breakfast-table. Two or three cents now bring more information to every door than even the learned of mankind could know a hundred years ago. Wisdom is a gift of nature, and is not to be found even in books. But to-day even the poorest man may be intelligent if he will. If he cannot be well educated, he can at least be "well smattered," which Gail Hamilton says is the next best thing. And this marvel the newspaper has wrought.

In its accomplishment of this work the newspaper has done something grander still, of which perhaps neither editors nor others have taken sufficient account. Not even all the preachers have done so much as the newspapers in developing a practical sense of human brotherhood, and so helping on that kingdom of man which is the real kingdom of God. Isolation means misconception, and, as a consequence, enmity. If he is a foreigner, fling a stone at him,—that is the old impulse born of supposed self-interest. Now no sensible man wishes even a foreign war, for he has learned the community of human interests. And nothing has done so much to spread this knowledge as the newspapers. They are helping "Peace on earth, good-will to man," more than all the Christmas sermons.

Another noble service of the newspaper is that of creating an arena for free debate on all debatable subjects in heaven and on earth. It constitutes a universal town-meeting for politics, a more than royal society for science, a real œcumenical council for religion. Any one paper may be ever so narrow, ever so much of an "organ," but it cannot prevent some man's starting another paper across the way, and it cannot hinder the people's reading both of them. So, first or last, all subjects have a chance for free and unbiased discussion. And from such a discussion the truth has everything to hope, and error everything to fear. Heretofore, timid opinions have had abundant opportunities for shunning the direct rays of investigation. But the day of universal reading has

dawned. Universal thinking will follow. Then wo to that which is afraid of thought! All this was impossible a hundred years ago, or in any age preceding that. But now it advances in a geometrical progression. More than all other agencies, the newspaper is doing this. Henceforth, if any man holds a pet opinion, of the truth of which he is not quite sure, and yet that he is specially anxious to keep, let him make certain that the receptacle he treasures it in is light-proof. The atmosphere of the coming age will not be favorable to the preservation of perishable fruits, whether in politics, science, or religion.

One other office the newspaper fills, that of public conscience and detective. The collective newspapers of the world form a sort of world-brain, through which mankind comes to a consciousness of itself. And in this mirror of world-consciousness, it sees and passes judgment on world-actions. Never before were the nations so amenable to the common conscience of mankind. No secrets can long be kept. "There is nothing covered that shall not be made known." To-day there is no nation so mighty but it fears to be brought before the bar of public opinion. Wars are no longer undertaken lightly. Their methods are become more human, and the weakest and most struggling people knows it has an advocate in the universal sense of right, of which even the most conscienceless despot is afraid. American opinion influences the course of a war in China. And Russian diplomats must reckon with the tone of the German press. So hastens on "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." Without the newspaper to bring public opinion to bear, and to serve as the medium for the public conscience, the old isolation would return again, and all this would be impossible. In a similar though less important way, the newspaper serves as a detective in individual cases. The time is rapidly approaching when there will be no last corner left on earth in which a criminal can securely hide. Even now, there are few places where he is not in danger of reading a description of himself in the first paper he picks up, as he looks for the time of departure of the next train.

All these things in favor of the newspaper flitted through my mind as I sat musing and looking into the grate. And I said to myself: "If an editor is not particularly hard-hearted, how can he possibly be angry with a critic that begins to find fault only after making such grand concessions?" And I have not written

all this down, as Lowell says, to "git the good-will of the orjunce." I have done it because it is just. And if I criticise, it is only as one might criticise a picture that was being finished by a favorite artist, for the sake of having it as nearly perfect as possible. For it does seem a pity that so grand a possibility should be marred by such grave defects. Let us then proceed to note what some of these defects are.

Suppose we make a visit to the editorial rooms of the "National Palladium." This is one of a vast number of papers, each of which has the largest circulation, the largest advertising patronage, the largest number of foreign correspondents, the largest corps of home reporters, and the largest everything in general in the whole country. The first thing that attracts attention is the sort of mystic authority and air of supernal wisdom that seems to enshroud, and, at the same time, illumine all editorial utterances. The dogma of the church's infallibility is fast passing out of the belief of all intelligent readers of the newspapers; but I sometimes find myself wondering as to whether editorial infallibility aspires to be the new prophet and wear the old mantle. For now and then some editor, in a confidential mood, will let drop the opinion that the newspapers are already doing more good than all the churches, and will hint his expectation that the press is gradually to supersede most of the religious and educational institutions of the world. Upon careful inquiry you will find that this editor is by no means distinguished for either education, piety, or morality. But one suspects that this kind of writer is taking on something of the priestly function, and that the editorial virtue is supposed to reside in the office, whatever the man may be. Two or three slight indications of the "Palladium's" mystic wisdom it is worth while to notice a little in detail.

In the first place, however insignificant—physically, mentally, or morally — a writer may be, he swells to the proportions of a majestic "we" when he "wields" the editorial pen. And, by the way, I believe that nobody but newspaper writers ever "wield" a pen nowadays. When in the presence of this "we," I always think of the plural *Elohim* —"gods," translated "God"— in the first chapter of Genesis; and of how the commentators get over the polytheistic implication by declaring it to be similar to this editorial usage. Here again is a curious suggestion of a higher than individual authority, that hints a parallelism between the sanctum

and the sanctuary. I am aware that this usage was once supposed to be a modest device to avoid the repetition of the egotistic *I*. But, nevertheless, the effect is the opposite of modest. And, after all, why should it not be made apparent that any particular newspaper utterance is only the opinion of some one not very uncommon individual, and not the outpouring of some collective fountain of wisdom, having a source higher than the ordinary human level?

In the next place, even if religious authority is declining, superstitious authority has not altogether died out. Many people appear to have an extraordinary veneration for the printed alphabet, though they treat the very same letters, spoken or written, with supercilious contempt. For instance, John Smith, on the street, may be held in no very high esteem. His opinions are simply those of John Smith, and every one feels at liberty to disregard or contradict what he may say by word of mouth or in private correspondence. But, besides being a general Bohemian about town, engaged in all sorts of haphazard occupations for a living, he has the *entrée* of several newspaper sanctums, and now and then appears anonymously in the editorial columns. On these occasions, although he utters the same trite or nonsensical things that are disregarded on the street, he becomes surrounded with the superstitious halo that seems to envelop the whole mystery of the printing-press. He speaks out of the clouds; and people read, ponder, and even think it worth while to reply to him.

Another sign of infallibility is, that no editor is ever known, under any circumstances whatever, to confess ignorance on any subject, or to admit that he has ever been in the wrong. To do so seems to be regarded as a sort of infidelity to the press. The people look to it for light and guidance; and light and guidance they shall have. Though any particular editorial writer has not mastered any one field of research, still it is his office, as an editor, to be equally at home in all fields. And if some member of the opposition proves him to be palpably and grossly ignorant, several resources are always open to him. It may be too hard work to study up the subject; but he can always rely on the partisan bias of most of his readers, and also on their being as ignorant as himself. So, if a still stronger assertion of his position is not enough, he can always accuse his opponent of being bribed to undermine the prosperity of the laboring classes; or, perhaps, in-

sinuate something concerning the moral character of his grandfather. It not infrequently happens that an editor makes some false or injurious statement about the personal character or business relations of a citizen; but his infallibility will rarely allow him to apologize. He may possibly admit that some new employé in the office has been mistaken; or, more boldly, he may allege that appearances fairly justify the inference drawn. In any case, he can always have the last word. And, in the end, individuals find it more prudent to sit down quietly, even under the grossest injury, than to attempt to secure justice in a case where the opposing counsel is at the same time jury and judge and executioner.

There is one development of journalism concerning which the people are not over thoughtful, and into which the newspapers themselves should put a little more conscience and care. The great body of correspondents at the national capital have come to wield almost a despotic power. Each day they hold in their hands the distribution of political news for the whole country. The interests of the country demand that a work like this be done in a spirit of judicial fairness, especially when dealing with the "other party." There should be also a sense of proportion, a comprehension of the relative importance of news. But too often the correspondents of the "Palladium" are not so anxious to furnish a fair and balanced account of what has really taken place as they are to "make a point" against the Administration, or in favor of "our paper." And not infrequently it comes to pass that a news-gatherer takes rank, not according to the accuracy of his reports, or because of sending home such news as is most important, or that the Government wishes to have known, but is rated high if he gets something for his paper that none of the others get, or if he can be two hours ahead of any other paper. And he is sometimes regarded as particularly "smart" if he can scent out some government secret, and publish it before the authorities want it known. No matter what the effect of this may be; it is at least "enterprising," and if it turns out not to be true, no matter. The issue that contradicts and explains affairs will sell as many copies as that containing the original statement. So, whatever else happens, papers are sold and the circulation increased. And as a paper is great by as much as it sells, the grand end of journalism is accomplished. Owing to this unique power, and to the fact that all news from the capital must go through them, it naturally follows that the corre-

spondents can practically make or unmake any public man's reputation. A man can be returned by his constituents only on the strength of his reputation. And as these makers of reputation are somewhat lofty in their estimation of themselves, and naturally work for a consideration, of course most public men—all but the very strongest—will be their very humble servants. The one that is polite and deferential to them, the one that flatters their power, the one that uses his position to help them in getting the latest news, lawful or unlawful, he will be their favorite. In all their reports, he and his family will be handsome, he will be eloquent, he will be wise. While if anybody pursues an independent course, or if, for any reason, they do not like him, they can either bury him under a fatal silence, or "write him down." It is not strange, then, if the newspaper correspondent comes to regard himself as "a bigger man than"— almost anybody else.

Hence it is that the "great" man of one year sinks out of sight the next, and is never heard of afterward. The newspaper made him. He lived and moved and had his being in "puffs." And when the puffs cease he vanishes. It is vastly amusing to see how ordinary dresses become "elegant," how plain ladies become "distingué," and dull ones grow "brilliant," at a congressman's reception, when Jenkins is invited and given a prominent place.

Then the "Palladium" always goes on the assumption that what the average newspaper reader wants is peppery gossip. The scent is particularly keen for a juicy morsel that smacks of the innermost privacy of some prominent man or woman. If the great public would only stop and look at itself as the newspaper sees it, the portrait would not be specially flattering. Its style of catering does not imply a very delicate sense of either smell or taste on the part of those it is supposed to feed. I picked up a daily only a day or two ago, and nearly half of its headings on the first page were either of such a nature, or were treated in such a way, as to suggest the "Police Gazette."

It is not altogether uplifting to note how the recent illness of our great war leader and ex-chief magistrate has been dished up for public consumption. We have had spread before us the most curious, not to say repulsive, details. Of course the country has been anxious to know his real condition from hour to hour. But not only have the papers published nauseous descriptions of all the happenings of the sick-room, accompanied by ghastly illustrations

of him in all sorts of attitudes, they have even gone so far as to publish all his private, personal habits, as to neatness or the lack of it, capping the whole business with a minute description of the state of his teeth, the accumulations of tartar upon them, and his neglect of the tooth-brush. And if the worshipers of Emerson were shocked to have the unsympathetic public informed of the commonplace fact that their "god" actually liked pie, what shall one say of having a great hero laid out for this sort of vulgar dissection? And when a rumor gets abroad concerning the domestic infelicity of any well-known man or woman, the privacy of his home, as well as those of all his friends, is liable to be fairly besieged by an army of reporters. They will sometimes openly demand all the particulars, under the threat that, if their request (?) be not complied with, they will be obliged to publish what they believe to be the facts. And it is often hinted that perhaps the real facts would look better in print than the version already in their possession. It never seems to occur to them that it is none of their business, anyway. And the sturdy old British saying that "An Englishman's house is his castle" seems to be regarded as a relic of the "effete despotisms" of the old world that has no place in a free and glorious republic like ours.

To that phase of newspaper development which is represented by the work of the reporter it is difficult to do any sort of justice, either in portraying its goodness or its badness. One is tempted to extravagance both in praising and cursing. Of course no fault is to be found with the thing itself; for reporting is the newspaper's breath of life. Without the reporter we may have essays and editorials, but no *news*paper. And it is the reporter, home or foreign, that furnishes the editor with his themes. When one considers the patience, the persistence, the fertility of resources, the tireless devotion rising even to heroism, of the average reporter, one's admiration is inspired almost to the pitch of writing an epic in his praise. When, on the other hand, one remembers some horrible experience, when, having fallen into the hands of the reporters, he envied Daniel in the lions' den, because the mouths of the lions were "stopped"; when he reflects that a reporter can not only be an ass, but, as Sothern used to say, "so many kinds of an ass"; then even the mildest man begins to understand what it might mean to commit a crime, for there is murder in his heart.

In justification of this somewhat forcible language, I wish to hint at a few experiences with the "Palladium." This paper does not seem to select its reporters on the ground of either knowledge or judgment, but rather because they can write with sufficient rapidity, and are supposed to be enterprising. Enterprise, in a reporter, is like charity; it covers a multitude of sins. Let me give one or two illustrations of their way of doing things. As I sat one day talking over this matter with one of the editorial staff, a somewhat excited and depressed-looking clergyman came in. Said he: "Mr. Editor, your reporter has got me into what promises to be a serious difficulty." "Ah," replied the editor, "sorry for that. What is it?" Then he went on to explain. It seems that some of his soundest hearers were a little drowsy a Sunday or two before, and only waked up to what their minister had said when some one called their attention to it as reported in the "Palladium." The reporter had made a fairly straightforward report, but it was longer than there was convenient room for that morning. Instead of taking the trouble to condense it, they had chosen the easier course of cutting it in two in the middle. This left the minister in the position of having fully stated the position of some heretical opponent; and, as his reply was omitted, these opinions appeared as his own. So some of the more zealous of his flock had actually made a move to have him brought before the Synod. And, since it is well known that "corrections" rarely reach the people that have read the original error, our good Doctor of Divinity was in a fair way to find his orthodoxy impeached all over the land. I found it was a common practice to send one reporter to take down six or even a dozen sermons in one morning. The natural result was, that he got the introduction of one, snatches of the middle of most, and the end of the conclusion of another; and this made nonsense of them all. The ministers had got tired of protesting, and were obliged to hope that the people would not think them quite so idiotic as the papers made them out to be. And instances are not infrequent of very imaginative reporters not getting to the church at all until the whole service is over. In that case, they write out a column or so of their own, replete with arguments that the minister never thought of, and brilliant with metaphors he never heard of, and then they modestly feel that the clergyman ought to be obliged to them for making him preach a better sermon

than usual. This inventive genius frequently displays itself in elaborate reports of people that were not present at a public meeting, but had been advertised to be. Though, like the reporter himself, they were not able to be present, they find that this little incident has not interfered with their receiving most generous applause, any more than it has stood in the way of the reporter's telling what he did not know.

And when—as is sometimes popularly supposed to be the case, even with sermons—the good preacher is a little tame, the reporter will kindly volunteer to put in some startling thing he did not say, for the worthy purpose of heightening the dish's flavor to suit the reader's taste. I had a case of this sort once in my own experience. After, with consummate ability, getting every single point I had made wrong end to, the reporter's genius fairly took him off his feet. He remarked that, at the close of my sermon, I created quite a sensation (!) in the audience by a reference to Guiteau. As a matter of fact, I had never mentioned his name in the pulpit on that or any other occasion. And I have a friend whose sermon—reported by some imaginative person who, not being present, did not hear a word of it—was quoted by an English review as an illustration of the depths to which the American pulpit had fallen.

But the crowning feat of the "Palladium's" reporting is what is called the "interview." Let it be clearly understood that no fault is found with the thing itself. When properly done it may be made not only interesting, but profitable, instructive, and helpful for all concerned. It is only the "Palladium's" methods to which I take exceptions. It is supposed to be a taking thing to publish somebody's opinion on a certain subject. So a reporter calls on him. That he has no opinion on the subject, or that he wishes to keep what he has to himself, is a matter of no moment. An interview is wanted, and an interview must be forthcoming; otherwise, the reporter's reputation for enterprise is gone. The victim is suspected of holding such or such views, and he is informed that he had better speak to set himself right. Some other journal has already said so or so, and he had better correct it. No matter that the reporter does not write shorthand, and so can only take down fragmentary notes. No matter that he does not know anything about the subject, and so is sure to misinterpret anything that is said. The next day the poor man finds himself driveling on through a column or two, the most of it in quotation marks, headed by his name

and all his titles. He has been "written down an ass," and there is no help for it. And all his political antagonists will pick him up, and sneer at him, on the basis of what he did not say. I came across one poor fellow that had been rendered insane by this process. He was now actually as crazy as the reporters had made him out to be. He was really quite harmless, but he took me one side and, in a mysterious voice, assured me that if he could only once kill a reporter, he felt that he could then die happy.

Is it not true also that many of the newspapers, instead of being firm and unbiased seekers after and teachers of the truth, are rather interested advocates of some special party or cause? They are generally all fighting for some position with rewards of some kind attached to it. They therefore see only one side of any question; or, if they do see another, they seem to feel it to be a duty to suppress it. They talk chiefly of the success of their cause, and the interests of their constituents. It therefore follows that "the man of one newspaper" will be only another name for a blind and narrow-minded partisan. I find also that it does not at all necessarily follow that an editorial writer is expected to believe himself what he is trying to make his readers believe. No matter what his personal convictions may be, a man will often take a lucrative position on any paper, and advocate any set of opinions to which the paper may be committed, or which the "market" at that particular juncture seems to call for. I have heard of one very "smart" writer who, during a great moral controversy between two leading organs, by private arrangement and all unknown to the public, actually wrote the leaders on both sides. It appears therefore that, in reading an editorial, one can rarely be sure that he is getting the *bona fide* opinion of anybody. If a paper is on a paying basis as the organ of any special party or clique, a man of quite the opposite belief will sometimes take it and "run it," just as a man will "run" a cotton-mill, for the sake of the money he can make. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to discover whether these leaders of public opinion themselves possess any opinions at all. Once on a time, when Mr. Moody was carrying on a great revival in a certain city, I happened to know of a paper that, as one of its managers expressed it, was undertaking to "do the heavy religious," in order to extend its country circulation. And it happened that hardly a single person thus engaged had any belief whatever in the work.

The "Palladium's" advertising columns, and its methods of dealing with cases of crime, are somewhat puzzling to one that attempts to reconcile them with the great moral and religious claims of the press in general. For instance, the editorials often grieve over the alleged decline of family morals, and the frequency of divorce; while, in the same issue, the reporters are left free to turn the revelations of the police and divorce courts into the juiciest kind of jest. Marital infidelities, brutal husbands, and heart-broken wives become the material for filling up the "funny" column. They seem to have improved on the beatitude, and made it read, "Blessed are they that weep, for others shall laugh." And the advertising columns, under the thinnest of all disguises — as mediums, or fortune-tellers, or personals — are full of all covert invitations to the very things over which the editors shed their regretful tears.

And when some brutal, bloody, or filthy crime is committed, it will be spread through whole columns. Diagrams lead everybody's imagination to the spot, and the most disgusting details are given in full. The editors admit that such things tend to increase the volume of crime. They denounce a class of papers that go into the business a little more frankly and fully than they do. They encourage a society for the suppression of vice. They try to put down a class of juvenile publications the effect of which is to familiarize youthful readers with crime. And still they lend their own papers to a similar business. I have been much interested in one editor's defense. The gist of it was, that the people wanted it, and for the sake of it bought large numbers of copies of the paper. I ventured to suggest that that line of defense would be equally good on behalf of the lowest groggeries, or of houses of prostitution, or of gambling dens. Another editor took up another plea. He said: "My theory of a newspaper is, that it is the history of the world for a day. And as this, alas, is not yet an expurgated world, we must take things as we find them." I ventured to reply: "The newspaper is not a complete history of a day. Were it to attempt to be, it would enter into such minute and secret details of life as would disgust everybody. It is only a question, then, as to precisely where the line is to be drawn. And I say, draw it within such limits as will make it healthy for family reading." And again I ventured a suggestion. I argued that, since such details were not necessary to the

statement of the fact of a crime, since they were no aid to the police, and were not in the interest of public morality, it followed that only one motive could lead to it—the desire to make money by any means that the public taste would endure. And this motive was equally good on behalf of any disreputable business whatever. At this point the editor's infallibility seemed to come to his rescue; for, though he did not reply, still he would not confess himself in the wrong.

And then the "Palladium," in its apparent zeal to exterminate all evil, falls into such a habit of indiscriminate abuse of public men and public measures, and of other papers, that when it needs to attack some real evil it has no language left by which it can do any sort of justice to the subject. The people have come to feel that "newspaper abuse" may only mean that its object is some great and good man who is trying to accomplish some noble end. The cry of "Stop thief!" is heard so often that no attention is paid to it; or it actually becomes a cover under the shade of which the real thief can make off with his plunder. The abuse, then, only helps the bad and does not injure the good. A clipping from a leading daily reveals a newspaper's own confession as to the attitude they maintain toward each other: "The millennium has started. Its point of departure is Philadelphia, where one paper actually admits that a contemporary has actually rendered important public services. Judging from the example of the papers of New York, it will be a long time before the millennium strikes that city."

There is one point more that seems to demand notice. On the part of business men, club men, and men of the world in general, there seems to exist a wide-spread spirit of cynical pessimism. And I am persuaded that newspaper methods have something to do with this. The fact is that never, in the whole history of the world, were there so many noble men, so many true women; when society, when governments, when all departments of human life, were in so healthy and hopeful a condition as they are to-day. What is the reason for the pessimistic opinion? Too largely, I believe, it is owing to the method that the newspapers take for reporting crimes. Ten thousand men in Cincinnati to-morrow will meet their checks and pay their honest debts, and nobody but the men to whom they are paid will know anything about it. Somebody will commit a forgery in Cincinnati to-morrow, and the next day it will be told of

in all the newspapers, in great head-lines, leaded so as to make as much display as possible; and people will read it, and feel that everybody that has a chance is ready to commit a forgery.

It is the theory in the modern world that nothing is news that is not mean and wicked; or that this pre-eminently is news. A million people behave themselves, but that is no news. Nobody thinks of reporting that, or saying anything about it. But if one contemptible man, any miserable tramp, anywhere in America, commits a meanness, they not only note the fact, but tell us all about it. If there is a drunken broil, a stabbing affray in South Boston or at the North End, not only have we the statement of the fact, but we are treated to a diagram as large perhaps as was devoted to the map showing the war in Egypt, telling us where the kitchen and sink were, where the coal-hole was, and everything else about the place; just where the man stood, where he was when he fell down, where the body lay when it was discovered, how much blood there was on the floor. All these slaughter-house details must be spread through every home in the city.

To say that all this is necessary in order to report the news, is absurd. Many noble papers have proved that a better way is practicable. To say that more papers are sold this way, is probably true. But this is a confession that making money is the chief end of a newspaper, and this places it on a level with the grog-shops and the houses of ill-fame. The best are always in a minority. The van-guard on the march is always less in number than the main army. It will always "pay" to cater successfully to the crowd. When Miss Bertha Von Hillern was having her great walking-match, a certain editor said to me: "If I should publish in my next Sunday paper a new essay by Emerson, I should perhaps sell five hundred extra copies. A full report of the walking-match will sell twenty-five thousand." But if merely making money is what a newspaper is for, let it be frankly stated and understood. We shall then hear somewhat less about the great moral and religious influence of the press.

Now I would not for one moment be understood as charging that all the newspapers are open to the criticisms I have made, or that any one is liable to them all. But I do say that some newspapers are guilty in these directions; that most of them are sometimes guilty; and that newspaper methods in general are capable of great improvement. The newspaper leaves ought to be, and can

be, like the leaves of the wonderful tree in Revelation, "for the healing of the nations." It hurts one then to see them worm-eaten and withered.

I have taken the case of the "National Palladium," as a well-known illustration of the worst methods. Everybody has seen this paper, and knows that it is not mythical. It is because the old employés of this paper sometimes get on to the working staff of better journals that they also occasionally display its indefensible characteristics. When, by eliminating these faults, the press justifies its somewhat premature boast of being able to supersede the church, I know of one minister at least who will, without any jealousy in his heart, cheerfully exchange his pulpit for some useful position in the sanctum, where he may still continue his work for truth and man. But he is not yet ready to write to order, and for pay, either in the pulpit or out, since he still cherishes a few articles of personal property labeled "opinions."

M. J. SAVAGE.

TEMPERANCE REFORM STATISTICS.

If any men on earth ought to be truthful, not only in intention but in fact, they are the men engaged in the current temperance reform; they have everything to lose, and nothing to gain, from incorrect statements. One who calls attention to errors of fact made by them should be regarded as doing them a service, and not as making an attack upon them. To render such a service is the aim of the present paper. Some years ago, the State Central Committee of Illinois sent out a circular that contained the following assertion concerning the liquor interests of the country:

> "Their retail trade upon which revenue was paid for the year 1867, was in round numbers, $1,484,000,000. This gives $43 for every man, woman and child in the country."

This statement is made, not concerning the combined direct and indirect cost of intemperance, but concerning the retail trade in beverages. In substance, it has been often repeated, with its amount growing as the years go by, by men of whose good judgment and honest intention there can be no doubt. There may be a sense in which it is true; but repeated inquiry has proved futile for finding out what that sense is, and it is difficult to imagine what it can possibly be. In any meaning that it conveys to the ordinary reader the statement is certainly untrue, and grossly so; it requires no great insight to render one certain of that. The sum of $43 for each person in 1867 was not far from one-third of the entire income of the country. Less than one-third of our population, certainly, are habitual patrons of the retail trade in alcoholic beverages, and as drink is a great impoverisher, the drinking class, on an average, have smaller incomes than others. It follows that, according to our committee, one-third of

the people of the country, in 1867, spent for liquors, on an average, considerably more than their entire incomes, leaving them less than nothing wherewith to pay for food, clothing, house rent, and other supplies. That such statements are circulated, year after year, by truth-loving men, in the interests of a cause that has no legitimate basis except truth and justice, is a strange phenomenon. Conduct like this goes far to account for the alleged apathy of the present generation of thoughtful persons toward temperance. What is one to do with a cause that has his fullest sympathy, when its advocates insist upon his accepting untruths as the condition of his co-operating with them ?

Improvement has been made in temperance statistics, but the statistics now most widely published still need to be extravagantly discounted ; they are still notes on Queer Street in which ordinary people cannot afford to deal. One of the best known works on this subject is the book entitled " Our Wasted Resources," by Dr. William Hargreaves, published by the National Temperance Society. The edition cited in this paper is that of 1882. The standard of price adopted by Dr. Hargreaves is, by the pint, seventy-five cents for domestic liquors, a dollar and a quarter for imported liquors, sixty-three cents for wines, ten cents for native ales and beers, and thirty-eight cents for imported ales and beers. All this is quite in contrast with the expression "the three-cent liquor dens," which he uses on page 56, and shows that he certainly does not err in the direction of making prices too low.

The product of distilled spirits reported in 1870 by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was, omitting the smaller numerals, 72,500,000 gallons. To this Dr. Hargreaves adds the total manufacture of fermented drinks, and the import of spirits, wines, and malt liquors. At his scale of prices, he makes the total to be about $619,000,000. He meets the objection that a large proportion of these goods was used for other purposes than drink, by an offset, which may be reduced to three items. First, he estimates that 13,000,000 gallons of domestic and imported liquors somehow escaped being reported. Secondly, he estimates that there were something like 14,000,000 gallons of domestic wines not included in the reports. Thirdly, he estimates that the dealers put 7,500,000 gallons of water into the liquors which they sold at ten cents a glass. He thus obtains an aggregate of about 35,000,000 gallons to offset the alcohol product that went for other

than beverage purposes that year. For part of these estimates, and only part, he offers some basis of fact. The element of estimate enters pretty freely into all his work, and his style of estimating shows no bias toward making the amounts as small as possible. For 1871, Dr. Hargreaves says that, according to the Internal Revenue Report, the product of domestic spirits was 57,000,000 gallons. But, for this year, he does not follow this report; instead, he bases his computations upon the quantity that paid a tax for 1871. This he makes to be 63,000,000 gallons, 6,000,000 more than the quantity produced. By diluting to the extent of twenty per cent. he brings up the product to 76,000,000 gallons for that year. Then, adding the same items as in the case of 1870, but adding twenty per cent. for dilution to the imported spirits, he sums up the liquor bill of 1871 at $680,000,000, an increase over the previous year of about $61,000,000. For 1872, Dr. Hargreaves returns to the production report, which gives 69,000,000 gallons of spirits. With this exception, he uses the same items as for 1871, and makes the same allowance for dilution. He thus obtains an aggregate of $736,000,000, an increase of about $56,000,000.

It is natural to ask how it happened that the dealers put twenty per cent. of water into their liquors in 1871 and 1872, and only ten per cent. in 1870. It is also curious that the amount of the alleged dilution should be required, in 1870, to offset the legitimate uses of alcohol, but should not be so required in the two following years. It is further evident that when Dr. Hargreaves uses for one year the number of gallons produced, and for another the number of gallons on which the tax was paid, he is guilty of the fallacy of adding units of different denominations. Had he used the tax statistics for each of the three years (78,000,000 gallons for 1870), and made the same allowance for dilution in 1870 as in the two following years, he would have increased the statistics of that year by more than $125,000,000. Had he used the production statistics for each of the three years, and left out all the water, he would have reduced his estimates for 1871 by about $114,000,000, and for 1872 by about $84,000,000. The motives for the course he has taken seem to be transparent. Either the production reports or the tax reports show a decrease of twenty per cent. for 1871, as compared with 1870, in the item of distilled liquors. The difference is owing to changes in the

internal revenue laws, of course, and not to changes in the consumption of liquors. For the fiscal year that closed in 1870, the reported production, or the tax paid, was so exceptionally large as to afford no indication of what the average annual amounts might be; but Dr. Hargreaves has treated this as if it were an average year. If he had used the tax statistics for both this year and the year following, or if he had used the production statistics for both years, the results would have sharply exposed his fallacious assumption. They would also have begun to show the fact that the increase in the consumption of beer, from 1870 to 1880, was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the consumption of distilled liquors. Dr. Hargreaves has avoided both these results by padding the statistics of 1871, first to the extent of 6,000,000 gallons, by using the tax statistics instead of the production statistics, and secondly by watering the whisky to the extent of about 13,000,000 gallons more. The second of these items he has retained for 1872. By these processes he has contrived to make it appear that the quantities reported in 1870 were normal, and that there was a steady increase in the use of distilled spirits during the following years. No charge of dishonesty is here preferred against Dr. Hargreaves; but his arithmetical processes disprove the adage that "figures will not lie."

The facts in the case are briefly these. For a series of years, the quantity of domestic spirits consumed, both for beverages and for more legitimate uses, ought nearly to equal the quantity on which the tax is paid. This averaged (according to page xxxiv. of the Internal Revenue Report of 1879–80, and page lxxiv. of the Report for the following year) about 67,000,000 gallons a year for the five years beginning with 1869, and the same for the five years beginning with 1870. For the five years beginning with 1871, the average was 64,000,000. Then it steadily decreased until it became 57,000,000 a year for the five years beginning with 1876. For the years 1881–83, there was a sudden and large increase. Its suddenness shows that it must be accounted for by some unusual and temporary cause. As a matter of fact, the cause is said to be the special efforts made by the manufacturers to dispose of a portion of their immense surplus of products.

These facts will help us to estimate the following, from the "Homiletic Monthly" of November, 1884, page 841:

"Intemperance has been increasing far more rapidly than the population.

We do not merely assert it; we prove it; or rather the figures furnished by the Government Bureau of Statistics prove it. We reprint them. The annual consumption of beer has increased from 23,000,000 gallons in 1840, to 551,000,000 in 1883; that of distilled liquors from 43,000,000 gallons in 1840, to 78,000,000 in 1883; that of wines from 5,000,000 gallons to 25,000,000. The number of gallons *per man* has increased from a little over four in 1840, to a little over twelve in 1883."

The writer of this extract can hardly have failed to notice that, according to his numerals, the consumption of distilled liquors decreased from about two and a half gallons per inhabitant, in 1840, to about a gallon and a half in 1883. Had he taken any one of the seven previous years, the reduction would have been not far from one-half, as compared with the quantity consumed in 1840. The fallacy of his reasoning consists in his comparing twelve gallons, mostly of lager beer, with four gallons, two-thirds of which was rum or whisky. If he will revise his computation, he will probably reach the conclusion that, according to his numerals, the quantity of alcohol consumed per inhabitant, in the form of spirits, beer, and wine, in 1840, was a trifle larger than in 1883. The showing would be still better if, instead of the exceptionally large statistics for 1883, he had used those for any of the previous years. He proceeds to argue that "beer does not drive out whisky, or lessen the consumption." But this assertion is quite in contrast with the statistics he has just given, which show a reduction of nearly one-half in the consumption of whisky, as compared with the population. He supposes himself to have proved the assertion, by citing the steady increase in the quantity of tax-paying spirits for the past five years. But the quantity paying tax for these five years is not merely less relatively to the population, but is absolutely less than for the corresponding years of the previous decade, and averages nearly thirty per cent. less than that given in the Census Reports for 1860. It would be far more correct to argue, from the steady diminution in the use of spirits for the ten years preceding the last three, that the beer does drive out the whisky. But there is no certainty of the correctness of this conclusion. Perhaps the phenomenon should rather be explained by the fact that our Irish and Scottish population have been coming in great numbers into the total abstinence ranks, while the habitual drinkers of alcohol have been largely recruited from England and the continent.

It is evident, therefore, that if we assume the premises of these gentlemen to be true, still their results, thus far, must be largely discounted before we can believe them. But they make matters vastly worse when they come to compare the alcohol product of the country with other standard products. On page 44, Dr. Hargreaves, speaking of the sum paid for intoxicating beverages in 1870, says:

"This cost for drinks is nearly one-sixth of the value of the manufactures of the United States in that year, which was $4,232,325,442."

To begin with, 619,000,000 is not "nearly one-sixth" of 4,232,000,000, but only a little more than one-seventh of that sum. But this is a trifle. The sum described as that of the value of manufactures is explained by Dr. Hargreaves, in the table that he gives on page 17. There the values are given evidently at manufacturers' cost prices. He compares the products at one profit below their lowest wholesale value, with the intoxicants at their highest retail price largely exaggerated. The comparison is a sham. Its unfairness becomes conspicuous when we observe that one of the items of manufactured products on page 17, is "liquors, spirits, malt, etc.," there reported at $94,000,000. Of the $619,000,000 for beverages for that year, according to Dr. Hargreaves, $556,000,000 were for domestic distilled and fermented liquors. In other words, for the purpose of comparing, he has inflated the manufacturers' value of this class of products from $94,000,000 to $556,000,000, that is to say, about 591 per cent. If he had inflated the rest in the same ratio, his result would have been considerably less than one-fortieth, instead of "nearly one-sixth."

Dr. Hargreaves is by no means alone in this sort of arithmetic. A certain chart which has been very widely published in the family newspapers, and which was conspicuously posted as a political handbill during the last Presidential campaign, places our annual bill for drink at $900,000,000, and compares with it, among other items, our bread bill at $505,000,000, and our meat bill at $304,000,000. It is sufficient to say that this makes the average cost of bread and meat to an American citizen to be about thirty cents a week! We may add that the amount mentioned as that of our meat bill is exclusive of all retail butchering establishments, and that the total value of our distilled, malt and vinous liquors,

as given in the tables from which the above numerals were taken, is $144,000,000.

But our statisticians support their conclusions by what they call independent lines of proof. Dr. Hargreaves says (page 112 and elsewhere) that in 1872 we had 161,000 licensed retail dealers, and that each of these must have done a trade of $5,000, or more, making $800,000,000 in all, and that this confirms his previous result of $736,000,000, with a margin of $64,000,000 for illicit whisky. Estimates thus based upon the number of United States licenses play a prominent part in these so-called temperance statistics. The number of drunkards in the country seems to be ascertained solely by the process of multiplying the number of licenses by four. To find the amount of labor expended in the liquor business, Dr. Hargreaves assumes that each of the 161,000 must have had at least one man to help him. With his accustomed liberality of estimate, he adds other numbers to this, making a total of 546,000 men, whose earnings he rates at $500 a year each. We should be glad that he is so merciful. Already in 1867, when the number must have been less than in 1872, our Illinois Central Committee had asserted that more than 600,000 were engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. The estimate of Dr. Hargreaves seems to have become the standard one; it is cited, with approval, in Dr. Dorchester's book, "The Liquor Problem," and in other respectable works, and these works dignify his numerals with the name of "statistics." Let us see what claim they have to statistical value.

The idea that every United States license represents a dram-shop, in which two or more men are employed for the whole of their time in dispensing beverages to a continuous procession of thirsty customers, each shop being the loafing-center of a group of sodden inebriates, is as mistaken as it is common. If a druggist has a storekeeper's license, and sells a few hundred dollars' worth of alcoholic liquors during the year, in small quantities, to be carried off the premises, that does not take the whole time of two persons, nor, perhaps, one-tenth of the time of one person, and a large part of the time it takes should be credited to the sale for medicinal and other proper purposes. Such a place has no squad of loafers who belong there and nowhere else; it does not make annual sales, for beverage purposes, to the amount of $5,000, nor, on an average, of more than a small fraction of that amount.

If a widow or a cripple sets up a little country store, or a neighborhood grocery in a town, and keeps, among other commodities a barrel of beer on tap, taking out the necessary license therefor, that does not constitute a dram business of $5,000 a year, nor provide exclusive headquarters for four habitual drunkards. The vending of that beer does not afford steady occupation to two able-bodied men. The hotels and restaurants that do a large enough business to employ more than one man exclusively as bar-tender, are relatively few; those where the bar-tender has other work to do besides selling beverages are relatively many. A little reflection enables one to see that the places that make only small sales, whether in connection with other business or not, are numerous. The estimate of Dr. Hargreaves, applied to the year 1880, would be that considerably more than 500,000 persons were that year employed in vending liquors at retail. But by the census for that year, the whole number of saloon keepers and bar-tenders was 68,000, and the whole number of hotel and restaurant keepers and employés was 134,000; and a hotel or restaurant large enough to employ one man constantly in vending liquors is large enough to employ many persons as clerks, porters, waiters, chambermaids, and in other capacities.

In what is called the indirect cost of alcoholic beverages, the items currently enumerated are, first, the value of the materials and the labor that enter into the production of liquors, and secondly, what may fairly be called the bill for damages. We have already seen how extravagantly it is customary to estimate the first of these items. We have now to notice that it is fallacious to use it at all as additional to the losses commonly classified under the head of direct cost. It is not competent book-keeping to charge the liquor traffic, first, with the aggregate of all its materials, labor, and profits, at the largest possible estimate of the selling price of the completed product, and afterward charge it, additionally, with the items that entered into that aggregate. There is, as we shall see, an aspect of the case in which it would be correct to say that the labor and materials are lost; but in the present computation, if these are mentioned at all, they should offset the subsistence and the profits of the persons engaged.

We now reach the bill for damages. As already seen, Dr. Hargreaves, multiplying the licenses of 1872 by four, computes that there were then more than 600,000 drunkards who were losing a

full half of their time by drunkenness. Then he estimates that the number of tipplers that lose as much as one day in the week by their drinking habits, is not less than one-sixth of the adult male population, making, by the census of 1870, 1,404,323 tipplers. These are in addition to the drunkards, for he adds the two together in his estimate, making the hard drinkers to be more than 2,000,000 in number—nearly one-fourth of our adult male population. At $500 a year for each man, he sums up the two items at $296,000,000 (page 115). Again he is merciful compared with the Illinois committee. They estimated, in 1867, the tipplers at 6,000,000, and the confirmed drunkards at 1,000,000. At the close of October, 1884, the Executive Committee of the Prohibition Party of New York State announced that 375,000 copies had already been issued of a leaflet that says the drinkers of the United States are 25,000,000, the drunkards 1,000,000, the immoderate drinkers 7,000,000 besides the drunkards, and the liquor saloons 250,000, 3,000,000 of the moderate drinkers being church members. In the same inclosure with this leaflet comes another document, which appeals to the 17,000,000 church members in our country. Most of our church members are adults. These figures justify the inference that we have, outside of the churches, a population of some 38,000,000, mostly children, and that 22,000,000 of these habitually indulge in intoxicants, some millions of our children being hard drinkers! These figures are not intended as a burlesque; they come from eminent and godly men, banded together to testify in favor of holiness in American politics; they are sent to me with the message: "Vote as you pray, my brother." Thank you, dear friend, I will. But when I pray, I try to tell the truth.

But in spite of the extravagance of these statements, and of the false pretense involved in calling them statistical when they are not so, the annual loss to the industry of the country through intemperance is something enormous. Another item in the bill for damages is a large percentage of the annual cost of pauperism, crime, insanity, and idiocy. Another is the shortening of life through the use of liquors. One authority estimates that 60,000 drunkards die annually in the United States, and that each has shortened his life ten years by drink, making an annual loss to the amount of 600,000 years of productive labor. The statisticians further allege that certain life-insurance companies have conclusively

proved that men who never become drunkards shorten their lives by what is sometimes called moderate drinking. If the aggregate of years thus lost could be ascertained, it would form another enormous item in the bill for damages. Through drunkenness, switches are misplaced, large fires are started, destructive accidents of various kinds occur on land and sea, and business is transacted inefficiently. These are important items, whether we can tabulate them or not. Very many of the most valuable lives in the community are largely diverted from more profitable uses to the task of taking care of those who have ruined themselves by drink, and of otherwise repairing the damages done. In the drinking places are bred, not only damaging political jobs, but lawlessness and riots. These result in the violent destruction of values, and in the still greater losses caused by the derangement of business. And all the horrible moral evil that attends intemperance reacts harmfully upon business interests. In this matter of the bill for damages, it is probable that the items omitted by the temperance statisticians would, if presented, more than balance their extravagance in the items they present. Even without statistics, most persons would probably estimate the losses of this sort as immensely larger than the amount paid at retail for the liquors drunk. The damage that an intemperate man does to himself, in his lifetime, in dollars and cents, would seem to be a larger item than the amount that he pays for the liquors he drinks. The items of damage seem to be larger than those of cost, and there are a great many more of them.

To sum up the results thus far reached, the men whom I have been criticising hold that the statistics show that intemperance is appallingly on the increase—that is, that the temperance cause is alarmingly on the wane. On the contrary, the statistics show that the evil has not increased in relative magnitude, though it has changed in form; and that the cause has kept pace with the increase of population. But such a cause ought, as a condition of surviving, to be gaining upon the population.

They hold that the liquor and beer business of the United States, counted as one interest, is not merely the leading business of the country, but is so far in the lead that all other industries are dwarfed in comparison. The fact is, that it is not, to this extent, the leading business of the country; it is not the leading business of the country at all. Measured on the same scale, several of the industries that they are accustomed to compare with it greatly

exceed it in magnitude. It is simply one among several of our leading industries.

They hold that the annual sum now paid for liquors at retail exceeds $900,000,000 and that the indirect cost is enough to bring the total up to $2,500,000,000 annually. But so much of this is mere estimate, and the whole is so vitiated by exaggeration and by the duplicating of items, that it is not even a guide to a plausible guess at the actual amount. One thing of importance it clearly shows, beyond all possibility of cavil, namely, that the items involved are so vast that the aggregate must be measured by hundreds of millions of dollars. Anything much more specific than this it does not show. The total cost, direct and indirect, is not $2,500,000,000. It may be half that; it may be some hundreds of millions more or less than half. The fact is enormous and horrible as it stands, and it is not wise for those who war against the evil to magnify so startling a fact into a weak exaggeration.

But when we are inquiring as to the actual loss to the country through its drinking usages, there are still further reductions to be made, particularly in the item we have found described as direct cost. So much of this item as represents the amount paid for taxes, together with the profits of the business, remains in the country, and goes to employ industry and to stimulate production and trade. But, on the supposition that alcoholic drinks, on the whole, do just as much harm as good, the whole body of the material products that enter into their manufacture is a dead loss. Tens of millions of bushels of grain annually, thousands of car-loads of wood and coal, millions of feet of lumber, quantities of brick, lime, metals and other materials used in building and repairs have all gone into the production of drinks, and, on the supposition now before us, nothing has come out. These materials have been lost, precisely as if they had perished by fire or flood. The same is true of the annual use of the capital invested. The same is also true of all the labor employed in transforming these materials into beverages, and in transporting and vending the beverages. All these materials, labor, and capital, were capable of being used for human comfort. At the point where this capability ceased, at their proper valuation at that point, they went out of existence as values, and nothing came into existence in return for them. The men were paid for their labor, to be sure, but if they had not been earning their living in this way, they would

have been earning it in some other way. We have seen above that it would be fallacious to add this loss to the retail cost, because it is a part of that cost. But that does not prevent its being genuine and utter loss. We have no means of determining closely its amount, but we know that it is measured by hundreds of millions of dollars.

The case of the cost at retail differs from that of the bill for damages, in that the items of the latter are all of the nature of loss. In the matter of the positive evils caused by intemperance, there is no part that is of the nature of an addition to the wealth of the country. The amount of the financial loss thus caused we cannot estimate with accuracy; for purposes of close measurement, the statistics now before the public are worthless. But they do show that, in the two departments, the absolute loss to the country, through the use of alcoholic beverages, amounts, not merely to some hundreds of millions of dollars, but to a good many hundreds of millions annually.

Once more let me enter the protest that to call attention to these matters is not to attack the position of the temperance reform; it is, on the contrary, the most valid defense of that position, at the point where it is weakest and most needs defending. To overstate such facts as we have been traversing is to break their force by rendering them incredible; to remove the exaggeration is to restore to the truth the power of which it had been robbed.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

THE PRICE OF GAS.

ABOUT the middle of the last century, the Rev. John Clayton discovered an inflammable gas issuing from the ground in one of the coal counties of England. He collected the "coal spirit" as he termed it, in bladders, and afterward distilled it in retorts. An account of his laboratory experiments fell into the hands of Robert Murdock, who was the first to demonstrate by a series of inventions the value of coal-gas as an illuminant. In 1792 Murdock lighted a number of large shops in Birmingham. It was not until 1810 that a company was started to supply gas in the City of London. Although extensively used for public lighting, its introduction for domestic purposes made little progress for many years. This was due in part to the crude and incomplete state of the art. Instead of being served from a holder, the gas was furnished to the consumer fairly hot from the retorts. This, Winsor, the promotor of the first London Company, claimed as a decided advantage, since the danger of keeping such an inflammable article in stock was obvious.

The size and simplicity of the earliest gas undertakings may be understood by reading a letter written in 1821 by Thomas Jarman, of Bristol, England, to a correspondent in New Haven, Connecticut. He writes: "No accident has ever happened in Bristol since the works began, except that one evening an unlucky mouse got into the first pipe, and by moving a valve prevented the gas from passing the mains, and consequently all the lamps went out, and the city was plunged in total darkness." He adds—and this gives us the date of what was perhaps the beginning of hostilities between consumer and producer—"It is intended to sell gas by meter, as some abuses have crept in by individuals burning the gas longer than they contract for."

The whole weight of authority and scientific opinion was against the feasibility of lighting by gas. Lord Brougham declared

that the idea was worthy of the philosopher who proposed to extract sunbeams from cucumbers. The first Napoleon impatiently declared "*C'est une grande folie.*" Even so eminent a scientist as Sir Humphrey Davy asked Murdock contemptuously: "Will you take the dome of St. Paul for a gas-holder?" The Committee of the House of Commons, to whom gas-lighting bills were referred, reported on them unfavorably again and again. "Do you mean to tell me that it will be possible to have a light without a wick?" asked the chairman of such a committee of Murdock. "Yes, indeed I do." "Ah, my friend," said the legislator, "you are trying to prove too much." Forty-one witnesses were examined before one of these committees, and their united testimony condemned the use of gas as dangerous and impracticable. Among the arguments much in favor was the one that the introduction of gas would destroy the whale-fisheries. In 1833, the great oil dealers of New Bedford, alarmed at the increasing use of gas, sent out agents offering to light various cities at prices much below the then market-rates for whale oil. The opposition of the people was of the strongest sort, and took many absurd forms. It was gravely asserted in this country when, in 1816, the question of building gas-works on the English plan in Baltimore was under discussion, that the extensive use of gas would raise the price of butchers' meat, for, it was argued, if gas supersedes candles, the price of tallow will be reduced in value, and purveyors of meat must charge a greater sum for the lean portions, so as to realize the value of their merchandise. Householders refused to allow the pipes admission to their premises, professing to believe that explosions, fires and new diseases would be indiscriminately distributed by the subtle and poisonous compound. Winsor met these objections by equally absurd claims in favor of the new illuminant. From a pamphlet published by him, we learn that breathing gas is a most healthy practice, and that when people are fully alive to its merits, so far from fearing leaks in the pipes, they will drill small holes in them so as to insure a constant flow of the salutary emanations. He also produces affidavits of officers of the law declaring that they could detect the features of a thief as well by gas-light as by day-light, of painters certifying that the varnish distilled from tar was superior to the best Japan, and of farmers who predicted that ammonia water from coal would drive every other fertilizer out of the market.

Except that the older system developed more slowly in keeping with the times, the progress of gas and electric lighting has proceeded in substantially parallel lines. After its discovery, gas had its delirium and fever, during which the wildest delusions were fostered, and the most magnificent undertakings were set on foot, only to end in financial disaster and thorough loss of public confidence. Winsor was thought a dangerous enthusiast and dreamer when he promised to return £500 for every guinea invested in the first London Gas Company. But the development of this industry has outstripped even his calculations.

There were in London, in 1856, thirteen gas companies, which have since been reduced to three by absorption and consolidation. These companies now employ in their business a combined capital of $66,259,522. They made in 1883 from 2,140,143 tons of coal 21,989,899,000,000 cubic feet of gas, for which there was received the sum of $15,341,188. Their profits at 15.73 cents per thousand feet on the amount of gas sold at 70 cents per thousand, enabled them, after carrying $274,626 to a surplus account of $5,376,849, to show an average net profit on their capital of 11.09 per cent. The works of the company chartered by Winsor in 1810, now cover 150 acres of ground, 2,200 men are employed, and 25,000,000 feet of gas are made daily.

Outside of London, the industry has increased in like proportion. In 1860, there were over a thousand chartered companies in Great Britain, with an invested capital of nearly $100,000,000. In the last twenty-five years, the capital has increased to $250,000,000.

In this country statistics, though less accessible and accurate, furnish abundant demonstration of the enormous and increasing profits in gas undertakings. In 1863, there were 433 companies in the United States. There are now 860, with an actual capital invested probably in excess of $200,000,000. Nominally it is much greater; for although there is no business in which, from the standpoint of public utility, competition is more illusory and ruinous than in gas making, there is also none which has of late years fallen so effectually a prey to it. The result has been to overwhelm a splendid industry with a burden of watered stock, representing little besides the destructive ability of the competitor and the taxable apathy of the public. The gas companies of New York City afford a flagrant example of the effects of such method. In 1857, two companies with a combined capital of $2,000,000, supplied the

city annually with 770,000,000 cubic feet of gas. The capital invested to each thousand feet produced was $3.35. The price of gas was $2.50 per thousand. On the plea of a reduction in the interest of the consumer, one company after another was organized, and along with the natural increase of capital to provide for increased consumption, there went a fictitious increment, represented by stock issued at a discount to pay for the duplication of works, mains, holders and services, and to purchase real estate, patent processes and the necessary legislation. In 1875, over 3,000,000,000 feet of gas were furnished by five companies whose aggregate capital was $19,950,000, or $5.65 per thousand. The average cost of gas, repairs and depreciation written off, was $1.65 ; the average receipts from the consumers $2.76 per thousand. Thus in the face of largely reduced cost, the price of gas was advanced between the years 1857 and 1875, over 15½ per cent.

In the year 1884, seven companies made over 4,500,000,000 feet, at an average cost of $1.02 ; the average receipts being $2.13 per thousand. By the consolidation of six of these companies into one, their loan and share capital was raised from $18,308,920 to $39,078,000, which, on the present basis of production, carried the capital of the consolidated company to $10.30 per thousand feet. On this capital a dividend of 3½ per cent has been declared from the earnings of the first six months of 1884. When this capital is contrasted with the rate which obtained in 1857, and $3.23, the present rate in London, and it is established that the same conditions exist outside of New York City, it is easy to understand the reason of the excessive charge for gas which prevails in this country. This accounts also for the fact that while English companies in the last few years have steadily reduced their rates from $1.80 to 70 cents, and in some towns to 30 cents, the average price in American cities and towns is fixed at $3.00.

A variety of causes have operated to bring about this embarrassment of capital and its rapid accumulation in one industry. At the foundation lies the popular misconception that a permanent reduction in gas charges would result from free competition. Forgetting the approved maxim of Stevenson, "Where combination is possible, competition is impossible," municipal and State authorities have ever been ready to grant unrestricted charters to new corporations. In the war of rates that follow the establishment of a rival company, the advantages are all with the new-comer.

Popular favor, gas of an improved quality, a carefully selected and compact territory soon enable it to dictate to its older competitor, terms which result in a pooling agreement, or a practical consolidation of capital and interest. In either case the public pay the bills of the experiment in an immediate restoration of rates.

The gas bills of the people of New York City aggregate nearly $10,000,000 a year, the natural increase being at the rate of 5.27 per cent per annum. To what an extent this charge may depend on the will or caprice of a single individual appears from an incident of the gas war of 1879. Gas was selling in the neighborhood of $1.00, and negotiations were begun to end the competition in a pool, the rates to be advanced to $2.00. The managers of the rival companies had agreed to combine on this basis, when a single stockholder who controlled one company, insisted that the price should be fixed at a higher standard. He was able to carry his point, and during the four years' life of the pool a uniform charge of $2.25 was exacted. The additional tax levied by the stockholder amounted in that time to $2,000,000.

Charles F. Clark, the Chairman of a committee appointed in 1875 by the Massachusetts Legislature to investigate this subject, said in his report: "No advantage ever came to the people from competing companies. They do not compete for the sake of the public, but to divide the business and to combine." This is further shown by John Stuart Mill, who, when the same question was prominent in England some years ago, summed it up in the following logical terms:

"It is obvious how great an economy of labor would be obtained, if London were to be supplied by a single gas or water company, instead of the existing plurality. Were there only one establishment it would make lower charges consistently with obtaining the ratio of profit now realized. . . . It is therefore an unthrifty dispensation of the public resources that several costly sets of arrangements should be kept up for the sake of rendering to the community this one service. It is much better to treat it at once as a public function; and if it be not such as the government itself could beneficially undertake, it should be made over entire to the company or association which will perform it on the best terms for the public."

But besides the authorities, the managers of local and established companies have themselves to blame for the varying values of their securities arising from the exposed and precarious tenure of their business. In the exercises of peculiar and valuable privileges, usually obtained without consideration, they have dealt selfishly with

those upon whom their life and scheme of operations depended. By fixing the price of their commodity without relation to its cost and a fair return upon the investment, and by involving their business in useless mystery, they foster a spirit of opposition among their patrons. On the principle of "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*," this spirit is easily aroused by the cupidity of outside speculators. Thus is brought about the organization of a new company to do the work which the old one might have monopolized with entire economy and satisfaction to the public.

An illustration of this short-sighted policy is furnished by the conduct of gas managers in two large towns near New York City. In one, the people having for many years submitted to the multiplied exactions of a monopoly without apparently being able to devise another remedy, opened the streets to two new companies, and, for a season at least, they rejoice in the blessings of cheap light. In the other a similar state of exasperation is working itself out in an attempt to fight the gas company with kerosene. In this borough lamps and candles have now quite banished the more convenient burner, the gas managers refusing to reduce their charges, and the citizens being united not to pay them.

The multiplication of gas companies in this country in the last fifteen years has also been assisted by the introduction of various new processes of manufacture. What is known as water-gas, as distinguished from that obtained from coal, is now furnished by one hundred companies in as many cities of the United States. In New York the production is about equally divided between the two gases. A comparison in their cost shows a scarcely appreciable difference in favor of the new gas. It possesses, however, a higher illuminating power, and being heavier, and so more economical to the consumer, it has become a formidable weapon against the adherents of the old system. They, in fact, have been cast into a most unreasonable panic by the advent of a competitor, which is now more dreaded, because more known and felt, than the electric light. Instead of devoting their energies to cheapening the cost and improving the quality of their own product, they have indulged in broadside denunciations of the water-gas as unfit for use and injurious to health. On this latter ground it has thus far been kept out of Massachusetts by express statute. Without entering on the merits of this question, it

is sufficient here to point out the fact that, as at present manufactured, the cost of water-gas is entirely dependent on the market price of naphtha, a by-product of petroleum which is used as a carburetter in the proportion of five gallons to each thousand feet of gas. The price of naphtha, on the other hand, is at the mercy of the Standard Oil Company, which has the monopoly of its manufacture. In the event, therefore, of a craving for extra dividends, too strong to be resisted by the managers of that company, or what is probably a more remote contingency, the failure of the oil-field, an amount of capital estimated to exceed $50,000,000, now invested in water-gas properties, would be rendered, not wholly, but in large part, unremunerative.

But indications are not wanting that point to a settlement of the vexed question of gas charges by other and surer means than a multiplication of the sources of supply. We are indeed only repeating here the experience of older countries in respect to such undertakings. The competitive idea brought most of the companies of England to the verge of bankruptcy. Finally, in 1860, Parliament, on the application of both producers and consumers of gas, intervened, and by the passage of a series of well-considered laws brought about a substantial harmony of all the interests involved. This was done in the city of London by restricting the companies to particular districts, by fixing an initial price for gas and a standard of purity and illuminating power, and by limiting the dividend to ten per cent. upon the capital employed, with a further provision known as "the sliding scale," by which this standard dividend might be increased one-quarter of one per cent. with each reduction of one penny in the price of gas.

Theobold Forstall, in an address delivered in 1883, when President of the American Gas-light Association, said, while urging the adoption for this country of the above features in English legislation :

> "The fact that, although organized for private gain, a gas company is really a corporation established for a public purpose with rights and privileges enjoyed by no private industry, places it in a relation to the community very different from that occupied by other business corporations. The right to enter dwellings, and to break up and occupy the public streets without compensation, entails the correlative duty not to abuse these privileges by making them the source of undue profit to individuals."

That Mr. Forstall, who is also the president of the oldest gas-

light company in Chicago, has the courage of his convictions, a letter in a Chicago newspaper of June 4, 1885, bears ample witness. In denying the report that his company proposes to combine with a competitor at advanced rates, he says :

"This company reduced the net price of gas to $1.00 per thousand deliberately, after mature consideration, with the expectation that increased consumption and improved methods of manufacture would make this price moderately profitable. The result has fully justified our hopes, and confirmed the wisdom of the policy adopted. This company will now make contracts to supply consumers with the best quality of gas for five years at a net price of $1.00 per thousand cubic feet."

The influence and example of a few intelligent managers like Mr. Forstall is producing a wholesome effect on the profession at large. The Legislature of Massachusetts, on the petition of the leading gas officials of the State, passed a bill at the last session constituting a commission to inquire into the relation of the companies to the public, and as far as possible to adjust their differences. In Philadelphia the operations of the gas trust are the subject of legal investigation at the present time. A variety of abuses have been shown to exist by a citizens' committee having the matter in charge. The works, which are the property of the city, have been extravagantly administered, and in the interest of a political ring. It is proposed to place them in charge of a competent superintendent, and to reduce the price of gas as near cost as may be expedient. Situated as it is, there is no reason why the price of gas in that city should exceed ninety cents per thousand. In New York, a State Gas Consumers' Association has recently been formed. It numbers among its members some of the most influential and prominent citizens of the metropolis. Under their auspices, a bill was reported to the last Legislature which embodied the main features of English legislation. It was based on a thorough investigation of the affairs of the city companies by a special Senate committee. The bill passed the Senate almost unanimously, but was defeated in the House by methods which were characterized in resolutions adopted at a public meeting held subsequently in New York as "a disgrace to the Legislature of this State and to managers of gas companies who pretend to be respectable men and good citizens."

Whatever the full merits of the various controversies between the gas consumers and the companies, it is manifest that the struggle

must end by the submission of the latter to a regulation by appointed authorities of the character and charge of the commodity which they furnish. With a permanency of tenure secured to the companies in exchange for a reasonable divison of the profits, the producer and consumer will both fare better. The source of the remedy to be in future applied, is plainly indicated by Judge T. M. Cooley, of Michigan, in a recent paper on a kindred subject.

"If the Legislature, instead of attempting to keep down extortionate charges by gas and water companies by granting the same franchises and privileges to competing companies, would limit by law the profits which a single company in the enjoyment of such franchises might be allowed to make, it would thereby secure a supply of water and gas to consumers, at the lowest possible figure, and, at the same time, give to investors a fair return of profit upon the capital invested."

CHARLES HULL BOTSFORD.

THE SPOLIATION OF THE PUBLIC LANDS.

THE Homestead Law of 1862 may justly be considered the most important legislative act since the formation of the Government. It constitutes at once an epoch in legislation and an enduring landmark of industrial and social progress. It was not borrowed from the code of any other people, but is distinctively and thoroughly American. No other single enactment has done so much to make our country honored and loved in all civilized lands, while it bears strong witness to the beneficent working of Democratic institutions. It is the outgrowth of the same causes that gave us cheap postage, the extension of the suffrage, the abolition of slavery, and the struggle of the working classes for their rights. Of course, this measure was not the work of a day. It was a gradual development during a period of more than three-quarters of a century, and its successive stages cannot fail to interest the student of American politics.

Our land-policy, in the beginning, was devised "for revenue only." The great debt incurred in the struggle for independence had to be provided for, and as the lands committed to the charge of the general Government through cessions of individual States were of almost illimitable extent, and there was then no system of Federal duties on imports, Congress was obliged to look to the public domain as the only available means of financial relief. This necessitated sales in very large tracts to wealthy capitalists and corporations, and thus powerfully stimulated the evils of speculation and monopoly. Hundreds of thousands of acres were sold in a body at a very low rate, and the purchaser, of course, disposed of it according to his sovereign pleasure. These evils were the price the country was compelled to pay for its endeavor to keep faith with its creditors and provide the means for carrying on the Government. As a factor in this finan-

cial problem, the "settler," who in later years has been so formidable a figure in our politics, was unknown, save as an intruder and trespasser, who was warned off the public lands. Their occupancy was forbidden by proclamation of Congress as early as 1785. This policy was reaffirmed in 1804; and by act of Congress of March 3, 1807, it was provided that the Marshal of the Territory might remove settlers from the public lands, with the aid of any required military force, and that they should be liable to a fine of one hundred dollars, and imprisonment not longer than six months. This harsh legislation, however, was not very strictly enforced. It seemed exceedingly ungracious to the poor pioneer, who was willing to face the wild beasts of the wildnerness and the scalping-knife of the Indian, in the struggle to secure a home on the frontier.

The right of preëmption on the public domain, which means the right of a settler thereon to purchase in preference to others, rested on an obvious sense of justice and the necessities of the settler, and was first partially recognized by Congress in the act of March 3, 1801, affecting settlers on the Symmes Purchase, northwest of the Ohio. This was followed by numerous other acts, extending over a period of forty years, applying to particular States and Territories, and providing for preëmption rights in particular cases and on special conditions. The most important of these was the act of May 29, 1830, granting to every settler in possession at the date of the law, who had cultivated any portion of the land, one hundred and sixty acres. This act was limited to one year; but by various subsequent acts, reaching to June 1, 1840, preëmption privileges were extended to a later date and a larger class of persons. The Government thus presented the anomaly of conferring the exclusive right to preëmpt its lands upon those who had violated the laws of the United States by their occupancy; and this legislative irony only gave renewed strength to the current in favor of settlers. The revenue feature of our land policy had outlasted the reasons that excused it. The receipts of the Government from cash sales of land from 1830 to 1840 were nearly eighty-two million dollars, thus swelling the redundant and demoralizing surplus over which Congress wrangled for so many years, while a very large portion of the lands sold fell into the hands of non-resident speculators, and were thus placed beyond the reach of the settler. It was estimated that in 1835 alone eight million acres

were thus appropriated, and it became more and more evident that a new policy had become absolutely indispensable. At last, on September 4, 1841, our general Preëmption Act became a law, superseding all previous enactments on the subject, which had been retrospective in their bearing, and definitely providing for the right of preëmption as to all future settlers on the public domain. Our land-policy, which had been on trial for fifty-six years, was thus completely revolutionized. The settler was no longer a trespasser, to be visited with penalties, but was invited by the Government itself to make his settlement, and was offered a home on prescribed conditions as to occupancy, improvement, notice of intention, and payment; and its faith was understood to be plighted that he should be protected at every stage of the proceedings, and should receive a patent for his land upon their completion. Not revenue merely, but the establishment and multiplication of homes for the people, now became the clearly defined policy of the Government; and it seems utterly incredible that this policy could have been so long delayed by a nation that had put away primogeniture and entails, and laid its foundation in the equality and sacredness of individual rights.

But our land-policy was not, in all its features, a finality. The forces that had compelled the enactment of the preëmption law were not exhausted. A great point had been gained, but it was provisional only. Settlers were still obliged to pay a dollar and a quarter an acre for their lands, and this was felt to be a great hardship. It was a tax of so much money for the privilege of cultivating the earth. It was a tax upon the liberty to carve out a home in the wilderness and make it tributary to the national wealth. President Jackson, as early as 1832, had commended the policy of making the public domain, in limited quantities, practically free to settlers, and although it then awakened no general response, it took root in the popular heart, and had steadily multiplied its adherents. It belonged to the logic of our politics, and its triumph was simply a question of time. Owing to favoring conditions, its stronghold, at first, was in the State of New York. The memorable Anti-rent movement began to take shape there in 1839, and continued for seven or eight years, disturbing the peace of a considerable group of counties, violently agitating the politics of the State, and involving some tragical consequences. The struggle, it will be remembered, grew out of the refusal of the tenants of the Van Rensselaer grant from

the old Dutch Government to comply with the feudal exactions of their landlords; and the leader of the Anti-renters was Thomas Ainge Devyr, who had recently come from Ireland, and had just published a remarkable pamphlet on the land question, entitled "Our Natural Rights." It was a work of real power, written in vigorous English, and it anticipated, by nearly half a century, the boldest utterances that have stirred the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic within the past few years. Mr. Devyr edited "The Anti-Renter," and having found, to his amazement, that the curse of landlordism, which he had fought in his native country, was rapidly intrenching itself in America, he entered the lists against it with fervor and single-mindedness. He went among the farmers of the Anti-rent districts, and while breathing into them his spirit and organizing them for action, he espoused, with equal zeal, the policy of dedicating our public domain to landless men, in limited homesteads, instead of surrendering it to the greed of capitalists.

Equally sincere, and not less thoroughly devoted to the work of reform, was George Henry Evans, a native of England, who in the spring of 1844 began the publication in New York of a tri-weekly journal called "The Peoples' Rights," and of a weekly called "The Workingman's Journal." In these publications he advocated the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers, in allotments not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres. He had embraced this idea years before, and although others may have espoused it earlier, he is justly entitled to take rank as its first conspicuous champion and real pioneer. A bound volume of "The Workingman's Journal," which was published only one year, is before me, and I find it ably edited and filled with valuable matter. It was the organ of "the National Reform Association," which did excellent service in the publication and distribution of pamphlets and tracts on the land question, many of which, as I well remember, were scattered throughout the West and eagerly read. Its name was afterward changed to "The Land Reform Association," which still exists. "The Workingman's Journal" was followed by another weekly, called "Young America," in which Mr. Evans advocated land-limitation, homestead-exemption, and the Ten-Hour Law. The paper was discontinued in March, 1846, but the agitation of the subject went on. On the cardinal question of making the public lands free to actual settlers, he had made an enduring impression upon the

public mind, while his power over his early disciples seems to have been a fascination. Several of them still survive, and they cherish his memory with a tenderness and reverence that bear witness to the genuineness of the man. Other journals specially devoted to this idea were from time to time established in different States, and it had among its supporters such men as Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, Samuel J. Tilden, William Henry Channing, Cassius M. Clay, Charles A. Dana, William Leggett, Arnold Buffum, Marcus Morton, Wendell Phillips, Gerrit Smith, Theodore Parker, and William Lloyd Garrison. The Brook-Farm experiment was then in progress, and its leading spirits, of course, favored the idea. It had been denounced by politicians and newspapers of both the old parties as communisim and socialism, and its advocates abundantly ridiculed as the "vote-yourself-a-farm party"; but it held its ground, and constantly added to its disciples. It found favor with the "Barnburners" of New York, and it was incorporated into the platform of the Free Democracy by its national convention at Buffalo, August 8, 1848. Henceforward it was both a political and a national issue, which could not be ignored.

It was not, however, destined to as speedy a triumph as its sanguine friends anticipated. It now had to run the gauntlet of party politics and Congressional hostility, and as early as December 12, 1848, Horace Greeley, who held a seat for a brief time in the House of Representatives of the Thirtieth Congress, introduced a bill giving to landless settlers the right to preëmpt one hundred and sixty acres for seven years, and, on condition of occupancy and improvement, the "right of unlimited occupancy" to forty acres of the same, without price, by a single man, or eighty acres by the married head of a family. This exceedingly moderate proposition was laughed at and summarily laid on the table; but early in the first session of the Thirty-first Congress, the Homestead Act, substantially as we now have it, was introduced in both houses. Various propositions were offered. The first in order of time was that of Senator Douglas, on December 24, 1849, granting one hundred and sixty acres to actual settlers, on condition of occupancy and cultivation for four years. His earnestness in this movement is very debatable, since it was not followed by any effort on his part to secure the passage of the measure, while he struggled with tireless zeal for his bill making a large grant of lands in aid of the Illinois Central Railway. Mr. Webster, on January 22, 1850, offered a reso-

lution favoring a similar proposition, but requiring only three years' occupancy and cultivation by the settler, and making the land inalienable except by devise by will. On January 30, Gen. Houston offered a resolution of the same purport, while Mr. Seward was earnest and outspoken in favor of the new policy. Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, was also its zealous supporter, but his plan required the public lands to be first given to the States, in trust for actual settlers. A very lively interest in the policy had thus evidently been awakened, but as yet it had little support in the Senate. In the House, Timothy R. Young, of Illinois, introduced a bill on February 4, similar to that of Mr. Douglas, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands; and on February 27, Andrew Johnson introduced another bill, requiring an occupancy and cultivation for the period of five years, as a condition of title. This also was referred to the Committee on Public Lands; but as that committee proved unfriendly to the measure, the same bill was again introduced by Mr. Johnson on the 4th of June following, and referred to the Committee on Agriculture, which reported it favorably on July 25. It was debated at different times, but the only men who championed the measure and supported it in carefully prepared speeches were Andrew Johnson and myself; and although I do not believe it had a dozen outspoken friends in the House, and the discussion of it was manifestly very distasteful, there was a determined purpose not to allow a direct vote upon it to be taken. This is shown by the record. The motion to lay the bill on the table, on January 28, 1850, was lost by yeas 78, nays 90; but the motion to refer it to the committee of the whole, on the same day, which was practically equivalent, was carried by yeas 121, nays 64. When the motion was afterward made to reconsider the last vote, on February 28, 1851, and it was moved to lay that motion on the table, which of course would kill the bill, its friends had not even strength enough to secure the yeas and nays, while on the vote by tellers, which committed nobody, the motion prevailed by yeas 92, nays 54. The only sign of promise in these proceedings was the fact that the House was afraid to place itself squarely on the record.

The principal opposition to the measure, however, came from the South. The new policy had made its appearance in the Northern States in connection with the anti-slavery agitation, and it was in fact its natural ally. In recognizing the dignity of labor and the equal rights of the million, it recognized the right of the

laborer to own himself, and was an implied threat against the life of the oligarchy that stood in its way. The slave-holders understood this perfectly, and they hated the "agrarian project" almost as much as they hated Abolitionism itself. This was clearly revealed in the Thirty-first Congress, in the concerted efforts of Speaker Cobb and his Southern friends to suppress all debate upon the measure and prevent a vote. It was made still more evident in the Thirty-second Congress, in the vote finally obtained on Mr. Johnson's bill, on May 12, 1852. The yeas were 107, nays 56; the strong preponderance of the affirmative vote being from the free States, and of the negative from the South. The bill was reported adversely in the Senate, and no further action was taken. Substantially the same bill was reported by Mr. Dawson, of Pennsylvania, in the Thirty-third Congress, from the Committee on Agriculture, and passed the House on March 6, 1854, by yeas 107, nays 72. An analysis of the vote discloses the same sectional character of the division. In the Senate, the bill was loaded down with amendments that completely destroyed its character. It was introduced in the House in the Thirty-fourth Congress by Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, and on August 4, 1856, on his motion to suspend the rules in order to take it up, the yeas were 105, nays 62; all the negative votes save fifteen being from the South, and all the affirmative but nine from the free States. No action was taken in the Senate in any form. In the Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Grow again introduced the bill, but no vote was reached. It was introduced in the Senate by Andrew Johnson, but no action was taken except upon a motion to postpone, which was carried. In the Thirty-sixth Congress it was again introduced in the House by Mr. Grow, and on February 1, 1859, it passed that body by yeas 120, nays 76; all the affirmative votes save three being from the free States, and all the negative but six from the slave States. In the Senate, the consideration of the bill was defeated by motions to postpone, and the vote showed the same sectional character as in the House. At the next session of this Congress, the same bill was reported by Mr. Lovejoy, and on March 12, 1860, it passed the House by yeas 115, nays 65; the affirmative vote being all from the free States save one, and all the negative vote save one from the South. In the Senate, Mr. Johnson offered a substitute for the bill on April 17, which was adopted and afterward amended by the House and agreed to by both houses through the action of a

committee of conference. It met with an elaborate veto from President Buchanan, who feared it would "introduce among us those pernicious social theories which have proved so disastrous in other countries." It failed to receive the two-thirds vote required to make it a law.

In the Thirty-seventh Congress, the bill was introduced by Mr. Aldrich, and reported from the Committee on Agriculture by Mr. Lovejoy; and on February 28, 1862, it passed the House by yeas 107, nays 16; all the affirmative votes but one being from the free States, and all the negative but five from the South. In the Senate, the bill, with sundry amendments, was passed on the 6th of May following, by yeas 33, nays 7; there being only one affirmative vote from the South, and one negative from the free States, while the smallness of the negative vote in both houses was caused by the withdrawal of Southern members to engage in the work of disunion. The House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate, but the disagreement was adjusted by a conference committee, and the bill was approved by President Lincoln, on May 20. It will thus be seen that, from the first agitation of the homestead policy till its triumph, its popularity in the Northern States kept pace with the growth of anti-slavery opinion, while the hostility of the South increased in the same measure; and that the good work was speeded, at last, by the madness that accomplished the destruction of slavery in the desperate struggle to save it.

This brief history of the Homestead Law strikingly illustrates the halting and left-handed progress of legislative reforms. The great financial exigency that dictated our early policy completely subordinated the settlement and tillage of the public domain to the idea of revenue. This idea so fastened itself upon the general mind that the problem of our land-policy was never considered upon its merits, while the mischiefs of monopoly were allowed free course. The remarkable result was, that the preëmption law had to struggle for its existence more than half a century. Its final enactment was a great victory for the settler; but his right to the unhindered choice of his quarter-section in any portion of the public domain that was placed upon the market was not less important than the right of preëmption itself. The land speculator was licensed by Congress to prey upon the public domain by appropriating to his own use great bodies of choice land, thus throwing himself across the path of the settler, and forcing him still farther into the fron-

tier and on to less desirable lands, while obstructing the population and development of the country. This partnership between the Government and the speculator in the business of crippling the settler and retarding the increase of national wealth was as stupid in fact as it was indefensible in principle. It was a crusade against the rights of coming generations, and had become a deadly blight upon our Western States and Territories when the Preëmption Law was enacted. As the Federal Treasury was then full to overflowing, there was nothing to excuse its continuance. It was the mere wantonness of legislative profligacy ; and the simple and obvious remedy was an enactment that agricultural lands should be acquired under the provisions of the Preëmption Law, and not otherwise. This would have cut up speculation by the roots, and given us a reform in our policy that would at once have been savingly felt in every pulse of the national life. It would have been an act for the creation of wealth by checking monopoly, stimulating settlement, and multiplying the cultivators of the soil. But this was not done. Congress slept over its opportunity, and the work of organized plunder had its way. The speculator was in the day of his glory, while the Government still exacted from the settler its price for his preëmption. At the end of a struggle of twenty-one years, Congress enacted the Homestead Law, through which he secured another great advantage ; but his right to a home free of cost was of less consequence than the reservation of the public domain for his exclusive use. The work of spoliation still went on as before. A vigorous effort was made in the House of Representatives by a western member to prevent these evils by an amendment of the Homestead Law, and was persisted in for years, but it did not prevail. The Southern Homestead Law of June 21, 1866, applying to the five land States of the South, dedicated to actual settlement every acre of the public lands remaining unsold within their borders ; but this model enactment was repealed a few years later, in the interest of monopolists. In the mean while, the Preëmption Law, with its unfriendly tariff upon the privilege of settlement, had been made an absolutely superfluous machinery by the Homestead Law. It had played its part and served its turn. All that was good in it was saved in the latter enactment, and the country did not need two separate methods of acquiring titles to the same class of lands, which would confuse rather than simplify our policy. But the Preëmption Act was allowed

to stand, and is still in force. For years it has been so cunningly employed in furthering the game of land-jobbers, that its repeal has been demanded for the very reasons that were originally urged in favor of its passage. Through the sharpened faculties of modern roguery it has become an engine of wholesale plunder and fraud, and an open defiance of the policy of actual settlement. Under color of its provisions, and through fictitious entries, great stretches of the public lands have been made the spoil of ravenous land-sharks, as we have seen in the Territory of New Mexico, while the Homestead Act itself can only be guarded against similar abuses by an amendment requiring proof of actual residence and improvement during a period of at least two years before an entry may be commuted.

Equally indefensible was the action of Congress in another direction. Simultaneously with the passage of the Homestead Law, and as if intending to thwart its provisions, Congress inaugurated our system of extravagant and unguarded land-grants in aid of railways, covering over two hundred million acres. It is true there were strong excuses for this legislation. The need of great highways to the Pacific was then considered imperative, and unattainable without very liberal grants of the public lands. The value of the lands granted was not understood as it is to-day. Moreover, the nation was then engaged in a struggle for its life, or in the settlement of the great problems that followed, and was thus exposed to the dangers of hasty legislation. These are extenuating facts; but the mischiefs of this legislation are none the less to be deplored. They are not, however, so much the result of the grants themselves as the failure of Congress to declare them forfeited after inexcusable non-compliance with their conditions. This failure is equivalent to re-granting the lands. More than one hundred million acres are to-day locked up by these unearned grants, and Congress, in refusing to declare them forfeited and to open the lands to settlement, has been far more recreant to the homestead policy than in making the grants in the beginning.

Nor has the Homestead Law fared any better in still later acts of Congress, which deserve mention in this connection. The practical operation of our Timber-Culture laws has been particularly unfortunate. Their purpose has been almost wholly defeated, and their repeal is demanded both in the interest of the Homestead Law and the growth of timber. Kindred observations apply to

our laws respecting desert lands. They are systematically evaded and perverted, and to this extent the spirit and aim of the Homestead Law are defeated. Our Timber and Stone Land Act should be repealed for the same reasons. All this legislation has been turned to the account of "land rings," instead of promoting the settlement of the country. In short, the promise of the Homestead Law, as understood by the people in the beginning, has not been kept. Congress has played a game of fast-and-loose since its enactment, as it had done before, while the Land Department of the Government for the past thirty odd years has been far less faithful to the people than to our great railways, as I have shown in a paper in this REVIEW for March, 1883. Our vicious land-policy is the result, and it has not been a mistake merely, but a great national misfortune. Its evils may be palliated, but cannot be undone. It already has its enduring monument in the very curses it has planted in its footsteps and written down in the soil; while the remnant of the public domain yet under the control of Congress can only be saved by so amending the Homestead Law that the whole of it, except mineral lands and timber lands that may be needed for future use, shall be disposed of exclusively under its provisions. This would make our land-policy, at last, the survival of the fittest, instead of leaving it fatally marred by the clumsy processes through which it has been evolved.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

COMMENTS.

MR. EDITOR: In President Walker's article on silver, in your June number, I find the following: "The movement of public opinion since 1878 has been altogether favorable to a reconsideration of the action that effected the demonetization of silver. * * * It is to be seen on every hand. Perhaps the strongest evidence of change that could be adduced is the recent admission of Professor Sumner, who, while declaring a concurrent circulation of gold and silver to be both 'a scientific absurdity and a practical impossibility,' concedes that an alternate standard 'contains no scientific absurdity,' the question of adopting it being purely one of expediency." In order that this statement might not be before the public uncontradicted for any length of time, I wrote a correction to the "Evening Post," but I beg that you will allow a correction to be recorded in the files of your REVIEW. I should never make any "admission" or "concession" on a scientific question. If I saw that I had been in error, I should avow it and correct the error. In fact, I have made no change in my opinions or statements on this subject. I have frequently put my statements, as above quoted, on record, and have uttered them repeatedly in public lectures for ten years. In an essay on Bimetallism now reprinted in my "Collected Essays," and which dates from November, 1879, I state and establish the two propositions quoted. I have always declared my obligations to Hertzka ("*Währung und Handel*," 1876), for making my convictions about bimetallism as firm as my convictions about the squaring of the circle. I may, of course, be mistaken about the force of the facts and deductions presented by him and adopted by me, but no bimetallist has ever seemed to see what the force of the demonstration against him was, or what he needed to do to overcome it. President Walker, in his book on "Money," quoted a long passage from my translation of Hertzka, but signally failed to join issue on the points in it which are fatal to bimetallism. I regret that he did not find space to confute the proposition that a "concurrent circulation is a scientific absurdity and a practical impossibility," for that is just what I want to see. I know that President Walker can bring strong grounds for any opinion which he holds; but he has not yet done it on this matter, and he will not, I am sure, if he sets about it, give us arguments from analogy about tides, and horses driven in span, and tubs of water connected by a tube. I do not see what importance attaches to a change in public opinion about a scientific question, and I do not quite see the occasion for using my name in that connection. There are those who may think

that when a change in public opinion is proved by a change in my opinion, a big inference is joined with a little fact. However that may be, I have not changed, and the change in public opinion, for such importance as it has, remains to be proved by other evidence. W. G. SUMNER.

MR. EDITOR: Judge Learned in his article on "The Tardiness of Justice," intimates that since the virtual abolishment of the Court of Chancery in this country there should be scarcely any delay in litigation; in other words, that the Court of Chancery is chargeable with the origin of tardy justice. This is hardly fair. The Court of Chancery is still in full and active force in New Jersey, yet no State in the Union is more fully recognized for its rapid and effective execution of the law. New Jersey and justice are made synonymous in the press in many instances. It is true, much of the justice that receives public praise is meted out in criminal cases, but the decisions in the Court of Chancery of New Jersey are regarded by the Bar of the land as among the best that are made. While there is delay often and justice seems to be handicapped now and then, the Chancellor and the vice-Chancellors of New Jersey expedite business rapidly and with remarkable ability. I do not dispute the general accuracy of Judge Learned's article. There are painful and unnecessary delays in litigation and in equity all over the country, but these delays should not be charged upon the Court of Chancery. A well managed and ably equipped Chancery Court can get through with as much business and in as good shape as any other court known to jurisprudence. LAWRENCE S. MOTT.

MR. EDITOR: In the Stanton-Spalding discussion an important factor has been overlooked: the compound nature of Christianity. Of its two elements, one is Christ's own teachings, which are pure Pharisaic Judaism; for Jesus diverged no more widely from the rabbis of his day, than they from one another. The other element is pagan, made up mainly of Aryan tendencies. These came in as early as the time of Paul's epistles, and were checked only when the reformers of the 16th century opened the Old Testament to the masses. Among these tendencies, the profession of contempt for the flesh, the contrast between flesh and spirit, was as little known to Jesus as to Moses or Ezra. It undoubtedly had its evil effect on the status of woman, while the deification of the Virgin mother, the worship of Alcmene or Semele under the new name of Mary, favored woman greatly. But it matters less to inquire how the heathen were affected by the retention of their old beliefs in a new form, than how they were affected by the introduction of laws and traditions hitherto unknown, which had grown up among the Jews and were stored in the Hebrew Scriptures. Bishop Spalding, as a Christian, could touch but very lightly on this topic. I, who have no share with any other part of the Christian faith, may say a few words. The Hebrew Scriptures nowhere impress on woman the duty to act humbly in man's presence, as the laws of Manu do throughout, and as even Homer's Odyssey does. The curse of Eve is not intended to teach women sub-

missiveness, but to account for that which they already practice. The laws of Moses do not treat of woman as made for man's pleasure; on the contrary, it is the newly married husband's duty, for a year, to cheer up his wife. The Elohistic account of creation, more thoroughly Jewish than the Jehovistic, puts male and female on a level; they are made, they are blessed, at the same time. The law of Moses demands to be read before the assembly of both men and women (Deut. iii. 1), and it was so read (Nehem. viii.). It discourages polygamy, by demanding absolute equality of wives, both in their own rights (Ex. ii. 1) and in those of their offspring (Deut. xxi. 15); even in the case of the "fair captive," the marriage must be on equal terms (Deut. xxi. 10). Unlike the Roman husband, the Hebrew husband could not take the law into his own hands, when he suspected infidelity (Numb. v.) or inconstancy before marriage (Deut. xxii.). While under the law of the twelve tables, and those of feudal Europe, daughters were postponed to the paternal kinsmen (*agnati*) in the succession of him who died without sons, the law of Moses preferred them (Numb. xxvii.), and fatherless girls were free to marry without their kinsmen's interference (Numb. xxxvi.), while "guardianship in chivalry," with power over the marriage of heiresses, did not cease in England till the Old Testament-reading men of the Commonwealth abolished it. And in the Jewish commonwealth of the time of Christ, daughters were practically preferred to sons; for the "support of daughters" was stipulated in the mother's marriage articles (*kethubah*), and would in all small estates exceed the surplus left to the sons. And these articles, which the rabbinic law demanded in all cases, made the groom say, "I will honor, feed, support, and clothe thee, like Jewish husbands who honor, feed, support and clothe their wives faithfully." The Mosaic law protects widows from oppression and insult (Deut. xxiv. 17), and maidens not only from rape, but from seduction (Ex. xxii. 16), better than the French civil code does now. It knows nothing of the *patria potestas* of the Romans; but the majesty of parents is shared by the mother, who is in one place named first (Lev. xix. 3). Without her concurrence the rebellious son cannot be judged (Deut. xxi. 18); to strike or to curse her is a capital crime (Ex. xxi. 15, 17); to treat her lightly is a deadly sin (Deut. xxvii. 16). "The woman of force," in the last twenty-two verses of Proverbs, was only possible in a community that honored her sex.

L. N. Dembitz.

Mr. Editor: If the examination-papers of any candidate for appointment in the civil service exhibited so large a percentage of error as does the article contributed by the chairman of the Civil Service Commission to the July number of the Review, it is to be hoped he would be promptly rejected. Mr. Eaton begins by assuming that the result of the last presidential election was simply a rebuke of the Republican Party for its unsatisfactory position on the question of civil service reform. Who has administered any such rebuke? Certainly not the Prohibitionists, for they professed to be anxious only about the liquor business. Certainly not the Independent Republicans, for their excuse was personal dislike or distrust of Mr. Blaine. Certainly not the free-traders, for they were calling for reform in the tariff rather than in the service.

Certainly not the Stalwarts, supposed by some to have resented the rejection of Mr. Arthur, for the out-going Administration was theirs. Certainly not the ninety thousand men in the State of New York that gave their votes to Mr. Cleveland in 1882 and to Mr. Blaine in 1884. A party called upon to settle so many grudges in a single day, that still has a small majority of the vote actually cast (for the Texas returns were withheld a month, and cooked), and with a full vote and a fair count would have thrown a majority of two million ballots, has not been very seriously rebuked by anybody. Mr. Eaton tells us that "it is more clearly understood than formerly that salaries have been made exorbitant in order that large sums might be extorted therefrom for bribing voters and the public press." I have tried to keep myself reasonably familiar with public affairs for a good many years, and I should have said that neither formerly nor now was anything of the sort understood. I have before me a complete list of the salaries paid to United States officials, and I can not find one that seems to me exorbitant. The chairman of the Civil Service Commission should know that neither he nor anybody else can have a right to publish such an indictment without specifications. When he goes out of his way to impute reform and non-partisan tendencies to an Administration that began by giving the most important Cabinet office to a political boss only less notorious than Tweed himself, with whom he was intimately associated; that recalls Mr. Lowell from the court of St. James to make room for a country lawyer whose only eminence is as a reviler of the Government he goes to serve; that follows this up with appointments of unpardoned rebels and actual jail-birds and pirates—when Mr. Eaton commends this sort of thing, he simply renders himself ridiculous and raises a suspicion that the whole reform business may be a fraud. The truth is, he exhibits a total misconception of the workings of that very system at whose head he has been for a dozen years; for throughout his article he lays stress principally upon the non-partisan character of the service to be secured, whereas nothing of the sort is effected. The civil-service rules do not prevent any dismissal, except for refusal to pay a political assessment, and they only compel the appointment of intelligent and educated partisans instead of ignorant ones. Even the boasted re-appointment of Postmaster Pearson was thoroughly partisan; for Mr. Pearson, by keeping his twelve hundred employés at work on a legal holiday, and thereby preventing them from voting, secured the elevation of Governor Cleveland to the presidency. Let us have no nonsense when we discuss a subject of this sort.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

MR. EDITOR: Gail Hamilton, in the REVIEW for May, maintains that Prohibitionists do not require a separate party. Every voter has an unquestioned right to register his convictions at the ballot-box. Some Prohibitionists, believing that neither of the old parties represented their convictions, formed a third party, and their last candidate commanded such a respectable following as to attract general attention to the party, and it is said to have been a large factor in the defeat of the dominant party. Some people cannot conceive that there are those who can become so indifferent to the contest between the old parties as to cast their lot with an apparently forlorn hope; yet there are citizens who

would rather be right with their conscience in a feeble minority, than wrong with the majority. Thus far the parallel between the Liberty Party and the Prohibition Party is perfect: the former was the skirmish-line of that sentiment which afterwards crystallized into success in the Republican Party; the latter, under the name of Prohibition, may never rise to power, yet it, too, is but the skirmish-line of a vast army that shall dethrone the drink trade. Gail Hamilton says: "In all States where prohibition has been strong enough to secure legislation, it has secured it through the action of the Republican Party." The Republican Party, when it came into power, found many prohibitory laws which it repealed, as the following table will exhibit:

State.	Date of Enactment.	Party Enacting.	Date of Repeal.
Rhode Island	1853	Democrat	1863.
Massachusetts	1852	Democrat	1868.
Michigan	1855	Democrat	1875.
Connecticut	1854	Democrat	1882.
Nebraska	1855	Democrat	1880.

These laws were modeled after the Maine law. The laws in Vermont (1852, Whig) and New Hampshire (1855, American and Republican) are still on the statute book. In 1874 the Republicans reënacted the law in Rhode Island, but in 1875 they repealed the prohibitory clause. The laws in Maine (1846, Democrat) and Kansas (1866, Republican) have been replaced by constitutional amendments prohibiting the traffic. The law in Minnesota (1852, Democratic) has been so modified by various laws as to nullify it. The Iowa law (1855, Whig and Republican) was modified in 1856 by the "beer clause." The nomination of Col. Jessup by the Prohibitionists in 1877, and the election of Gear by a small plurality, alarmed the Republicans, who in 1879 agreed to submit the prohibitory amendment of the Constitution. Does this look as if the Republican Party were the kite that has a prohibition tail? The States that today have prohibitory laws—total, partial or local—arranged themselves under the old parties as follows:

Republican:

State.	Character of Laws.
Maine	Constitutional Prohibition.
Kansas	Constitutional Prohibition.
Iowa	Statutory Law.
Illinois	Local Option.
Massachusetts	Local Option.
Rhode Island	Local Option.
Wisconsin	Local Option.
Michigan	Local Option.
Vermont	Maine Law.
New Hampshire	Maine Law.

Democratic:

State.	Character of Laws.
Connecticut	Local Option.
West Virginia	Local Option.
Maryland	Local Option.
Georgia	Local Option.
North Carolina	Local Option.
Alabama	Local Option.
Texas	Local Option.
Arkansas	Local Option and three-mile law.
Tennessee	Local Option and three-mile law.
South Carolina	Partial Prohibition.
Kentucky	Partial Prohibition.
Mississippi	Partial Prohibition.

Ten States under Republican rule, twelve under Democratic. Is Gail Hamilton's declaration deducible from this exhibit? Neither of the two old parties is committed to prohibition; they have only granted the laws when compelled by a determined people, who are now demanding enforced national prohibition.

P. S. GOODMAN.

MR. EDITOR: When American jurists, including your own contributors, discuss "the law's delay" and kindred topics, they, each and all, without a single exception, omit the most important factor of the debate—the date. This is not England and it *is* 1885! As long as her working classes are mental serfs, England can afford to take her own time to change her laws and her legal methods, and then thank God that she is not as other nations, after accomplishing some petty reform which France and America may have practiced for a couple of generations, and sometimes even for a century. But our workers are educated more or less in political science; and the influx of German, French and Russian emigration has brought with it a knowledge of the Socialistic and Communistic, and even of the Anarchistic, theories that now have so strong and perhaps deadly a hold on the masses of revolutionary Europe. The dissemination of these theories has thus far had no serious practical bearing on our American life; and chiefly for two reasons: because the country has been so prosperous that workingmen's minds have been diverted to other pursuits, and because the methods advocated by the foreign-born champions of Socialism have been so antagonistic to American procedure, and pride also, that they have often repelled rather than converted. But these two reasons now no longer bear sway, and thereby protect existing institutions. The masses are discontented, and educated men are showing them a better way than revolutionary destructiveness. Mr. George is only one among a host of popular teachers who are indoctrinating the "common people" with the most advanced teachings of social science. The hard times force workingmen to inquire "Why?" and the sudden growth of a class of millionaires, who have rendered no productive service to society for their riches, has opened the minds of the workers to evils that formerly they disregarded. And, as Richter says, "when the tale of bricks is doubled Moses is near." They are losing their respect for statutory law with every new charge of corruption against legislative politicians; and it is chiefly the lingering respect for the bench that keeps them back from revolutionary projects. Now, the law's delay means not inconvenience merely, but the absolute denial of justice to the poor. The right of appeal, while it was originally intended to secure justice, or rather, to prevent injustice, has been perverted into an instrument for the prevention of justice to the majority of the people. There will never be any chance for even-handed justice, between a poor man and a rich man, until the right of appeal is utterly abolished—until the decision of a jury or a full bench is absolutely irrevocable, excepting in cases of capital punishment. Of course, some decisions under this rule would work injustice; no class of men are infallible; but not one case of injustice would occur where there was no appeal for every hundred that now occurs. The poor cannot appeal. The right of appeal, practically, has become the prerogative of the wealthy only. It is the poor who feel this wrong and they do not talk about it with philosophic indifference, either.

JOHN BALL, JR.

MR. EDITOR: Perusal of the article "Prohibition in Politics," in the REVIEW, prompts a word in reply. One misrepresentation is contained in the assertion that the Prohibition Party wanted to help the Democrats. Proof of this is presented in the utterances of party leaders on the stump, rather than by reference to the principles embodied in their platform. But even if you accept the facts stated, it is difficult to understand how these can be twisted into support of the assertion made. To say that "the Republican Party is no better than the Democratic Party on the liquor question," or even to say that "the Republican Party has no principles worthy of support," cannot be interpreted as an approval of the Democratic Party. To call pot black is not calling kettle white, at least to reasonable beings. This misrepresentation is more serious because of the implication that the Prohibitionists have not kept faith with the Republicans. The resolutions to act with the party favoring prohibition, passed by the W. T. C. U. in their annual meetings at Louisville and Detroit, are interpreted as promises to support that party. But, even upon the showing made, there is nothing to warrant this conclusion. The fact that these resolutions were offered is proof of the utter absence of fealty unless the Republican Party should carry out the principles for which Prohibitionists were contending. The unfairness of this reasoning is patent. Another misrepresentation is made in the claim that the Republican Party has done all that has been accomplished for prohibition. That there are many friends of temperance in the Republican Party, is true. That these men are favorable to prohibition, is also true. But that the party has made prohibition a plank in National or State platforms, is not true. Nor is it true that they have given Prohibitionists what they have obtained where prohibition is an accomplished fact. In Maine the prohibitory legislation was enacted before that party had an existence. The attitude of the party there and elsewhere toward prohibition is well expressed in the article on Maine by Joshua L. Chamberlain, in the "Encyclopedia Britannica." "It was inevitable that towards an issue like this parties should take an attitude not always sincere." In Kansas prohibitory legislation was enacted because it was demanded by the people, and not because it was the policy of the party. And in the State platform support is given to prohibition because "it is the will of the people." In Iowa the same is true. Though here the party pledged itself to do the will of the people, yet the constitutional amendment demanded by the people has not been given them. In place of this, the statutory prohibition provided by the legislation of 1885 has been reënacted. The question in the minds of some of the more thoughtful Prohibitionists is, whether the movement has not been retarded by the action of the Republican Party. It is by no means a question how much credit is due for forced goodness.

C. H. MOSCRIP.

MR. EDITOR: Mrs. Stanton seeks to prove that Christianity has not only not benefited woman, but has retarded her progress. Bishop Spalding seeks to prove the opposite. Truth is between. Both speak as if Christianity were a power self-existent, a force poured into this world from without. Christianity, like all other religions, is a mere form of expression of thought, a cry in the multitude, as man sweeps along in the march of the ages. It does not help Mrs.

Stanton's case to show that the Bible overlooks woman's true dignity and worthiness, that the Church has stood in her path, or that professors of midwifery frown on her to-day. The Church has stood in woman's path as it has stood in the way of all human advancement. Why? Because it is a great organized body, transmitting its powers through generations to men that have been loath to lose that power; opposing human progress, not because Christ's teachings are inimical to man's advance, but because liberal ideas strike at the foundations of this system, which sets itself above men and seeks to control their minds and deeds, with no warrant but an assumed semi-divinity, which Christ never pretended to confer upon it. It would not help Bishop Spalding's case to show, even if he could, that St. Paul glorifies woman; to show, even if he could, that before the Christian era woman was trodden down utterly; to show—as a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*—that woman has advanced marvelously since A. D. 1, or to rhapsodize in poetry worthy of the Prince of Troubadours. Woman has risen because the race has risen, because human liberty and popular rights have found voice on two continents. Mrs. Stanton recognizes this; but still she indicts Christianity as retarding progress, which is merely to say that man has stumbled in climbing higher, because Christianity is of man and is the fruit of his thought. Let Mrs. Stanton indict the Romish Church (and this she can do without slurring the essential principles of Christianity as shown by Christ's teachings); and let Bishop Spalding demonstrate, if he can, that Christ's teachings embodied really new truths, whose utterance by Him have actually moved the world as no other had or could or would have moved it; and, while issue will not be joined, the present disputants will respectively have their true texts. As usual, the truth of the matter is in a well; and while it is perhaps too much to say that Bishop Spalding did not even suspect its whereabouts, it must be admitted that Mrs. Stanton has at least peeped over the curb. In my view, further investigation would have brought up the fact that the teachings of Christ have influenced woman neither for good nor for bad, nor influenced the world in any marked degree. Truly the utterance of his gentle code of morals awakes responsive echoes in all human hearts and minds, as did the teachings of Confucius and of the gentle Buddha, ages before our era. Many great historic institutions and historic monuments have been superficially named Christian, but native qualities of human nature, not Christ's teachings, will be found to be their sustaining or propelling forces everywhere. We speak of that magnificent system, the Romish Church, as Christian: does its history exemplify Christ's doctrines? Were its masterspirits Christ-like, how long would it endure? We speak of the Crusades as a Christian tidal-wave. Did Christ's teachings impel that wild rush of the West against the East? Hence I say that the Great Teacher's work has been mildly good, not forcefully creative or motive; and that it has made no great and deep imprint, in any line of human advance, for good or for ill.

JAMES T. ALLINGHAM.

MR. EDITOR: It has seldom been my lot to read so short a paper containing

so many errors as that by Prof. Laughlin on the silver question. Let me enumerate them : 1. That the ratio of value between gold and silver has changed wholly by reason of a decline in silver. The contrary is the fact. Gold has advanced much more than silver has declined, and Prof. Laughlin is the only respectable authority that seems to be oblivious to that fact. 2. That silver would be a "fluctuating standard." The inference is that gold is not a fluctuating standard—the same fallacy as in No. 1. 3. That if silver coinage is continued, gold will go out of circulation, and thereby, "the credit of the United States will be impaired." How ? Why ? The United States has promised, by the most solemn legal enactments, undoubtedly penned by the agents of the public creditors themselves, to pay every dollar of its indebtedness in either gold or silver coin, at its (the Government's) option. The whole of the Government debt has been refunded with that express agreement. How can it impair the credit of a government to do precisely as it agrees to do ? 4. The introduction of the silver standard would produce "a demoralizing change in prices." The whole business and industrial fabric of the world has been badly demoralized for a considerable time by the appreciation of gold, and a consequent shrinkage of general values. A rise in prices can only demoralize creditors, who are only one in one hundred of the population, and that one is rarely engaged in active business. Is not the demoralization greatest which affects ninety-nine persons, rather than that which affects but one ? 5. "The laboring classes will suffer." This is certainly not true. A rise in the scale of prices always benefits the laborers, the tax-payers and property-owners. This is a rule without an exception. No economic fact is better ascertained and more certain. 6. (Repeated.) Silver fluctuates more than gold. The most authentic statistics and tests applied for the past fifteen years prove the contrary. United States Mint statistics for the decade 1870 to 1879, show that gold fluctuated in its purchasing power during that ten years, from 91.7 to 116.2, or by 24½ per cent. ; while silver fluctuated from 89.1 to 100, or by 10.9 per cent. only. 7. His diagram is based on the assumption that gold has been invariable, which is simply ridiculous in view of the actual facts. 8. The passage of the Bland bill "simply made it necessary that the Treasury should be gorged before the silver can get out upon the community at large." There are fewer than fifty millions of silver dollars now in the Treasury subject to be paid out, except in redemption of silver certificates. All the remainder of the silver dollars are in practical circulation by means of certificates. Is it possible that fifty millions of silver can gorge the Treasury ? Is it possible that the one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty millions now in practical circulation, became so only because of a gorge and an overflow ? Then again : If a gorge of the Treasury vaults is possible or probable, why does not the Secretary prevent it by paying out the silver dollars in liquidation of Government obligations now due and legally and honorably payable with silver dollars ? How can the silver dollars get out "upon the community at large," unless the Secretary of the Treasury discharges his sworn duty and pays the Government's debts ? 9. Greenbacks "now redeemable in gold." Greenbacks are redeemable in either gold or silver dollars, at the option of the Government. The statement that they are "now redeemable in gold" is an assertion not supported

by law, common-sense, or morality. 10. The Government coin debt is payable in gold, because "no silver dollars were in circulation from before 1850 to 1878, during which period our bonds were marketed." No bonds worth mentioning were marketed between 1850 and 1861; and I think not a dollar of indebtedness created in that period remains unpaid. Speaking approximately, the whole of the existing Government debt was created at a time when neither gold nor silver was in circulation. So if the Professor's reasoning is good, no part of the present Government debt is payable in either gold or silver, because neither was in circulation when the bonds were marketed!

T. B. BUCHANAN.

71st Year. Published Monthly. Volume 141. Number 3.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

September, 1885.

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Entered at the Post-office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

No. 346.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
No. 30 LAFAYETTE PLACE.

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1885.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXLVI.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

OUR NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

"Les financiers soutiennent l'État comme la corde soutient le pendu."—MONTESQUIEU.

LET the wide difference between the private business of banking and the duty of a national government to coin and issue money be clearly understood. The power to create a national standard of value and to coin or issue money is the prerogative of sovereignty alone, and when delegated to States, corporations, or individuals is so delegated against the spirit of the common law, our written Constitution, and the principle of equal rights for all classes of citizens. Banking represents the clarified essence of the business transactions of the world. One might as well inveigh against roads, steam-engines, markets, and post-offices, as against banks. But banking is only one of a thousand kinds of exchange for private gain, and no more entitled than the others to have influence or power to control, contract, or expand the volume of a national currency. I hold that our national banking system is clothed with all these powers, and necessarily employs them all for private gain, so as to contribute at times to public misfortunes. To begin with, it creates a subsidized class. The national banking system, in brief, is this: that when five or more individuals who

can command, say, $100,000 form a banking association, they may use that sum to buy United States bonds bearing interest; and the Government agrees, for the purpose of helping them into the banking business, that it will safely keep those bonds, will continue to pay the interest to those gentlemen, and, in consideration that they engage in that particular business, will stamp the national money-signet upon $90,000 of bank-notes and deliver them to the association. These notes are expected to have, and do have all the powers of money. The bank lends them like national coin, and can by law enforce the payment of such loans, in coin or other legal tender. Behold our banking association changed, in the twinkling of an eye, from one having $100,000 of its own money to invest, to one with that amount securely invested and $90,000 more in hand to lend! Was ever $90,000 more deftly taken in? Were this pretty subsidy the only objection to the system, it might be let alone as more lucky than sinful. But the principle upon which the system is founded is dangerous to the stability of business and steadiness of values. It is a stimulus to speculation and inflation at one time, and contributes to the paralysis of business at another. Its powers are a premium given for the violation of that cardinal principle of political economy, that the power to increase or diminish the standard of value at pleasure should not be given to kings or potentates or powers, not even to Congresses and Presidents, still less to little corporations of private bankers. It needs but a knowledge of the law, and the bank practice under it, to show that the banks have this power, and use it. Let me illustrate.

When the country is prosperous, the banks naturally increase their circulation to meet a lively demand for money. As prosperity rises into speculative activity, over-hopeful views lure to the payment of high interest, and each man that buys makes a profit, and he that fails to buy is left behind, so that the feeling pervades entire communities that buying almost anything is safe. More money is wanted. The banks see profit then in buying bonds and putting out ninety per cent. of new circulation based upon them, thus adding fuel to the spirit of speculation. Let the revulsion come. Immediately there is a contraction of credits by the banks, while the rush for money at any price sends interest still higher on what they dare lend. As the banks gather in their loans, they are afraid to let them out freely as before; they hold more in reserve;

more and more as times pinch. If the business-collapse is serious, they bundle their bills back to Washington—"take up our circulation," as they say. In short, after inflating the currency with their notes so as to promote speculation, they are next interested in contracting so as to make the results of a reaction more disastrous. Money-lenders of all kinds then gather in at ebb tide the stranded wrecks of property for pledge of which they loaned those copious issues of bank-notes. By the very nature of their business interests, round and round will revolve this wheel of national bank inflation and contraction. Thus the present system, though an immense improvement in every respect on the heterogeneous old breed of State and "wild-cat" banks that wrought ruin in 1836 and 1857, is nevertheless of the same dangerous family.

The system is a dangerous political power. The unity of the national banking interest threatens the corruption and control of the machinery of political parties. Its power is omnipresent. It is subtle and strong to maintain laws for its own private profit. The Jesuits of two centuries ago had no more efficient organization for controlling with unseen hand the governments under which they lived. Similar fears have been expressed concerning the colossal power wielded by some railway corporations; but in the case of railway companies competition and bitter rivalries neutralize the danger. Not only is one road thrown against another for the benefit of all the people who are not stockholders in those roads, but even the pooling arrangements give the lowest average transportation rates possible. Thus we now have a condition of railway usefulness that makes the present a millennial era for travel and transportation. But the great national banking system has no such popular ramification among all classes of people as railway employment makes. It has no similar competitive interests spanning whole States: competition of water against rail; of rival capitalists and their pride pitted against each other for advantages and victories; of unceasing competitive inventions. The national banking system is a solidarity. Its interests are alike from Maine to Texas, from New York to San Francisco. So far as legislation may be needed to fortify its privileges, or to increase them, there is a singular unity of interest and absence of causes for dissension. Only the feeblest and most local competitive interests neutralize for the public safety these bankers' private interests. Their control over political events where the bank interests are in question

will be greater than that of all other interests. Everywhere good citizens are among the officers, stockholders, and employees, and easily believe their own interests to be the public's. The entire community are depositors, and some of these the bank officers have the power seriously to incommode, and even to ruin. At all elections the bank interest can throw, unseen, the weight of its organized contributions to influence results; while, so far as the community is likely to perceive, it seems a disinterested spectator of what in fact it is directing and controlling.

In Congress, where alone their power may be modified or destroyed, a large number of members of both houses are officers and stockholders of the national banks, and have not yet been known, from any delicate appreciation of their public duties, to refrain from voting on questions concerning the banks on account of having private interests therein. In conversation, at the close of the Garfield-Hancock canvass, with an active Republican politician at the West, concerning that election, the writer remarked that the Republicans had the advantage of the Democrats in the amount of money at their disposition. "Oh, as for that," he replied, "there was enough for all purposes on both sides; more than we could use on our side, I know, for the laws are so stringent that great prudence must be used to avoid prosecution. Why, sir," he continued, "we were telegraphed from the East to draw for all we wanted, and could have had ten times as much as we knew how to use to advantage." How long will it be before money thus freely tendered will find sewers well concealed in which it can flow to the profit of its givers? And who were they that could thus be freely drawn upon? The national banks had a great stake in that campaign. Their charters were soon to expire; the system was fighting for dear life and preferred the *status quo* with the party that gave it birth to the chances with the other. It won; and the system has been fortified with new charters.

F. J. Scott.

The invitation to join in a discussion of the merits of the national banking system implies the existence of an adverse public opinion, important at least, if not controlling, in the politics and policy of the country. It is not easy for one who can recall the financial disasters of 1837 and 1857 to accept the conclusion

so implied. The unification of the currency of a country is an essential condition precedent to uniformity and prosperity in business; and it is a force of no inconsiderable value in favor of national unity—a force all-pervading in its influence, and constant in its operation.

The United States Bank furnished a degree of relief from the evils of local, and often unsound currency issued by the State banks, but that relief was always partial and often spasmodic. Under the State bank system the merchant and manufacturer of the North and East could neither buy nor sell in any market of the South or West without considering the uncertain element of exchange. The rate of exchange between New York and New Orleans was greater often than the rate between New York and Liverpool. The notes of the New England banks circulated in New England, but they were merchandise in the city of New York. Travelers from the North to the South, and from the East to the West, were the victims of brokers, who supplied currency to meet the demands of the various localities. The phrase "domestic exchange" has disappeared, and the sign of the dealer in bank-notes is no longer seen in the cities and large towns.

The evils of the State bank system are inherent. In the nature of man it is not possible for the legislatures of thirty-eight States to adopt individually, and in such a way as to inspire general confidence, a system that will make the bill-holders secure in case of the failure of a bank. It is not possible for the thirty-eight States, nor for the banks of thirty-eight States, acting separately or collectively, to devise and keep in motion a system of redemption by which a note issued by a bank at Tallahassee, Florida, shall pass current at Portland in Oregon. It is not possible for the thirty-eight States, nor for the banks of the thirty-eight States, to provide a system by which the note of a failed bank in a remote town of Texas shall be of full value and everywhere current. All these advantages, impossible under the State bank system, are now the incidents of the national banking system.

The State banking system was an obstacle to national unity. It turned the attention of the people from the nation to the respective States, and led them to look to the States for that security in business and financial affairs which the States could not furnish. It gave countenance to the doctrine that the States were supreme, and that the national Government was an agency created by the

States and tolerated by the States, in the exercise of those powers, and those only, which the States had transferred to it.

Of the three great results of the war, the unification of the currency is one. First, the re-establishment of the Union upon the basis of its original, inherent, and constitutional right to exist, independent of the will of States; second, the abolition of slavery; and, third, the assertion by the national Government of its right to furnish a paper currency to the exclusion of any right in the premises on the part of States. The reason for the exercise of this power by the national Government is in the nature of our institutions, and the exercise of the power finds support and justification in the Constitution. The power to coin money is denied to the States, and it is vested exclusively in Congress. For this many sufficient reasons may be assigned, but a paramount reason lies in the probability that the States would furnish coins of varying denominations, and of values intrinsically different. These evils would be felt in business in a variety of ways. A statement of accounts made in one jurisdiction would not accord with the statement made in another. As in transactions with England and France we are now compelled to convert pounds and francs into dollars, so under such a system it would have been necessary to convert the coins of one State into their equivalents in other States. By the Constitution we have one standard, the coin of the United States. Unfortunately, at present, the relative market value of silver and gold does not coincide with the nominal value of silver and gold coins. In this fact we have a taste of the greater evils that would have rested upon the country if the coinage of gold and silver had been left in the custody of the respective States. And if it be important to have a uniform standard, is it not equally important that the representative of the value of the standard should be uniform also? This uniformity is secured by the national banking system.

The issue of United States notes—greenbacks—was due to the exigencies of war. The quality of statesmanship did not enter into the measure. The Treasury Department and Congress were subject to a power that they could not resist. The discretionary part of the proceeding, in which a wise statesmanship was exhibited, was in the decision that the notes should be a legal tender for all dues, public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt. Whenever a government furnishes a currency by

its direct action, whether that currency is coin or paper, the legal tender quality is an essential condition of its value. One test discloses the absurdity of the non-legal-tender theory. Could a government maintain its existence in an exigency such as this Government was called to meet, in 1862, by the issue of a currency that private debtors could not use in payment of their debts? For what length of time would contractors be able to supply the wants of an army, if the currency received by them could not be used in payment of debts due by them?

The great financial measure of the war was the transfer of the banking system from the control of the States to the jurisdiction of the national Government. The newly organized institutions became the agents of the Government in the sale of bonds, and the efficient means by which a knowledge of their value was carried to the small capitalists of the country. From 1861 to 1865 the credit of the country was so impaired that loans were made with difficulty. The credit of the country is now so well established that the offer of a public loan would be accepted eagerly by capitalists, great and small, in foreign countries as well as in the United States. And such has been the condition of the public credit since 1876 that executive ability has not been required to enable the Government to sell its bonds. When it is necessary to advertise, to urge, to do what in commercial language is called "drumming," the work must be committed to banks and bankers. The financial officers of the Government are not authorized to engage in that work, nor are they qualified to perform it. During the war, and immediately subsequent to it, the national banks made large subscriptions to the loans, and those subscriptions they transferred in smaller amounts to their clients and customers. If it be said that they realized a profit from the business, and that their conduct in those days ought not to control the policy of the Government at the present time, all that may be admitted; but it cannot be assumed that like services will not be required at some future time. Our policy is peace, but there can be no security against war. War is always a possibility, and a sound financial condition is more important to a country than a great navy or a standing army.

It would be unjust to assume that any general apprehension exists that the national banking system is dangerous to the liberties or rights of the people. It is controlled by Congress, and that

body is as fair a representation of the people as are the legislatures of the several States. The banks are distributed over the whole country; they are managed by citizens of the respective States, and they can never have political or financial interests in common that would lead them to combine in advocacy of or hostility to any public policy.

If there are those who advocate the overthrow of the national banking system, the burden is upon them to show a better system, if they favor a system of any sort; or if they contend for the abolition of the present system without a substitute, they are bound to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that the condition of the country would thereby be improved. In solving the problem, whichever alternative they accept, they cannot omit to notice the fact that the business men of the country are indebted to the national banks constantly to the amount of more than one thousand million dollars. Whenever the present banking system is abolished, that indebtedness must be met. The capital would remain in the country; but its transfer to new hands, and its distribution to the stockholders in comparatively small amounts, would cause the suspension of business in many otherwise prosperous communities.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

ONE day, some ten years ago, I met my revered friend, Wendell Phillips. He had been talking about the greenback. "Mr. Phillips," said I, "what is the point of this discussion? What can be better money than a good bank bill with a gold dollar behind it?" "Ah!" he replied, "that would be pretty good money if it were not a lie. But the whole thing is a false pretense—a swindle. The gold dollar is never behind the dollar bill, except just when no one wants it. The moment it is really needed it is not there, and can't be there. Why? Simply because the world's trade, despite all the aids of the most recent and improved banking, properly requires, say, ten times as much currency as both gold and silver furnish. The two metals comprise some six thousand millions of dollars each—twelve thousand millions in all. That is the total accumulation of the ages. But the world can't do business, can't exchange its commodities, without using more than a hundred thousand millions of currency. So the gold and silver will not go

around. If one country has enough, some other is drained and cornered. Paper money was invented to overcome this difficulty. But, if there is only one metallic dollar behind ten dollars in bank-bills, or five, or three, why not recognize the fact, and not promise an impossibility, specie redemption on demand? The great lie called 'specie basis' has destroyed the commercial prosperity of the United States once every six years since the nation started."

I recall my first real lesson in finance, not merely to point a bit of narrative, but because Mr. Phillips pierced the heart of the subject at one thrust. Seven hundred years ago the civilized world gave up the attempt to float its rising commerce on the two baby-rafts, gold and silver coin, and started the Bank of Venice. The books of that bank, in 1171, contained the whole principle of the United States treasury-note, the only kind of paper money that will ever be fit for issue under any stable government, until civilization outgrows the use of metallic currency.

Venetian money consisted of coin and paper. The State stood behind the paper and made it better than gold: first, by holding the volume strictly within the demands of trade; and, second, by redeeming it at par with coin in all public dues and private debts. Venice issued no treasury-notes, as we employ that term, and no engraved bank-bills. She needed a loan for war, as did the United States twenty-four years ago, and she forced her wealthiest citizens to advance it. Then she made the lenders the managers of the loan, and allowed them four per cent. a year on it. They started a bank, and opened their ledgers. They made their whole stock divisible and transferable, and began to sell. But this arrangement converted the bank capital into a circulating medium for all the wholesale transactions of Venetian commerce, with a volume only limited by the rapidity of transfer. Everybody wanted a slice of the stock, for it was legal tender. Thus the divisible inscriptions of the Bank of Venice became the currency of Europe. Interest on it was abolished, for the people needed to use more than they could get, and they soon came to regard it as a permanent tool of trade, the cheapest and best that could be devised. Venice used it for nearly six centuries without one commercial panic. This method of furnishing a country with a currency is to supplement nature's shortage of gold and silver with government credit, not redeemable in coin on demand, but made legal tender for all public and private dues, and

kept at par with coin, or above it, by strictly commanding the volume.

But, in 1695, the Bank of England inaugurated another method of helping out nature in her deficiency of bullion. It was to inflate the notes of the bank far beyond their backing in coin, yet promise specie conversion on demand. It was known that no such promise could be kept if the demand should become general; but it was "guessed" that the notes would never be presented all at one time, and thus break the bank's "specie basis." Thus the British banking system, with its whole line of offspring, was conceived in a miscalculation, and has become just what Wendell Phillips called it, a stupendous lie. But it was foisted on the American colonies and the United States, and from 1789 to 1861, under the old State banks, it brought us to commercial ruin five times in each generation. The way of doing it was simple enough. Trade was tempted into activity by discounting business paper, and exchanging bank-notes for it. Then came the periodical drain of specie by the world's great gold-sucker, the Bank of England; and then the American banks, to hold on to some reserve of coin for the redemption of their bills, were forced to stop discounts, put up the rate of interest, and precipitate a panic. In such a panic, a few cunning Shylocks, who understood the game, were always found to have all the specie afloat, and thus to hold the power of measuring all other values by their little hoard, and buying up everything at their own price. This done, the banks generally suspended specie payments and began a new deal.

Our national banking system to-day is as good a thing, perhaps, as could possibly be derived from such a source—the great British confidence game of specie basis, inflation, and suspension. In memory of the State banks, these national banks are deservedly popular. They furnish a uniform currency, good in all parts of the country, and the bill-holders are thoroughly secured. In general, the banks are managed by honest and able men. But the very name "national" bank implies the one overwhelming objection to the thing as it is, which is not national. In our day, there is no excuse for any nation that does not issue and control the money of its people, in the whole common interest, as a direct function of government. No function is more vital. To distort a currency fills hearses and opens graves. Our nation shirks its duty, and relegates the function to an association of indi-

viduals. "The National Banking Association" is a private monopoly.

The small bonus of double interest—five or six millions of dollars—which the banks now get from the people is not worth talking about; but the banks are conducted for the private gain of their stockholders, who can, at will, inflate or contract the people's money, and thus set the value of all property. Fortunately, the "specie basis" of the national banks is now chiefly paper—the "rag-baby"—three hundred and forty-six millions of greenbacks! This circumstance at last prevents our foreign trade and the Bank of England from dictating exactly when an American merchant or manufacturer may get his business notes discounted. Those greenbacks fight off our old-fashioned panics. But, while our treasury-note is the gold-redeemer of the bank-bill, the Government, if called on, must redeem its own notes in the gold itself. These notes are held by the banks. So, a sufficient combination of national bankers can break the United States Treasury at any time during an outward drain of specie. They may never do it. But how simple-minded are the "great American people" to take the risk!

Let us have honest money. In 1861 Thaddeus Stevens planned it perfectly, as far as honest money can be instituted in connection with metal. The civil war was to be fought on Government credit, and paid for in taxes. In the meantime the people would need about a thousand millions of currency beyond all the specie then in the country. What better currency could they possibly have than Government notes, redeemable in taxes; that is, in the people's own inevitable debts? There could be only one danger in such money. Overissue would depreciate it, because overissue, and that only, will depreciate any money. Against this contingency an interest-bearing bond was placed, to absorb, at need, any excess of the circulation. The Government paper, both currency and bonds, was ultimately redeemable in coin. But Thaddeus Stevens was long-headed enough to see that such a money would constantly redeem itself; and there would be the end of the "specie basis." He simply revived the money-tool of Venice, which was no experiment, but which had been approved by the unbroken practical success of more than five hundred years. Our House of Representatives adopted it by a large majority. But the blind and raw Senate of that day spoiled it. They made a green-

back not redeemable in duties on imports or interest on the public debt, and so not placed by the nation that issued it at par with coin. That "blunder worse than a crime" enabled the foxy gentlemen of the specie basis to corner the whole credit of their country, which had to be dumped into Wall Street, at any price it would bring, to buy the gold which they alone held. They doubled the national debt—as Mr. Spaulding, since President of the National Banking Association, prophesied—and their handiwork has cost the rest of their countrymen more than five billions of dollars.

But if the greenback is now the "specie basis" of the banks, it is good enough for the American people. Gold is "the money of the world" (in spots), only because certain nations have made it such. Should all the world demonetize it, seventy per cent. of its value would drop out in a day. As ours is a silver-producing country, let us make silver as valuable as possible, by full monetization, but recognize a complete "bi-metallic solvent." Bi-metalism will save us from being the plaything of London and Hamburg. But, with what gold and silver we can keep in the country, let us have all the treasury-notes that can be held at par with the specie. To that extent our paper circulation should absorb our bonds, and save interest on the national debt. Bankers will have plenty of room for their very useful business; but when they loan money, it will be really national money—gold, silver, and treasury-notes.

EDWARD H. G. CLARK.

THE assailants of the national banking system divide themselves, if I am rightly informed, under the three watchwords, Strict Construction, Anti-Monopoly, and Paper Money. To those duly nourished in the creed of State rights, the national banks are objectionable merely because they are national, creatures of Federal needs and of Federal power, carrying on the work of centralization in every corner of every State. To the anti-monopolist the banks are a monopoly, and, like beasts and birds of prey, always the object of legitimate attack. To the partisan of paper money, the national bank-note embodies an error of principle and a blunder of policy with which, by virtue of his office, he is at feud. Of course, these three orders of opinion all come from perennial stock. They are sure to find, in time, and in one place or another, a reason

or a means of effective growth. But to overthrow a system so well grounded as that of the national banks, there should be a force and a cohesion in these elements of opposition which, in my view, is lacking. Is there to be found in them any important or practical suggestion for an amendment of the system which is called for by the needs of the present or of the immediate future? I am unable to recognize such.

As for the pressing issues of the day, the Refunding bill, to be passed by the present Congress, and the admission of other than United States bonds as security for the notes of the national banks, I shall take leave to pass them by, in order to reach a class of questions less likely to have received due consideration. I refer to the probable need of a modification of the financial control of the country in the direction of closer harmony between the Treasury, the banks, and the business interests of the country.

A general monetary war is now waging between the continents and the nations that rally to the standard of gold or of silver, or of silver and gold, and the issue of it is uncertain. The condition of business in this country is one of distress. It is not merely "trade depression," as the English expression has it; it is industrial depression, agricultural depression; it is a stagnation of enterprise, a discouragement of investment, a congelation of credits, affecting the entire range of production and exchange; it is a time when he who finds it necessary to sell is likely to realize a shrinkage of price. The entire occidental world is in a plight little better than ours.

The recognition is growing apace that the proximate, the efficient, the removable cause is the anti-silver legislation adopted by European States within a few years after the battle of Sedan. This legislation acted as a continental conspiracy to "bull" gold and "bear" silver. Reducing a thousand millions of intrinsic money to the condition of tokens, it tended to check the speed of circulation. Diminishing the stocks of Europe by sale of melted coin, and depriving them of re-enforcement from the annual output of the silver mines, it made default in the normal supply of money, while population and business were increasing: a default that was carried further by a decline in the output of gold, and by the partial replacement of paper by gold in the United States and Italy. We have here, in brief, the main features of a world-wide "corner on gold," which produces a shrinkage of values expressed in gold; that is to

say, a shrinkage of the prices of most vendible things in Europe and America.

The situation in this country may be described as one of compound fracture. In addition to the lesion that the property-using world shares with Europe, it suffers a specific injury in the danger of a further dislocation of values through a premium on gold. This danger is due to the continued coinage of silver, or the absorption of it into the Treasury. It might be assumed that a silver coinage, acting to swell the monetary mass, must tend at least toward a cure of the gold-contraction. But this expansive force is very limited, and is crossed by an opposing force that quite overbears it for the time, which is, of course, the specific destruction of confidence in the stability of business and of values when a premium on gold is impending. This menace, following as it does a year of liquidations such as that of 1884, has a very depressing effect.

Such are the efficient causes of the present depression, and it is obvious that the general cause is not transitory. It is true that a limit may be set by Congress to the coinage of silver, and to the purchase of it by the Treasury; but this does not settle the silver question; this does not end the war. So far as new legislation or governmental action is concerned, the situation is a dead-lock. Masterly inactivity is the order of the day—barring the unmasterly activity in the coinage of standard dollars here. But the aggressive invasion in the monetary field ceased on May 16, 1879, when Germany ceased to sell melted silver coin. Opinion in Europe is unequivocally moving toward the adoption of the policy of bimetallic union, and all signs promise that it will move with accelerated speed when our statesmen at Washington shall have put forth their strength.

A forecast of the future, therefore, opens before us three periods, or stages: first, as a certainty, a continuation of the present dead-lock; second, as a possibility, a provisional and preliminary monetary union; third, also as a possibility, a completed union for the establishment of the silver and gold standard. Is there in this forecast anything that seems to point to work for a national banking system to do any duty that Congress may find it expedient to impose upon it? I should say, decidedly, yes. The changes and chances of a prolonged period of unstable equilibrium, like the present, with a shrinking stock of gold as the sole money of international credit, sustaining by its side, in each nation, silver and

paper money of merely national credit, offer ample occasion for the beneficial agency of a banking system. Again, as we confront the idea of monetary union with other nations, we become aware of a suggestive disparity between our banking organization and theirs. These nations, before which the proposal of the United States for a monetary union has been outstanding since 1878, have central banks acting in harmony with the Treasury. However widely the Banks of England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and Belgium may differ in detail, their relations to their governments insure in the main a consistent, centralized financial control. In this country this certain harmony of action is lacking. The interests of a nation of our acreage and population are a serious load to be conducted safely. Of course, the horses are willing and numerous, and the vehicle is strong ; it is only the driving that can awaken solicitude. The reins are divided up among a number of drivers, and these drivers are not organized as a committee, subjected to the directions of a chairman, or bound by a majority vote. Harmony is possible, of course, but is hardly certain to appear when needed.

It is easy to foresee that in laying the foundation of a monetary union there is room for the co-operation of centralized financial control like that of a Central National Bank, and that in the course of negotiations something equivalent to such action might be demanded of the United States. In such event the Government might find the demand justifiable under the circumstances, and must then consider whether the Treasury, as now organized, can meet it, or whether it would be expedient to invoke the co-operation of the banks, under the due guarantees of appropriate legislation.

In evidence that the idea of the intervention of banks, as the servants of a national monetary policy, is not mere speculation, I may cite two late instances of proposed action. The English Government transmitted to the Conference of 1881, at Paris, a declaration of the Bank of England that it would be open for the purchase of silver up to a certain proportion of its gold (meaning, presumably, that the Issue Department would issue bank-notes on silver in a ratio not greater than one of silver to four of gold), provided the projected monetary union should restore the coinage of silver. So the Direction of the Bank of Holland regard it, as an essential feature of a bimetallic union, that the great banks of the

agreeing states should each be ready to buy silver and gold bullion at a fixed price, presumably the same relative price in each nation. It will, I think, be apparent, that in the event that any international concert of action replaces the present state of chaos and dead-lock, a readjustment of the relation between the banks and the Treasury must become a subject of practical discussion.

S. DANA HORTON.

THE TENDENCIES OF ENGLISH FICTION.

It has long been a fixed idea of the English nation that its schools of fiction are superior to those of any other country. It has long been the habit of its critics complacently to compare its productions with those of every other nation, to the contempt and disadvantage of the latter. It has been a matter of pride and of prejudice both; and it has never occurred to the insular mind that there could possibly be two sides to the question. This strong self-esteem was born in the days of Smollett and Goldsmith, and grew steadily through those of Scott onward to those of Bulwer, Thackeray, and Dickens; such self-esteem seems justified by the strength and beauty of these masters, and was, on the whole, accepted and ratified by the voice of the reading world. English novelists during that century of fine work occupied a high place in the annals of the best literature; and if the Puritanism of their nation still restrained the frank expression of their views, and deference to its hypocrisies still prevented their portraits of human nature from being as accurate as they might have been, still they attained a standard of excellence in fiction which no other writers, so numerous or so manly, have ever reached before them. In their hands the novel assumed the place of playfellow, teacher, and companion all in one; it reached those numbers of readers to whom verse was unintelligible; it touched social and political problems, if superficially, yet in a manner which induced thought in the thoughtless; and it brought some knowledge of culture, some sympathy with pain, some insight into higher natures, to large classes of persons who could have been reached by no other means. The novelist, in a great measure, dethroned the dramatist, and was accepted by those who would have refused to listen to the poet. It was then that English fiction, in the eyes of Englishmen, and without much dispute from the voices of

other nations, assumed the lofty place in art which it imagines that it has with ease retained.

I say "imagines," because I consider that it has not so retained it in fact. I think that so much water has been mingled with the wine of English literature that it has altogether lost the body and flavor which it had of old, and its extraordinary prolixity and puerility are among the many unmistakable signs of the decay of English intellectual power. Redundant and mediocre literature is almost always the accompaniment, perhaps the offspring, of national decadence, and there was never any time in which English literature was so enormous in quantity and so contemptible in quality as it is at the present epoch. To open almost any English volume or periodical is to blush for the mental status alike of the writer who writes and of the public which reads. There is an endless outpouring from the printing-presses of second-rate, feeble, and verbose fiction, which is accompanied by a stream of so-called criticism as verbose, feeble, and second-rate as itself; and in this vast invertebrate, jelly-like mass the reader searches in vain for any knowledge of human nature, any trace of scholarship, any presence of original thought, any evidence that the producers have any consciousness of style, and of the study of style, of the world as it exists, and of the requirements of art. Fiction has come to be regarded in England as among the professions or trades, by which any person possessed of an average education and intelligence can earn his bread. Novelists are not ashamed to advocate the adoption of "the literary calling" as a resource to be seriously considered by those who cannot find clerkships at home, and are unwilling to take farms in the colonies. Rules for their assistance are generously given, and guilds are formed for the more rapid and profitable production of their works. Fiction is no more a daughter of the Muses and the Graces, but a mere slave of the lamp and the quill. The art which, of all others, most demands the play of fancy, the repose of leisure, and the gifts of imagination, is supposed to be one of the trades which every one who can learn to turn a hand-organ can succeed in following with profit; and the quill-driving of the lawyer's clerk, as of the bill-discounter, is forsaken by its votaries for what is deemed the lighter quill-driving of novel writing, and, not content with thus debasing art themselves, they beat their drum triumphantly, and invite all mediocrity to come and do the like.

What is the result? That Fiction, in lieu of being the daughter of Wit and Fancy, and the sister of the poets, is only the vulgar handmaid of a chop-house, and the mistress of a man who calls her to pay his daily luncheon. It is supposed that anybody can write a novel; that it is one of those things which any one can do with a little practice, as any one who has the proper number of limbs, and is not too old, can learn to play lawn tennis, or sit upon a bicycle; and year upon year these thousands of novels crowd the shelves of libraries, and the book boxes of library subscribers, with no gleam of wit, no grain of thought, no trace of culture in these tons of spoiled paper and their millions of useless printed words. It may be said that there is always a mass of rubbish in every national literature; that there is always, and in all arts, the poetaster and the poet, the dauber and the artist, the figure-cutter and the sculptor, Grub Street and Parnassus. But what is new and unspeakably hideous in this matter is, that the scribblers are being gravely exhorted to scribble as a career of honor; that to live in Grub Street is being deemed most honorable; that the stone figure chopped without art is being held quite as good as the Elgin marbles; that the "pot-boiler," crudely daubed to get twenty pounds, is clamorously elected to be worthy to hang beside the "Audience of Agrippa" or the "Law and Death." Mediocrity has at all times spawned and swarmed with odious prolificness. That we know. What is new, and most ominous, is, that in English fiction, and to a lesser degree in all other English arts, mediocrity, even ineptitude, is allowed to take its stand unrebuked, and instantly proclaim itself the equal of all it meets.

The manner in which the art of fiction has come of late to be regarded cannot be better and more painfully illustrated than by the story which goes at this moment through the newspapers of the late "Hugh Conway," a stock-broker of the real name of Fargus, who late in life, finding he could write a sensational story with success, sold his business, and determined to "live by literature." This manner of looking at the creation of romances as a trade, possibly as profitable as brokerage and stock-jobbing, is comical; what is more comical is, that this fact is reported quite respectfully and sympathetically by the press in general; whilst in this person's own town of Bristol a scholarship of literature is to be founded in his memory. A scholarship of literature—God

save the mark!—to record the fact that a man once deserted a broker's office to write two or three stories of wholly impossible incidents, in a style the most injurious to "literature" that could be imagined! This evidence, unimportant in itself, is only worthy of notice as an illustration of the low standard of fiction in England, and the representation of it by a mass of men essentially *bourgeois* in their position and their opinions, without any censure from the public at large, or any general perception of the degradation to art. A great writer may be very poor; great writers not seldom; but no great writer ever yet looked on his art as a trade whereby he would pay his tailor and buy his shirts.

The impression that fiction is a trade for which other trades may be, in cold blood and in deliberate speculation, profitably exchanged is yearly growing stronger and stronger, and the result of it is to flood the English libraries with novels manufactured as mechanically and as ignobly as any piece of cotton goods vamped up in a Manchester factory to cheat Hindoo purchasers. There is a kind of talent in some of these of the imitative and commonplace order; in many there is not even as much as this. Any competent judge taking up, for instance, any number of any one of these periodicals elevated in England to what is called "light literature" will, if he knew what literature should be, be appalled at the absolute rubbish which passes under that name. In France no one writes unless he have something to say, and unless he have at least mastered the elements of the requirements of style; but in England the latter is set absolutely at defiance, whilst the most trivial and imbecile incidents are deemed worthy of filling pages on pages of print.

Many causes have combined to produce this decay in fiction as in other forms of literature: the circulating libraries, which induce hasty and undigested reading of as many volumes as it is possible to obtain in a short space of time; the absurd practice of three-volume form of novel publication, which tempts writers to spin out a thin thread of interest into nothingness; the absolute ignorance of publishers, who think that fiction may be woven by the hour and sold by the yard; the utter inefficiency of criticism, which drags into a momentary distinction work that should never even have found a printer; all these and similar reasons have concurred to bring about the present state of English imaginative literature. I am myself strongly opposed to what is

called the serial form of issue, because I believe it to be injurious alike to the writer and the reader, and to be a most inartistic, grotesque, and unworthy fashion of bringing any work before the public. But serial publication has long prevailed in France, and has not prevented French fiction from retaining its force, its artistic method of construction, and its excellences of style; therefore this cannot be reckoned amongst the malign influences which have brought English novelists to the low place which they now occupy, and the main reason must still be sought elsewhere. I would myself attribute it chiefly to two causes: one, the Puritanism which so strangely lingers in the national character; the other, the extreme ignorance of the world displayed by English story-tellers, and their insular and conventional views of life. Added to these there is also the inability of the English public to appreciate, and so to exact, art and style from those who write for it. There is an idea amongst English persons that "anything will do" to make a story, and the result is that whereas a French novel, however much you may dislike it, yet will always be a work planned with skill, and carried out with due regard to proportion. The English novel, however much you may like it, will always strike you, if you have any critical faculty at all, as slipshod, ill-arranged, not thought out before it is written, and generally inharmonious: in a word, taking that position in literature which the slattern takes amongst womankind. The slattern may be as good-looking as she will—the disorder of her clothes will always disfigure her. Most English stories start exceedingly well; the earlier portions are usually interesting, and even admirable, but they almost invariably display inability to sustain consistency and interest; the characters are not developed, are sometimes even wholly lost sight of, or have their whole idiosyncracy altered to suit the momentary exigencies of some situation; the motives are usually feeble, and inadequate to sustain the action built on them; and the whole narrative resembles in its conformation that interesting denizen of our ponds, the tadpole, with his overwhelming head and his almost invisible body. And this defect—so grave a defect in art—is to be found not only in the feeblest but in the strongest English novels, and is at the root of their failure to content the demands of art. The hypocrisy, also, which so largely tinges all the national life, has much to answer for in the injury which it has done to English fiction as well as to English verse—

the poets have at times burst the bonds of it, the novelists have never done so. There is a tacit arrangement on the part of the nation to regard itself as chaste and immaculate in a wholesale manner which is very curious, and has never had any parallel in any other nation. The favorite English illusion is that the English people are without senses or passions, and as no art can exist without recognition of both senses and passions, the effect on English literature is fatal. Natural love, unblessed by the priest, or at least by the registry-office, must never be written up; so that the story-teller is grotesquely fettered at starting, and his obligation to obey this canon of English ethics leads to grotesque results. To illustrate my meaning I will take a novel now in course of publication in "MacMillan's Illustrated Magazine." This story turns on the fact of a young woman causing to be brought, as a lost child, to the house of her relatives, a boy who is in reality her own son, so that, without acknowledging his birth, she may be near him, and be able to rear him. Now, given this situation, the only thing which could possibly make such a one natural would be the fact that the child was the offspring of some amour of which she could not bring herself to speak, and the discovery of which would involve on her the disgrace socially attached to such circumstances. But no! With the dread which the unwritten law of the English public inspires heavy upon him, the hapless and timid author is compelled to make the child the offspring of a private marriage to an artist or drawing-master! The young woman is represented as rich, independent, masterful in character, and blessed with an indulgent father and two excellent uncles; yet, instead of declaring to them in confidence the fact of her marriage—a simple and natural step, which would have been taken by any one not out of their senses—she weaves the most elaborate plot, draws upon herself the darkest of suspicions, allows a man she loves to think anything hideous of her that he chooses, and selects as her only *confidante* an unknown woman who sells sausages in a pork-shop. This is an example *sui generis* of English fiction; an admirable situation is ruined and made ridiculous because a child born out of wedlock is inadmissible in it, and everybody must be married that the English public is to be invited to read about; such slight things as probability, possibility, harmony, and artistic requirements are all thrown aside, because before the English

public reads of the adventures of this child it must be satisfied as to the marriage certificate of its parents. It is the same peculiar form of national hypocrisy which makes bigamous unions legitimate—even popular—as a source of dramatic interest upon the stage, but adultery forbidden by the Lord Chamberlain. It is all traceable to the leaven of the puritanic element in the English character, which makes a certain amount of cant absolutely necessary to the security of its suffrages. Such cant as George Eliot and George Lewes admirably understood, so that, by a due attention to its conciliation, they together contrived to pass off on the English nation a situation, quite commonly and vulgarly illegitimate in itself, as legitimate, and even beautiful. This irresistible evidence of cant greatly hurt their talent, and makes them slighty absurd for all time ; but as a means to an end—that end pecuniary gain and social success—it was the very truest wisdom, and proved that they had read the characters of their countrypeople with a perfect accuracy.

To art, as art, however, this obligation of cant must always be deforming and injurious in a pitiable degree ; it restricts all free and natural utterance, and lies like a stone on the spontaneous growth of genius. There is no word in the English language which exactly describes the tone and manner of looking at events which is comprised in the French word *bourgeois ;* yet, not having the word, the English nation, and the fiction which is written for it, has the thing in its uttermost completeness—it is beyond everything else *bourgeois.* It has a dull, narrow, commonplace standard for everything, and the novelists have lowered themselves to this standard. The English novels of the last twenty years, especially of the last ten, are in every respect *bourgeois* novels ; are *bourgeois* in their style, their descriptions, their characters, and their views of life. Whether the story be more or less romantic or dramatic does not make any difference in this fact—the treatment of it is always *bourgeois.* This is never seen more greatly than in the amatory passages. The lovers of the English novel are always haunted by the vision of the church-steeple or the registry-office. They paddle about in shallow waters of flirtation with the church always in view, and the heights of passion they never reach. Whether it be from absolute inability or from constitutional timidity that the English novelist becomes ridiculous in his love passages, the fact is that he does become so. He has the air of

writing of something of which he knows nothing. He is evidently afraid that the family circle is looking through the key-hole at his lovers. Their passions are invertebrate, and their girls and boys may all go and hang themslves for what anybody cares. It is not because a story is simple that it is necessarily insipid. "L'Abbé Constantine" proves the contrary, cast on the simplest lines, and deriving no assistance or interest whatever from any passion, yet vivacious, charming, and graceful. Think of the charm of "Dasia;" of the delicious wit and drollery of "M. Drommel," that most inimitable of all things which the mind of Victor Cherbuliez has given us; think of "Un Grand Marriage" and of "Un Marriage d'Amour;" think of Daudet's short stories, and then realize all that a French writer can get of knowledge of the world, of wit, and of suggested wit, within the limits of a cabinet picture. And why? Because he brings a perfect artistic feeling to his works, and because he is not cumbered with the recollection of Mrs. Grundy. It is only in the conditions of an absolute freedom that any real art can be done. For the slightest French story there is always an aroma of wit, a sense of power purposely restrained, a feeling that the writer knows and implies a great deal more of human foibles than he cares for the moment to display. In a word, the French writer writes like a man or woman of the world for men and women of the world. The English writer is in many cases too ignorant and in others too timid to do this, even if he possessed the artistic power. There is always in the English writer a feeling that love is born of the devil the moment that it is betokened by anything more than the "spooning" of a boy and girl on a yacht-deck or a tennis-ground. The imbecile English boast that their novels may all be read by school-girls indicates at once the intellectual and psychological level on which they are composed. They are quite "pure;" but as human nature is not "pure" in this sense, and never will be, of what use are they then as pictures of human nature? If they represent anything, they represent middle-class manners, men's habits and characters, with a singular unanimity. If they are like anything, they are like the inner life of the rectory, the doctor's house, the lawyer's family, the merchant's suburban villa. They never get beyond the limbo of *bourgeois* sentiment. *Bourgeois* feeling tinges the whole of English fiction as jaundice tinges the human body; its politics are for the most part a mild radicalism, and its ethics are those of a

moderate evangelical preacher; it reflects a certain humanitarianism, a very courteous leaning toward such socialism as places Dumas at the best end. But of every attempt to represent the various phases of English society, the languor and excitability, the haste and *ennui*, the mutable passions and the sated appetites, the wit and the weariness of it all, there is not a trace in the English novels of the last decade; there is not a sign that any one of them ever saw the inside of a great London *salon* or of a great English country-house. I do not say that they have never done so; I only say that they entirely fail to represent society if they do know it. There is more suggestion of English society, as it is, in Mr. Mallock's "New Republic," which is not a novel, than in all the English novels of his time.

In English fiction there is the most singular absence of social knowledge; the life of society is almost entirely unrepresented in it, and the world at large is unknown. As some pictures of landscape are composed in London studios without any breath of fresh air ever blowing on their canvas, so these novels seem to be written in London chambers without any larger atmosphere or wider outlook being sought than that which the dusty window-pane affords. Again, there are novels which do picture landscape with the true colors of the country in them, but these, though their gray seas and their green cornfields are true enough to nature, altogether fail in representing the life of men and women as they are. Disraeli's novels were unhappily spoiled by an ornate diction and a sentimentality which become ridiculous; but if these be set aside, his novels reflect the world he lived in, and show the characteristics of society as no novels have done since them. The life described in them is the life of the great world, and the multiplicity of the many different characters in them represents that infinite variety of characters which is to be found in the world. Their wit and epigram have never been appreciated in England any more than their genuine verisimilitude has been understood. If Disraeli had been born in France, and written in French, he would have ranked with Beaumarchais and Rochefoucauld. The English language, which he never knew thoroughly, allowed him bombast and hyperbole, which have obscured the fine qualities of his wit and wisdom; yet there is no novel in any language which has more of these two things than has "Conningsby."

I do not attempt or desire to approach any criticism herein of

either dead or living novelists of England; I only refer to the novels of Disraeli because they contain some of the very elements which, in the fiction of the present day in England, are so lamentably conspicuous by their absence; and it seems to me the very strangest thing, that in English life, where so many clever men are in hourly contact with the social and political aspects of their life, not one of these men even has the talent to represent these aspects of it in fiction, but all of them abandon fiction to the mere *littérateur*, who only knows political life from the reporters' gallery, or the columns of the cheap press, and only knows society from its external appearance as it goes by him in Rotten Row. This society is, I say, unrepresented in the fiction of the time.

Yet what is fiction if not a photograph? True, there is the historical novel, the romantic novel, the classical novel, which do not deal with society; but these are rare, and will grow rarer, because the whole tendency of modern thought is to mirror and analyze and morbidly dwell upon its own self, and has less and less patience with those who ask it to exert pure imagination or to look backward at vanished ages. And the novel which represents most clearly the temperaments, opinions, and manners of society, is that which society now asks for, and which alone can have any chance of obtaining influence over it, of possessing for it that power of suggestion and of sarcasm, which the novels of an earlier time possessed for the generation of their time. And this the English fiction of the present moment cannot do, because it is too ignorant, too puerile, too timid, and too passionless. Moreover, it lacks culture, and does not even take the trouble to study the laws of its own being. The art which rules the creation of a good novel is as delicate and as severe in its execution of harmony as that which produces good music; but English novelists do not recognize this; fiction is to them a monotonous theme, to be played with mechanical expression on the keys of a piano-forte: of the passion-music of the great orchestras they have studied nothing.

The unimaginative and plodding character of their wit may be seen in the word "Work," which they are so fond of giving to it. No artist who was an artist *toto carde* ever used the word "work" in reference to his creations. It is one wholly incongruous and unworthy. The art which is alone well done is that which is spontaneous, delightful to the doer of it, irresistible in its empire over him, and the offspring of leisure and of fancy. I do not believe

that any trace of inspiration was ever felt by those who turned to any art in middle age, or in the midst of other occupations and preoccupations. From Giotto to Leighton the painter has always been drawing natural objects of his own existence from the earliest years of his childhood, and I am certain that every great writer has not been less guided by the Muses in his childhood than Tennyson, who wrote verse at four years old. This is the only good and true outcome of the mind—this which is born with the man or woman as surely as the color of the eyes, which is imperious in its dominion over, and engrained in the life which it dominates. All creative art which is executed as "work" is contemptible, even in a manner blasphemous, and whatever art is pursued as mere work soon becomes scamped work.

The mere association, as convertible terms, of work and imagination is ridiculous. The moment that a writer sits down to his bureau as punctually as a clerk to his desk he becomes a mere clerk, and the kind of literature he produces can only be monotonous and insipid, created as the child cuts out perforated wood with his little saw, according to directions, and calls it carving.

All the complex, cosmopolitan, contradictory, and entirely interesting characteristics of English society remain absolutely unrepresented in English fiction. There is in it a great deal of dissoluteness, a great deal of discontent, much that is utterly vapid, with much that is touching, and even brilliant; its women are in themselves a study for a La Bruyère or a Juvenal, and in its inordinate extravagance, its demand for novelty, and its indifference to truth, may be read the signs of that great national decay which at the present hour makes the country lie apathetic and acquiescent under its own dishonor. There has never been any moment in history in which England has been so discredited, so disgraced, and so ridiculed by the whole world; yet there never was a moment in which it was so passive and so smugly content with its own degradation. Weak and vituperative language take the place of manly and courageous action, and a war of words is considered enough to replace the civility, the power, and the dignity which the nation has lost, losing with it the esteem and the trust of mankind. This feebleness in the national character and national intelligence may serve to account for the similar feebleness of its intellectual productions. Why has it been always impossible to produce in England such a periodical as the "Revue des Deux Mondes?" Because the

style of English writers is so inferior, and because the public does not require anything better than the second-rate work which they offer to it. The English public, as a rule, does not read ; it skims a little, that is all. Setting aside certain æsthetic cliques, one may say that England does not read in any scholarly sense of the word. Innumerable book-boxes enter English houses, it is true ; but the contents of them are as jumbled up in the minds of the household as the divers volumes are in the box. Except bibliophiles who frequent sales and buy rare books, nobody in England ever buys a book if he can borrow it. I think the method of English publication is partly to blame for this. If novels were produced as they are in France, people in England would possibly buy them. The English publishers waste a mountain of money in producing the three-volume editions of novels, which are only purchased by the circulating libraries, and then degrade a novel, and disgust every person of taste, by bringing that same novel out with hideous colored-paper covers, and flaunting colors, to attract the mobs in railway stations. One simple, plain, and well-printed edition issued from first to last would be made more satisfactory to the common-sense of readers and to the dignity of literature, and would save an immense quantity of money at the present time thrown away in the setting-up of the various type of the many different editions. This same course has been repeatedly advocated by many writers, and I have reason to know that the librarians would not oppose it ; but, meanwhile, the publishers think that they see a greater profit accruing to themselves from the present idiotic system of thirty-shilling, five-shilling, and two-shilling editions; and the long-established practice continues to prevail, its idiocy sanctioned by custom. An intellectual nation would not allow its literature to be injured thus, merely to gratify the (supposed) interests of the publishing trade. But England is indifferent ; books seem very small things to it ; and the temper, gradually growing more and more apathetic, which kneels to Russsa and bows to France, is not likely to exert in behalf of scholars the force which it will not put out to preserve its prestige and its possessions in Africa and in Asia. The decline of English literature keeps pace, step by step, with the decline of English political greatness. Mediocrity is accepted in its writers as in its soldiers, and verbiage without meaning is admired in its authors as in its politicians.

It is an evil which grows with every year, and it is one to which the very low standard of criticism which prevails in England panders in a most unfortunate degree. Mr. Puff is always assuring Grub Street that it is Parnassus; and the chop-house that it is a temple. The style and quality of English fiction every year sinks lower in proportion as its issue increases in quantity; and it is hard to see what corrective will alter this lamentable decadence, unless the English public, which in a few instances has shown itself of an independent judgment, and of a critical faculty superior to those of the professional critics, will raise its own standard of intellectual taste, and cease to accept the mere makers of books as writers of true fiction.

OUIDA.

REMINISCENCES OF FAMOUS AMERICANS.

I.

Senator Yates was a man of shining qualities, and a universal favorite. He was the war governor of Illinois, and performed unexampled labors in marshaling her soldiers for the great civil strife. A regiment of Illinois young men, a thousand strong, had been brought into camp near Chicago. The men were not gathered from the schools and farms of the State, but from the rougher classes of the cities and larger towns. They were good material for soldiers, as the sequel showed, ready for any service for their country, but unaccustomed to restraint, and wild almost to lawlessness. They did not like their colonel, and, determined to get rid of him, they resorted to absolute mutiny. One day, as the governor was telling a number of gentlemen met in the executive department of this turbulent and troublesome regiment, Elihu Washburne remarked that he thought he knew a man who was admirably fitted for its colonelcy. He was a Captain Grant, living in his own town of Galena, a graduate of West Point, who had seen service in the Mexican war; a still man, but of great determination and courage ; a man who would soon bring such a regiment into military order, and win their confidence and admiration.

Grant, from the first moment of the war, had been ready for any place where he might render aid to the government that had given him his military education. It had been suggested that, from his connection with the artillery service in the Mexican war, he might be useful in the Ordnance Bureau in Washington, and at this date he was about starting for the capital to offer himself for such routine work.

"For heaven's sake," was Governor Yates's instant reply, "tele-

graph for him at once, and offer him, in my name, the command of this regiment; for it is taking all my time, and worrying the life out of me."

The next morning, among the earliest callers at the governor's office was the plainly-dressed, snug-built, sinewy, square-headed, sedate Captain Grant. The governor expressed his delight at his prompt response. He told the captain what Washburne had said of his training and good qualities, and described the insubordinate regiment. He said they had set the colonel at absolute defiance, and were now "corralled" out on the prairie, under the guard of two other regiments and the trained guns of a battery of artillery. "Here they are to-day, a thousand Hellions" (as the governor always called them); "are you willing, Captain Grant, to take the colonelcy of such a regiment?"

"If such is your desire," was the quiet response.

"Do you think you could make soldiers out of such mutinous Hellions?"

"From what you have told me of them, with a little patience and firmness, I think they might in time be made a good regiment. As to this mutinous spirit, I think the articles of war will be found sufficient for its restraint."

The commission was signed, a carriage was ordered, and the two men started for the camp of the mutineers. They rode through the two regiments on guard, by the trained guns of the artillery, and found the men sullen with mortification and anger. They were gathered for an address by the governor. He told them of all his anxiety on their account, of his more than willingness to listen to all the requests of his gallant volunteers, so far as he might with a supreme regard for military discipline; that a regiment, just starting for the front, was anxious for the services of their colonel; that he had decided to change his command to that regiment; and that Captain Grant, of Galena, the gentleman whom he now presented to them, hereafter would be their colonel—a man who knew war, both from the books and from service in the field, for Captain Grant was a graduate of West Point, and went through the Mexican war, with marked honor, in command of a battery of artillery; that he was a man of courage, as resolute as the best of them, and would assuredly lead them where the hardest fighting was to be done, and in all things would share with them the soldier's fortune. "Of Colonel Grant," he concluded,

"and this regiment, I expect, henceforth, to hear nothing but glorious tidings of obedient and brave warfare."

There was a moment of painful silence. The men clasped each other's hands, and looked into each other's faces; then, from a thousand throats, came shout after shout for Governor Yates, for Colonel Grant, for the old Stars and Stripes! Colonel Grant took command. The regiments and the battery on guard returned to their own camp. For the next ten days the boys thought there was more time given to drill than any present prospect of active service demanded, but all orders were cheerfully obeyed. At the end of ten days the regiment was ordered to St. Louis. Transportation seemed to be a little crowded, as so many regiments were moving in that direction; and Colonel Grant made no second request, thinking, perhaps, that it might be useful to make the march on foot. So his regiment marched over the hot prairie roads from Chicago to St. Louis! Soon afterward Colonel Grant, with his regiment, was ordered to garrison the important post of Cairo. Here the self-possessed and resolute soldier found himself directly in that line of promotion which led him to the head of the army. Referring to this incident, Governor Yates was wont to say: "How wonderful indeed are the ways of providence; how, out of seeming disaster, in Heaven's beneficent ordering, often spring most cheerful results! If it had not been for that regiment of Hellions, my most troublesome experience in all the war, in all probability the nation would have had no General Grant, only Captain Grant, a faithful clerk in the Ordnance Bureau at Washington."

II.

Three times was General Burnside offered the command of the Army of the Potomac, and three times, with unaffected diffidence, he declined. Finally, it was pressed upon him by positive orders, and he could no longer, without insubordination, refuse it. In addressing General Halleck, after his appointment, he said: "Had I been asked to take it, I should have declined; but being ordered, I cheerfully obey." He was a frank, brave, generous man. Said a soldier who knew him well: "When victory crowned his efforts, and congratulations poured in upon him, his reply always was that the laurels did not belong to him, but to his brother officers and to the brave soldiers. When a great disaster befell him, he at once

telegraphed to his government: 'The fault was mine. The entire responsibility of failure must rest on my shoulders.'" Immediately after his great victory at Roanoke Island he had occasion to make a hurried trip to Washington. A friend, who, by a happy chance, was at the White House when General Burnside called to pay his respects to President Lincoln, told me that "the meeting was a grand spectacle." He said that the two stalwart men rushed into each other's arms, and, as they warmly clasped each other for some minutes, "they wept like women in their joyous agitation." When General Burnside was about to leave for his hotel, the President inquired:

"Is there anything, my dear general, that I can do for you?"

"Yes! yes!" was the quick reply, "and I am glad you asked me that question. My three brigadiers, you know, glorious fellows,—everything depended upon them, you know,—and they did their duty so grandly!—Oh, Mr. President, we owe so much to them! I should so much love, when I go back, to take them their promotions."

"It shall be done!" was Mr. Lincoln's hearty response, and on the instant the promotions were ordered, and General Burnside had the pleasure of taking back with him to Foster, Reno, and Parke, their commissions as major-generals.

III.

Early in his life at Natick, Wilson had organized among his fellow-mechanics a debating society, of which he was an active member. It met on one evening every week for the discussion, usually, of such questions as were agitating the public mind. It was in this humble association that he learned that plain, simple, straightforward way of presenting his argument which characterized his speeches and debates in his subsequent career. He also persuaded his fellow-students at Concord to form a similar association, of which, also, he was the most active spirit. His first appearance as a public speaker was under these circumstances. In 1837, and a few subsequent years, the young men of New Hampshire had a State association, devoted to the interests of the rising movement against negro slavery. The membership of the association was found chiefly in the schools of the State, the college at Hanover, and the academies at Exeter, Plainfield, New Hampton, Concord, Gilmanton, New London, and Pembroke. With their contribu-

tions these boys kept one or two eloquent lecturers in the field, and annually held at the capital a rousing State convention of two or three days' duration. In August, in the year in which Wilson was in attendance at the Concord school, this association held its annual gathering, to which he had been elected as one of the delegates from the branch association of that town. It was largely attended by many spirited and noble young men, who, in the intervening years, have become distinguished as leaders in the progress of the times.

Stephen S. Foster was there, a man of considerable intellectual force, who, through all the years of the anti-slavery conflict, rendered the most faithful and self-sacrificing services. But at this convention—and it was a common habit with him—he allowed his zeal to outrun his discretion. He introduced a resolution severely censuring John Quincy Adams for some recent utterance in Congress, wherein that noble old man had not come quite up to the high-water mark of the more advanced anti-slavery sentiment. During the previous year young Wilson had been in Washington, and had made the acquaintance of Mr. Adams, for whom he had a high admiration, especially for the single-handed fight he was making against the slave-power. He believed, therefore, that the venerable statesman deserved the hearty approval and encouragement of the anti-slavery people of the North, and not their censure, even if he did apparently halt at some points of their faith. A young man from Dartmouth College, Horace Eaton (afterward well-known as a warm-hearted and philanthropic Presbyterian clergyman), spoke earnestly against the resolution, and was followed by Henry Wilson in his first public speech. Wilson was always modest, and in those days he was bashful. He felt that the passage of the resolution would be a great wrong, but he shrank from participation in the debate. However, entreated and encouraged by a friend at his side, he timidly rose to his feet, and I had the pleasure of telling the president his name,—as it was called for,—slightly to Wilson's confusion. But he was soon under good headway, for his most earnest feelings were enlisted. His opening remarks evidently commanded the attention of the convention, and it was not many minutes before he began to secure applause from all sides, as he spoke eloquently of the intrepidity of the venerable ex-President making his brave fight almost alone in the midst of the most defiant opposition. He pleaded for words of cheer

from the generous young men of New Hampshire, and opposed this attempt to inflict a pharisaical censure. It was really a grand speech, and the applause that continued till he took his seat, while testifying that the convention was with him, gave him, also, great encouragement in his determination to become a public speaker.

IV.

While Wilson was thus addressing the audience, a young man, an Apollo in manly grace and beauty, entered the church; a stranger, evidently, as no one seemed to recognize him, and he took a seat near the door, in the rear of the audience. As Wilson closed, this young man joined heartily in the applause—indeed, he seemed to lead it. Rising and coming forward, he asked if a stranger, not a member of the convention, nor a citizen of the State, even, but deeply interested in the discussion, might be permitted to join in the debate. That silvery voice and princely presence would have commanded a welcome in any gathering, but among these young men came voices from all over the hall, which proffered him the freedom of the platform with a cordial greeting. The president asked his name. "Wendell Phillips," was the response. Those only who are old enough to remember how hated and despised was the anti-slavery cause in its early days, and how the peerless eloquence and patrician rank of this young Boston lawyer, this son of her first mayor, this noblest member of one of her oldest and most honored families, whose deeds of virtue and munificent charities had made illustrious every era of Massachusetts' history, had lifted up that cause from this hate and reproach—they only can imagine the enthusiastic salutation which shook that church on the announcement of his name. Every member of the convention sprang to his feet to assure Wendell Phillips that he was welcome. More than forty years have come and gone since that August day,—years crowded with great historical events,—yet still that scene of welcome remains as vivid in my mind as if it had occurred but yesterday.

Mr. Phillips made one of his rarest speeches—first, in warm praise of the generous spirit and practical sense of the eloquent young man who had last addressed the convention, and then in glowing eulogy of the "old man eloquent," the brave champion,

in Congress, of free speech, and of the right of petition. At his close, Mr. Phillips made his way to the pew in which Mr. Wilson was seated, and, taking him warmly by the hand, repeated to him, personally, what he had said to the convention,—his most hearty approval of what had fallen from his lips,—and assured him of his pleasure in making his acquaintance. From that time dated a warm friendship between these two men destined to play conspicuous parts in the history of the country; and from that cordial approval of the great anti-slavery orator, and the applause of those hearty young Abolitionists, sprang the open and public attachment of Henry Wilson to the anti-slavery cause, which never once faltered until Abraham Lincoln, grasping in his strong right hand the power of a million armed men, smote the monster to the earth.

V.

Senator Ransom came out of the war not only with shattered health, but, like most of the officers of the confederacy, with shattered fortune as well. He had a fine plantation on Roanoke River, one of the best in the country, and, with a large family growing about him, the general was naturally anxious to retain the old home with all its fields intact. This was not easy, with the circumstances surrounding the man, as well as the entire Southern country, in the years immediately following the war; but the affectionate father, looking into the anxious faces of his wife and children, determined to make the attempt. My readers may be glad to know that he succeeded. Success was only won through vigilant and untiring effort. Mortgage on crop and field had to be often repeated before the grand property was lifted of all encumbrance. Senator Ransom has a son named Joseph, who does not in any large measure inherit the rare suavity of his father, but he is a very sensible although a frank-spoken boy, and, as will be seen, he was not a dull observer of his father's expedients in saving the old homestead. It was a few days after the general's second election to the Senate, and some of the good matrons of the neighborhood were entertained by Mrs. Ransom at tea. At the table, Mrs. Smith was very profuse in her expressions of friendly admiration of the general, and of the great delight of all the neighbors at his success; and she added the hope, as well as expectation, that some day they would have occasion to rejoice

over his higher triumphs, even his election to the White House. Joseph, who had remained silent up to this time, concluded, upon hearing the last remark, that his place in the dialogue had been reached.

"I thought, Mrs. Smith, that you said you were a friend of my father?"

"Certainly, Joseph, but why do you ask that question."

"Why, I don't understand," remarked the lad, "how any real friend of my father could want him in the White House; for if he were there, it wouldn't be three months before he would have a mortgage on it!"

VI.

Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, from the humble position of a brakeman on the railroad, had fought his upward way to recognized position in society; to the highest reputation as a business man; to the possession of a large fortune, and to two honorable elections to the Senate. He was an industrious, useful, honorable senator; a diligent, conscientious worker in the Committee on Appropriations, and an active member of the Select Committee on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard, earnestly seconding all efforts for improving and cheapening transportation, between producer and consumer, of the great articles of food. Senator Davis was thoroughly at home on all railroad questions. He had been educated in their working, was largely concerned in their ownership, and hence took a lively and intelligent interest in everything pertaining to the question of transportation. It is wonderful how the power of early habit clings to us in after-life. Senator Davis once gave the Senate an emphatic demonstration of this noted fact. Judge Thurman, being a generous snuff-taker, carried a big, red bandana handkerchief, and, when he rose to speak, usually, as a preliminary, grasped his nose with this red bandana, and gave a blast like a trumpet. It was well toward morning of a wearisome all-night session, and Senator Davis was asleep—his head resting upon his desk (but I will say for the Senator that he was not often asleep in the Senate). Senator Edmunds had provoked Judge Thurman to a speech; and by way of introduction, the judge unfurled the red bandana, and blew a blast of more than usual power. Mr. Davis may have been dreaming of his old railroad days; at any rate, he sprang to his feet, in

a half-dazed condition, and catching sight of the red flag (the old signal of danger), and seeming to imagine that he had heard the shriek of alarm from the open throttle of a locomotive calling for "down brakes," he seized his desk, and by the brakeman's firm, quick twist, wrenched it from the floor. I was not present on this occasion, and therefore cannot assert the entire truth of the story from personal knowledge; but it was often repeated about the Senate-chamber, and I never heard any of the details called in question.

VII.

Garret Davis, of Kentucky, was a venerable man, who had come down from a former generation, bristling alike with integrity and with prejudices; a man who so honored the old, and the established, that he could hardly tolerate the new moon, and the succession of the seasons was to him an abomination. How well he represented the spirit and civilization of Kentucky—a people who prefer a whipping-post to a school-house! He was a small, gray-headed man, full of nerve, remarkably alert for his years. Planting himself well back upon his heels, with face erect, he was always ready for the fight, and it mattered not to him whether he encountered one man or a legion, for his courage, moral and physical, was matchless. Mr. Davis well represented the fighting spirit of his State, the only one of the Union that in the recent civil war raised its full quota of soldiers for both sides. His stamping-ground was the "constitution of our fathers" (as interpreted in Kentucky), and there he stood, ready for all comers. Honest to the last degree, and as garrulous as he was honest, after speaking three days on some question, he asked for the setting apart of another day, as "the remarks he had already made were but preliminary to the discussion of the great constitutional points involved!" He was largely interested in the protection of two interests, in his opinion imminently in danger—the Constitution and the Treasury. In his excited imagination, pretty nearly all of our public men were intent upon smashing the Constitution; and especially one of the senators from Kansas was determined to deplete the Treasury. Probably he had as good reasons for his fears in the one case as in the other. As he was constantly on guard against these depredations, it was not strange that, one day, he was weary, and sought sleep. But, before laying

his head upon his desk, he reminded his neighbors upon the right and left (Senators Thurman and Saulsbury) that he was for a few minutes going to give up the watch ; but if any danger portended, he begged to be instantly awakened. It was not long before the senator of especial danger—the senior senator from Kansas—was on the floor with a bill from the Railroad Committee, of which he was a member. In an instant both senators, Thurman and Saulsbury, were shaking the Kentucky watchman from his slumbers, and whispering in his ears those words of special alarm, "Kansas" and "Pacific Railroad." The fierce little man was upon his feet before he was half awake. The senator from Kansas, meanwhile, remarked that he had in his hand a bill that simply proposed the amendment of some defective clause in the charter of one of the branches of the Pacific Railroad, and suggested that it might as well be put upon its passage at that time ; and then, noticing the bustling in the neighborhood of the Kentucky senator, he added that he had looked the bill through, and he could assure the Senate that there was no "steal" in it.

"Mr. President," cried out the half-awakened senator from Kentucky, "the senator from Kansas says that he has carefully examined the bill, and that there is no 'steal' in it. If the senator from Kansas cannot find any 'steal' in the bill, I am sure there is none there, and I think we can safely consent to the motion to put the bill upon its passage."

The decorum of the Senate-chamber is always maintained ; so, while but a few were left to record their votes on this occasion, the cloak-rooms were thronged. But the people will forget his foibles and his temper, and Garret Davis will be honorably remembered for his unbending honesty through many years of public service ; for the frank and bold expression of his opinions ; for the rare simplicity of his habits, the purity of his private life, and, above all, for his steadfastness to the Union when the great mass of the public men with whom he had been associated for more than a generation yielded to the clamor of secession.

VIII.

It was the summer of '62, and McClellan's sojourn in the swamps of the Chickahominy had filled the hospitals, far and near, with the sick. Colonel Scott, of a New Hampshire regiment, laid

low with fever at Newport News. One of the noble women connected with the Sanitary Commission, in attendance at the hospital where the colonel was being nursed, had sat by his bed while he had told her of his home among the cool mountains of New Hampshire, and of his noble, brave wife, and precious children, and how he felt as if he could rally from this scorching fever if only he could reach that home and sit for a day in the shade of the maples where his children were playing—grand big trees, planted all about the old house, and on both sides of the road, up and down, as far as his farm ran, planted by his father when he came home from the war of 1812. Or if he could only bathe his fevered brow in the mountain brook that runs in the pasture close by; or, if his wife could come to him, her cool hand upon his burning forehead would stop this throbbing. And then, he whispered through his tears, if he was to die, he should die so much easier if he could only have hold of her hand. The good nurse wrote to the wife of the condition of her husband, and told her that the doctor in charge of the hospital remarked that morning, as he visited her ward, "that special care must be given Colonel Scott, for he was a very sick man, and the country could ill spare so brave a soldier."

The very day that the wife received this letter she started for Virginia. In Washington, she found some difficulty in getting permission to go to the front; but her love and anxiety made her persistent, and, finally, she secured a pass and transportation on a steamer which was taking supplies to City Point. She found her husband alive, and her courageous spirit and loving assiduity soon began to tell in his improving health. In a week, leaning upon her loving arm, he was able to walk a little about the hospital. And then, when she could lead him out-doors, and under the shadow of the trees, where he could get the invigorating breath of the ocean as it came up Hampton Roads, he gained rapidly. A great battle was daily expected, so a steamer was to take to the hospitals at Washington such of the patients as could bear removal, that room might be made for the expected wounded. Mrs. Scott found no difficulty in getting her husband designated among the several score that were thus to be sent north.

That evening, just as the steamer turned from the bay into the Potomac, she came in collision with a transport coming down, was badly stoven, several state-rooms being carried away, with their sleeping occupants, and some twelve or more of these sick men and

their attendants were drowned, among the number the faithful and noble wife of Colonel Scott.

A few who were thrown into the water were rescued, but when all hope of saving others was at an end, the steamer proceeded on her way. The next day a telegram was received at the War Department, telling that the people residing in the neighborhood had found the bodies of several of the victims of the collision, and had given them burial in such manner that they could be identified if friends called for them; that among these rescued and buried bodies was the body of Mrs. Scott. This information coming to Colonel Scott, he naturally was anxious to return down the river, that he might receive the body of his devoted wife and take it to New Hampshire for sepulture.

A grand forward movement at the front then being in contemplation, for a day or two there had been an order at the War Department that no passes or transportation down the Potomac should be allowed any one, save those actually engaged in co-operating with the movement. So, when Colonel Scott applied to Secretary Stanton for permission to go down the river, he was refused, and no time permitted him for entreaty. From Mr. Stanton, Colonel Scott hurried to the White House. It was late Saturday afternoon, and Mr. Lincoln had left, wearier even than was his wont, for his retreat at the "Soldiers' Home;" and in the hope of an undisturbed evening, and a quiet Sabbath, that he might gather some strength for the coming week, expected to be one of stirring events.

Colonel Scott soon found a New Hampshire friend, who knew Mr. Lincoln, and the way to the "Old Soldiers' Home." When they reached the gray stone cottage, where Mr. Lincoln spent his weary nights and thoughtful Sundays of that anxious summer of '62, it was in the deepening twilight. The house was still and dark—not a lamp lighted; not a sound, save the "Katydids" in the old elm calling to the "Katydidn'ts."

The servant who answered the bell led the way into the little parlor, where, in the gloaming, entirely alone, sat Mr. Lincoln. In his escape, as he had supposed, from all visitors, and weary with the care and heat of the day, he had thrown off coat and shoes, and with a large palm-leaf fan in his hand, as he reposed in a broad chair, one leg hanging over its arm, he seemed to be in deep thought, perhaps studying the chances of the impending battle.

Uninterrupted by a single word from Mr. Lincoln, the colonel told his sad story: his sickness, the coming to him of his wife, her terrible death, the finding of the body, and his desire to reach it and take it to his home. Then he added that he had been to Mr. Stanton, been refused permission to go down the river, and so, in his despair, had come to him.

At this point, Mr. Lincoln rose to his feet, and, in a voice of mingled vexation and sadness, asked: "Am I to have no rest? Is there no hour or spot when or where I may escape this constant call? Why do you follow me out here with such business as this? Why do you not go to the War-office, where they have charge of all this matter of papers and transportation?"

The colonel repeated the fact of his going to Mr. Stanton, and his refusal.

"Then, probably, you ought not to go down the river. Mr. Stanton knows all about the necessities of the hour; he knows what rules are necessary, and rules are made to be enforced. It would be wrong for me to override his rules and decisions in cases of this kind; it might work disaster to important movements. And then, you ought to remember that I have other duties to attend to—heaven knows, enough for one man!—and I can give no thought to questions of this kind. Why do you come here to appeal to my humanity? Don't you know, Colonel Scott, that we are in the midst of war? That suffering and death press upon all of us? That works of humanity and affection which we would cheerfully perform in days of peace are all trampled upon and outlawed by war? That there is no room left for them? There is but one duty now, that is to fight. The only call of humanity now is to conquer peace through unrelenting warfare. War, and war alone, is the duty of all of us. Your wife might have trusted you to the care which the government has provided for its sick soldiers. At any rate, you must not vex me with your family troubles. Why, every family in the land is crushed with sorrow; but they must not each come to me for help. I have all the burden I can carry. Go to the War Department. Your business belongs there. If they cannot help you, then bear your burden, as we all must, until this war is over. Everything must yield to the paramount duty of finishing the war."

Colonel Scott was terribly disappointed and crushed by this totally unexpected rebuff. He knew that there was no hope in re-

turning to Mr. Stanton, so he retired to his hotel, and walked his room until morning, when, throwing himself upon his bed, he had scarcely fallen asleep when he was awakened by a hurried footstep in the hall, and a sharp rap at his door. He opened it, and was seized by both hands by Abraham Lincoln, who, in a voice as buoyant and sympathetic as last night it was weary and ceremonious, exclaimed: "My dear colonel, I was a brute last night. I have no excuse for my conduct. Indeed, I was weary to the last extent, but I had no right to treat a man with rudeness who had offered his life for his country, much more a man who came to me in great affliction. Colonel Scott, I honor you for your attachment to the memory of your wife, and for your desire to take the dead body to your home and kindred. She was a devoted, heroic wife, worthy of your love; and to think that I should have made any criticism, as I did last night, upon her being away from her home, and in the place of danger. This war, Colonel Scott, has shown great qualities on the part of our people; but in my soul I have no higher admiration than for the nobility of our women, in the patriotic ardor with which they give up husbands and sons for the service, and the tender devotion with which they follow and care for them in the hospitals. That I should have had any but words of warm consideration for such a woman, hurrying to her husband's sick-bed, or been seemingly indifferent to the terrible grief, my dear colonel, which crushes you, I cannot understand. I have had a regretful night. Now, my good man, hurry and get ready. I have seen Secretary Stanton, and he has arranged all. They are getting up the fires on a boat at the Navy Yard, which will take you down the river. An undertaker, with his assistants, in the service of the Quartermaster's Department, has been ordered aboard the boat, to give you all needed help. You will find everything aboard necessary for your sad errand. Now, get ready; don't stop for breakfast, you can get that on board the boat after you start, and I have my carriage here, and will go with you to the wharf. And, colonel, when you get home, don't tell your children of my conduct last night; but tell them that I beg permission to share in their sorrow for the loss of so good a mother. And, colonel, notwithstanding my apparent indifference last night, I honor you from the bottom of my heart for your manly love for your wife and devotion to her memory.

The President, in his carriage, took Colonel Scott to the steamer,

and seeing that every needed detail had been attended to, stood by until the boat cast off, and then rode back his six miles to his breakfast.

Such was the great, true, warm-hearted Abraham Lincoln. He was our countryman—and God be thanked that when the most terrific war of history beat upon our government he was our President.

JOHN R. FRENCH.

THE DECAY OF ECCLESIASTICISM.

THE decay of ecclesiasticism does not, on the surface, look like a dangerously rapid rot. One has no need to ask, with Gloucester, "The church? Where is it?" The splendor of the Vatican Council, the tenacious hold of priestly ideas and ideals, even in Protestantism, seem to indicate a rather vigorous vitality in ecclesiasticism. There are not wanting floating facts to comfort those who are patiently waiting for the ebb tide toward mediævalism. The new edition of the English "Tourists' Church Guide" cheers the faithful with the report of an increase, for the past year, in the use of eucharistic vestments of 53, in altar-lights of 129, in the adoption of the eastward position of 214. But no prudent priest should let himself be blinded by such refreshing items. The swiftest mountain brook will have many a swirl where the current seems making backward, while all the time the general trend is onward toward the open sea. Rome is steadily losing her hold over her ancient territories, and in our land, where she seems to be making such astonishing headway, the gain is in reality chiefly nominal—the transference to our shores of her flock from the old world, whose young slip, practically, out from beneath her crook in a generation. The Protestant churches are following hard after the anti-ecclesiastical ideals of the Reformation. Outside of all churches there is massing a large and ever-enlarging body of the unchurched. Beneath the surface of Christendom, the amazing growth of Spiritualism is an ominous portent for ecclesiastics; since, whatever its rootings in fact or in fancy, it is thrusting itself up beneath the dogmatic platforms of the churches, and pushing hosts of men and women off into "the open" of a free, simple, natural religion. The decay of ecclesiasticism is going on so fast that the careful observer need no longer watch the centuries in order to note its progress, the decades marking clearly the stages of this dissolution. Its causes are patent.

The political and social revolution that has been progressing through Western civilization is sweeping away caste and privilege. The divine right of priests is following the divine right of kings to the lumber-loft of superstitions. A king may indeed well have a divine right to rule a society, as a priest to guide men's souls, but in each case that right divine is now seen to lie in his personality, and not in his office—in the man, and not in his clothes. The sacerdos is already an anachronism ; he is disappearing in the minister of the congregation, who knows no mysteries not open to the ecclesia, and wields no powers not shared by the free citizens of the Republic of God. The industrial revolution is accelerating this decay of ecclesiasticism. When labor had no voice in the voting of supplies, the budget of a priesthood might pass unchallenged. As the serf becomes the freeman, economically, the good Jew of whom Boccaccio tells could no longer thus report of the sacred city : " He saw all men so covetous and greedy of coin, that everything was bought and sold for ready money. And more brokers were there to be found than in Paris, attending upon all trades of manifest simony."

The gold of honest toil will do something better than buy masses for the dead, and build jeweled shrines for sacred dolls, and salary a Primate of England with the income of nearly four hundred workingmen. *Cui bono?* is a query that prunes down very judiciously a flamboyant ecclesiasticism.

The opening of new spheres for human activity drains off the energies that formerly went to the building up of ecclesiasticism. Gossip prevails at " tea-fights " in a back country village, until the railroad connects it with the great world, and women learn to survey larger grounds than their neighbors' back yards. While the church was the chief political institution, its offices the highest spoils of placemen, its dogmas the only knowledge open to the intellect, its vast and venerable life the one current upon which men could throw themselves to be borne out beyond the stagnating shallows of earth, ecclesiasticism naturally flourished. Its decay began in Western civilization when Gutenberg drew the first sheets from his rude block-type, when the guilds of the free towns of Germany came into civic power, when the Vittoria sailed proudly into port from her three-and-a-half years' cruise around the globe, when Galileo affirmed *" e pur si muove,"* and opened a new universe upon the human mind. That decay has progressed as the

forces that once fed the imposing body of Catholicism have been drawn off into public affairs, industry, the sciences, the arts, and the varied spheres of our now rich human life. It must continue to advance as life spreads out into ever new and nobler fields, finding in them no forbidden grounds but the garden of the heavenly Father, which his children are to dress and keep, whose beautiful order is to prove the Kingdom of God upon earth.

The growth of knowledge has intensified the decay of ecclesiasticism. Ignorance creates the climate in which this ism flourishes. In every land the oxygenating of the mental atmosphere with knowledge has caused a rapid shrinkage in its portly priesthood. The temple has crumbled as the free school has risen. The priest has lost his grip of the lad that held a primer in his hand. Rome's instinct has proven true. Her one deadly foe is Science. Each new bit of knowledge now makes man more independent of the tutor that dealt with him as with a babe. Every error proven upon the infallible dry-nurse has weakened her authority over him, and Reason gains his fuller trust with each new victory to which she leads him. No man can be an unquestioning child of the church who once finds out for himself any knowledge, and discerns in it a segment of the universal law that is sweeping through nature. Henceforth he will bother his priest with troublesome questions, will insist on testing that which he is bidden receive in faith, and will find himself growing daily further off from his spiritual pedagogue.

The supreme folly of every ecclesiasticism is to cherish the disease of omniscience. Attempting to speak oracularly upon all mysteries, it has spread the legs of the cathedra out over the whole globe, and thus it has come to pass that no discovery can be made without undermining some prop of an infallible church. Astronomy, geology, anthropology, history, criticism, all, in affirming their several truths, have denied, of necessity, some error of the church, which knew everything in the heavens above and the earth beneath and the waters under the earth. In particular, the spread of knowledge has taught man the origin and history and nature of ecclesiastical institutions themselves, in such a manner as renders it impossible for most educated people longer to regard them with the superstitious awe that is essential to a priesthood's continued power? What a silent revolution such a book as Dean Stanley's "Christian Institutions" must work in the mind of the average churchman, who is open to light,

and has hitherto regarded surplice and crosier and baptismal font, with their kindred symbols, as the sacred mysteries of a supernatural priesthood, to be discussed with bated breath! Yet this book of the brave dean is but mildly iconoclastic in comparison with the revelations made to the good churchman in other modern works. There is, in fact, as we now see, nothing in the externals of the Christian church that is not a survival from the churches of paganism. Tonsured head and silvery bells and swinging censer, Christmas and Easter festivals, holy Madonna with her child, the sacramental use of water and bread and wine, the very sign of the cross—all are ancient human institutions, rites, and symbols. Scratch a Christian, and you come upon a pagan. Christianity is a re-baptized paganism.

In all this there is nothing that really faults these ancient usages, as expressions of humanity's religious sense. Rather do these survivals from a venerable past acquire a new reverence in the minds of the wise, from their antiquity, their clustering associations, and their insistent affirmation of a somewhat real and true behind each symbol. But this honor is the rational homage due to humanity's sacred things, not a superstitious homage to magical marvels. The glamour is irrecoverably gone from the priest's spells. The deepening of the ethical and spiritual life of man aggravates the decay of ecclesiasticism. The priest has never led man very far on in the road to "pure religion and undefiled." He has doubtless had a needful part to play in training the mass of men in "the beggarly elements" of religion. The bottomless chair swung from the ceiling, and shutting in the baby, with his feet just touching the floor, may be a needful training for Rollo learning to walk, but it is eminently advisable for Rollo to spring out from its coddling arms as soon as possible, and walk for himself, even though with many a tumble. As long as he fears that he cannot stand alone, he will clutch at it as for his life. When he finds the miracle achieved, he cries to get out, and proudly waves his nurse away. Thus the growing soul comes to find that it can stand upon its own feet in walking with God. Paradoxical as it may sound to the pretty priestlet just blooming from the seminary, it is because man has found a shorter cut to heaven that he no longer sends for a priest to shrive his soul. Victor Hugo needs no father confessor at his bedside, no *viaticum* in starting for

"That undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveler returns."

He knew, even though he had never read it, this fine Lacedemonian saying, which Plutarch gives us:

> "*Spartan.* Is it to thee, or to God, that I must confess?
> *Priest.* To God.
> *Spartan* Then, man, stand back!"

The end of every human institution is to make itself superfluous.

These are some of the factors working the decay of ecclesiasticism. No tears need be shed over its decomposition. Its evils are not hard to find, nor are they so slight as to leave us indifferent to the ending of this old order, which is yielding place to new. When the ecclesia becomes an ecclesiasticism, that which God hath joined together man puts asunder. A division is at once made between the church and the world. Religion becomes attention to the things of the divine order found in the ecclesia. The order of the great world without is not a divine order, and religion has nothing to do with it but to leave it alone, or to supplant it, as the papacy tried to do. Secular then becomes the synonym for irreligious, and we have, as the logical issue of ecclesiasticism, our modern secularism, that curious bugaboo of the priest, and more curious idol of the so-called infidel. Curious indeed that pious men should ever dream that setting this world at rights was not heavenly business, and more curious that reasonable men should get up any enthusiasm over the endeavor to deprive earthly affairs of their noblest inspiration; possible, indeed, this latter folly, only as a blind revolt from a false form of religion. The crass atheism of the English secularist is the obverse of the disguised atheism of the English priest, be he Roman or Anglican, the infidelity that believes in no divine life outside the churchly pinfold. When the mob clamors for the *déchéance* of God, it is because his ministers of state have withdrawn from the government of his kingdom to attend to the court ceremonies of the Most High. Bradlaugh does not look like the child of Cardinal Newman, but he is.

In this divorce, ecclesiasticism withdraws from the great world's affairs the very forces that are imperatively needed to purify and ennoble the ideals of business and politics. A man has only a given amount of force, physical, mental, and moral. If his energies are absorbed in one sphere, they cannot overflow into other spheres. The true ecclesia should study such simplicity of mechanism as would free the energies and enthusiasms of its members to drive a

world, instead of merely running a church ; and there should be as little soakage as possible in the pipes that are laid to carry the waters of the river of life into the dry fields of earth ; whereas, ecclesiasticism's big wheels take so much force to turn them, that their belts move the world's looms but languidly, and its pipes absorb so much grace that the desert by no means blossoms as the rose. Ethical forces for all the reforms of society are stored in the Christian church, but the battery is insulated by ecclesiasticism. As this falls away, the power will be turned on for which the world is waiting to-day. The minister, in ceasing to be the priest, is stepping down from his glass stool, and at his living touch the wires of heaven's forces are connecting with the store and the factory, and in the towns and villages of our land conscience is quickening trade and industry and civic government, as charged through the prophets of social righteousness.

As inevitably follows from the unlawful divorce on which ecclesiasticism has insisted, religion itself has suffered quite as much as the world that it deserts. An arrest of circulation is as bad for spirit as for body. The natural flow through the social organism checked, the blood, which is the life thereof, stagnates, corrupts, dies. Wherever ecclesiasticism has flourished, pure religion has decayed. The earlier, simple, direct relationship of the human soul to its God has been barred by the growth of rites and ceremonies, of rituals and symbols, of codes and creeds ; and the institution whose function was the culture of religion has left man without God in the world. The East tells the same tale as the West. The first effort of every reformation in religion is to tear away the parasitic growth that had been sucking out the life of the ecclesia. The Buddha and the Christ found a common foe. The new Christianity would have been dead ere this in the womb of the papacy but for the cesarian operation that Luther performed upon the church. Ethics invariably become corrupt in an ecclesiasticism. The overtrained conscience becomes morbid, priggish, hypocritical. A priesthood not only overtrains conscience, it mistrains it. It corrupts its simplicity, emasculates its energy, perverts its action. Staying away from confession, breaking the Sabbath, failing in due masses for the dead—these become the sins most dwelt upon. The Italian brigand rises from his knees before the Madonna to plunge his stiletto gayly in the heart of the belated traveler. Clarendon tells us that when Charles II. was in Scotland, "the clergy reprehended him

very sharply if he smiled on these days" (Sundays). Fancy good parsons rebuking that royal rake for smiling on Sundays! Ordinary offenses against the common law of morality can be atoned for in current coin, and crimes are scaled in the indulgence-market in thalers and groschen, Tetzel's table giving the exact pecuniary equivalent of a murder or a rape. Thus the church opens "the kingdom of heaven to all" cash-payers. The legend over a Quebec convent runs thus: "Alms will save your soul." It is said that after a late South American "unpleasantness" there were found on the bodies of some of the dead, passports signed by the bishop of the diocese, and addressed to St. Peter, directing him to "admit the bearer as a true son of the church." The most cruel customs, the most tyrannous laws, the most beastly usages, have existed undisturbed beneath the eyes of a fat and flourishing priesthood. The church that had a ritual of exorcism for poor old witches had no "use" for the dispossession of the infamous *jus primæ noctis*, that well-nigh inconceivable privilege of power which was once a recognized feature of the marriage ceremony in certain parts of Christendom. Ecclesiastics have drawn the sacred sign of the cross upon the sword, the gibbet, and the yoke; have countersigned with the approval of heaven the impoverishing *taille*, and have baptized the Virgin, whose steely arms opened in the embrace of death.

The influence of ecclesiasticism in the sphere of thought has been quite as mischievous as in the realm of action. It has assumed the function of the intellectual teacher of man, without the equipment of the scholar or the resources of the genius. It has fostered that worst of monopolies, an esoteric doctrine, for the initiate, which left the people to the follies of exoteric dogma. It has claimed for its deliverances an authority other than that of the self-evidencing truthfulness of the tenets taught, clothing its oracles with the awful majesty of a supernatural revelation, and announcing the majority vote of its councils as with the very voice of the Holy Ghost. It has arrogated to its pronouncements the infallibility of the Eternal himself, and has treated suspicion thereof as a case for the Holy Inquisition. It has denied to the human reason its natural right of free inquiry and of honest thought, and has chained the mind in the most degrading of slaveries. It has arrested the progress of the intellect in the Western world for centuries. In lieu of the calm tolerance of opinion in imperial

Rome, it has introduced a savage strife worse than that of arms, in which a difference of an iota in a description of the person of Jesus set bishops belaboring each other with "apostolic blows and knocks," and the shame of lectures upon the philosophy of Greece was zealously expiated by the pious monks of Alexandria; "Cyril's dogs" hounding down a Hypatia, and scraping her flesh from her bones with the shells of the Mediterranean strand. As early as the age of the Clementine Homilies, we find this warning: "Wherefore, above all, remember to shun apostle or teacher or prophet who does not first accurately compare his preaching with (that of) James." As late as the days of the evangelic Rutherford, we hear the old warning repeated: "If ye depart from what I taught you in a hair-breadth, . . . I take heaven and earth to witness that ill shall come upon you in end." What he taught, how well do many of us remember, from the time when we tried to feed on him, and thought ourselves carnal because we could not relish the diet.

Ecclesiasticism has closed Christendom against the one true source of knowledge of the Divine Being whom it has professed to reveal—the laws most truly revealed in the nature that is his handiwork. Its doctors have been thus kept away from the data for a true theology, and the inadequacy of its creeds, as symbols of the eternal mysteries, has been thereby most effectually guaranteed. Theology has been denied the chance of progress, by the correction of the guesses of the past in the knowledge of the present, and the symbol of divine truth has been found in a fossil. From all spheres of knowledge not compassed by the ecclesiastic mind the possession of religious truth has been ruled out, and savants have thus been taught to regard science, not as a prism catching the beams of the Creator, but as a looking-glass reflecting the conceited consciousness of the creature.

The revolt of the human reason from the church to-day is almost wholly the result of the usurpation of authority by ecclesiastics, and men in ever-increasing numbers are exiling themselves from the homes of their fathers, because the priesthoods of Rome and of Protestantism allow them no freedom of thought and speech in the ancestral mansions, but only the slavery of superstition or the silence of cowardice. No crass and blatant Philistinism can create a tithe of the infidelity that logically flows from the typical formula of ecclesiasticism given in the Atharva-Veda, a formula needing

only a change of nomenclature to fall naturally from the lips of the Christian hierarchy:

"All that exists is in the power of the gods. The gods are under the power of magical conjurations. The magical conjurations are under the control of the Brahmans. Hence the gods are in the power of the Brahmans."

In short, the characteristic evils of our life and thought, as viewed from a religious standpoint, chiefly indicate the sequelæ of the lingering disease of ecclesiasticism. Well may Inman write, in the preface to "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism:"

"The greatest curse to a nation is . . . a form of faith which prevents manly inquiry. . . . So long as every man does to other men as he would that they should do to him, and allows no one to interfere between him and his Maker, all will go well with the world."

He that levels his lance against ecclesiasticism is not as yet attacking a corpse. This world-old tyrant does not die with such happy dispatch as to make it superfluous to let a little blood occasionally. Giant Pope is old and toothless, but he sits before his den with the same unregenerate heart as of old; cunning where he used to be brutal, holding hosts still under the spell woven in his more masterful days. When last he seated himself in his cathedra to declare the oracles of God, these were the gracious words at which men wondered:

"Let him be anathema . . . who shall say that human sciences ought to be pursued in such a spirit of freedom that one may be allowed to hold as true their assertions, even when opposed to revealed doctrine; . . . who shall say that it may at any time come to pass, in the progress of science, that the doctrines set forth by the church must be taken in another sense than that in which the church has ever received and yet receives them."

The decay of ecclesiasticism will not prove the death of the ecclesia, but only of those fungoid growths that, twining round it, have sucked into themselves the strength of the soil of man's spiritual nature, from whose decomposition the chemistry of life will extract the succulent juices to feed a new growth of pure religion. While the eternal mysteries abide, man's awe before them will not disappear. While the eternal order reigns, man's trust in it will give him hope and faith. Until man's consciousness changes more than it has changed in the thousands of years through which we can track his story, that consciousness will affirm the ancient

verities, God and Immortality. This natural religion will find its institution, as every other natural relationship finds its institution. While the family lasts as the institute of the affections, and the state endures as the institute of rights, the church will abide as the institute of religion. Until a nobler than Jesus arises, realizing a fuller incarnation of God, the institute of religion in our Western world will bear the name of the Nazarene, and those who would walk in the spirit will call him Master. But if his church is to be the church of the future, it must needs become as free, as fluid, and as fertile as was the religion of Jesus himself. No ism of an ecclesia must gather around the simple life of the church an exaggerated estimate of its worth, a superstitious sense of its nature, a perverted activity of its functions, a tyrannous exercise of its power, an arbitrary division of life after its own lines, artificial and morbid ideals for human aspiration, a hostility to the reason which is the very word of God in man. The natural ecclesia must not again become a supernatural ecclesiasticism.

R. Heber Newton.

THE GREAT PSYCHICAL OPPORTUNITY.

SOMETHING over three years ago, in February, 1882, there was organized in London a society which had what one is half tempted to call the Opportunity of the Century in its hands. In these days,—when the multiple power of the unit has reached a point of social infliction which makes every fresh combination of human beings an object of dread, if not of suspicion; when the well-instructed citizen adds to his litany: "Deliver us from asssociations, and lead us not into committees!" when people who draw up a constitution and by-laws, for any purpose whatever, must show their charter, or stand back in the name of over-organized humanity,—it is much to say of any newly-associated effort that its final cause seems so adequate as that of the Society for Psychical Research.

The prospectus of this society says:

"It has been widely felt that the present is an opportune time for making an organized and systematic attempt to investigate that large group of debatable phenomena designated by such terms as mesmeric, psychical, and spiritualistic. From the recorded testimony of many competent witnesses, past and present, including observations recently made by scientific men of eminence in various countries, there appears to be, amidst much illusion and deception, an important body of remarkable phenomena, which are *primâ facie* inexplicable on any generally recognized hypothesis, and which, if incontestably established, would be of the highest possible value."

It is not necessary to quarrel with the assertion of the well-known and well-informed gentlemen who stand sponsors for this society, when they proceed to say that

"The task of examining such residual phenomena has often been undertaken by individual effort, but never hitherto by a scientific society organized on a sufficiently broad basis."

Nor should we overlook the prudent reminder of the President of the Association, that

"It does not throw aside *en bloc* the results of previous inquiries as untrustworthy, and arrogate a superior knowledge of Scientific method, or intrinsically

greater trustworthiness. . . . I do not presume to suppose that I could produce evidence better in quality than much that has been laid before the world by writers of indubitable scientific repute—men like Mr. Crookes, Mr. Wallace, and the late Professor De Morgan. But it is clear that from what I have defined as the aim of the society, however good some of its evidence may be in quality, we require a great deal more of it. . . . What I mean by *sufficient evidence* . . . of thought-reading, clairvoyance, or the phenomena called spiritualistic . . . is evidence that will convince the scientific world; and for that we obviously require a good deal more than we have so far obtained."

And, again, from whatever point of view one may approach the position of the investigators who have this work in hand, few of us will fail to echo Professor Sedgwick's assertion, that

"We are all agreed that the present state of things is a scandal to the enlightened age in which we live. That the dispute as to the reality of these marvelous phenomena—of which it is quite impossible to exaggerate the importance, if only a tenth part of what has been alleged by generally credible witnesses could be shown to be true—I say it is a scandal that the dispute as to the reality of these phenomena should still be going on, that so many competent witnesses should have declared their belief in them, that so many of these should be profoundly interested in having the question determined, and yet that the educated world, as a body, should still be simply in the attitude of incredulity."

A sturdy child of the English parentage, there has bounded into birth among ourselves an important organization dedicated to the same work, and if the names upon its board of officers mean anything, we have prudence and power enough pledged to the business at home to give candor a trial and truth a chance.

Wisely said Professor Barrett, of Dublin, who was present at the opening meeting of the American Society for Psychical Research:

"Of course, persons who take up this matter must expect no little ridicule, and perhaps some abuse. But, out of alchemy came chemistry, and out of astrology, astronomy. There may be much in these extraordinary accounts of second-sight, thought-reading, apparitions, and so forth, fit only for ridicule; but if there are any facts at the bottom, we want to find them."

What, now, is the great, inattentive, incredulous intelligence, called the public, to understand that these learned gentleman are doing? It is time that the intellectual "thick weather" which lies about the vague thing known as psychical investigation should, to some extent, clarify among unscientific people. What are Professor Sedgwick, of Trinity College, and Professor Barrett, of Dublin, and the Bishop of Carlisle, and Mr. Frederick Myers about? And what (in an honorary capacity) Dr. Crookes and

Alfred Wallace and Lord Tennyson and Mr. Ruskin? What are Harvard College Observatory and Harvard Chair of Metaphysics, and members of the Faculty of Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania, and the wisdom and influence of our own learned and cool-headed men, who do not "give names" without consciences behind them, accomplishing, or about to acccomplish, among ourselves?

When the greatest intellectual discovery of our times was made, it was wrought out of the inductive method, inch by inch, laboriously, consistently, and triumphantly. The theory of evolution was a masterpiece of loving toil, and of relentless logic. Darwin* was twenty-two years in collecting and controlling the material for the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man." Wallace, who competed with him for the formulation of the evolutionary law, was submerged like one of their own shells in the waves that beat upon the shores of the Malay archipelago. These men gave their souls and bodies to become students of the habits of a mollusk or a monkey, the family peculiarities of a bug or a bird, the private biographies of a mastodon or a polyp, the measurable but imperceptible movement of a glacier, the ancestry of a parasite, the vanity of a butterfly, the digestion of a fly-catcher, the moral nature of a climbing plant, or the journey of an insect from one desert island to another upon a floating bough.

Induction, which is as familiar as Bacon, and as old as philosophy, became, in the hands of the "Greatest since Newton," an applied force which has taught the century—nay, which has taught all time and all truth—a solemn lesson. Two things are needed to the discovery of a great principle: the power to attend, and the power to infer. We might add a third, the power to imagine, which may be overlooked in the construction of important theory; but, whatever may be said of that, the power to attend, coming first in order, must be first considered. Darwin's colossal success was owing, to an extent which it is impossible for a lesser mind to measure, to his almost supernatural power of attention to the natural; his superhuman patience of observation and record.

* "It occurred to me," he says, "in 1837, that something might perhaps be made out on this question by patiently accumulating and reflecting. . . . *After five years' work, I allowed myself to speculate on the subject* . . . from that period to the present day, I have steadily pursued the same object." (Introduction to "Origin of Species," published in 1859.)

He observed and recorded as no other man of our day has done; his power of inference proved equal to his observing and recording power; and we have the doctrine of evolution by which physical science has been the first, but will not be the last, may even prove to be the least of human interests yet to profit unspeakably.

It would seem that the trained minds called to the leadership of the new psychical movement have been prompt to turn the *geist* of the century in the last direction in which we should have looked for it. The current that wrought marvels out of stocks and stones they propose to pour upon air and essence. What conquered matter shall assail mind? What ordered order shall dominate the disorderly? The scientific method shall now rule the unscientific madness, and we shall see what we shall see.

In the metaphysical and in the physical worlds the legal fiber is essentially the same. The material differs more than the method. In this case there exists one distinction: that it is in a peculiar sense to the help of the unlearned that the learned have appealed in the work of the psychical organizations. Here is a mass of, let us say, asserted but unverified fact, which, if true, is of immeasurable importance to the interests of the human race. Such verification is not, as yet, to be found in libraries or in laboratories. Telescope and microscope and chip-hammer and retort do not serve the case. The literature of the subject is, in great part, untested, illegal, whimsical, prehistoric to the spirit of the scientific era, and to the spirit in which, if at all, such a subject must now be approached. Here we have to deal with an inchoate accumulation of mind-facts or soul-facts, of which the mind or the soul must be clerk, witness, judge, and juror. Here, especially, we have to do with confused freshets and land-slides of material which, pre-eminently above other material that science has sought to arrange and label, depends upon the intelligence and veracity of human beings for its classification. Here, in short, we come yesterday, to-day, and forever, jaggedly against the supreme difficulties attaching to the validity and credibility of testimony. Here, because of the supremacy of these difficulties, superstition and science must not shoot, but grapple.

Hence, we see, with a keen sense of their wisdom, the officers of the psychical societies appealing, at the outset, to the public for co-operation in the work of investigating that which is hidden, not in desert islands, or in glaciers, or in craters, or in crucibles, or in

cuneiform inscriptions, but in human experience. On human intelligence and veracity the test must strike; it would seem that the electric light of science blazes white enough now, if ever, to try them. Did it seem a dubious experiment to flood the English-reading world with little circulars asking for authentic cases of mind-reading, or visions, as reported at first-hand by reporters willing to be personally investigated? Was it with amusement that we first saw these dignified gentlemen subpœna apparitions from the most intelligent families? Did we fall into the automatic attitudes of perplexity when English science solemnly sent social cards to haunted houses? Did we ask why this precious ointment was not sold to the poor, when we saw learned men playing the "Willing Game" in country-houses to find out whether the human mind can get through sealed walls? And when one of the most important philosophical chairs in the country is represented on the committee inviting spiritualistic mediums to "demonstrate to us experimentally their possession of peculiar powers," do we sneer or smile?

If we are wise, we shall do neither. These men know what they are about, and why they are about it. They know that no previous investigations of the most insoluble problem of human history have been built upon a basis broad enough or strong enough to do the thing which is now attempted by the strongest and longest lever that can be thrust beneath it. They know that our advanced civilization has an advanced chance at the eternal mystery. They know that what superstition has made folly of; and religion, mysticism; and literature, sensationalism; and the rudimentary science of the past, stuff-and-nonsense—the developed science of to-day should make sense of; nay, must make sense of, or suffer what we are now prepared to see would become the greatest defeat that the scientific claim has undergone. They know, in short, that the ingenuity of the scientific method and the patience of the scientific temper and the equability of the scientific temperament ought to be the equivalent of ghost-stories and table-tippings and occult letters and materializations in London, and *séances* in Boston; and that it is the worse for science if they are not. The greater the weight, the more the strands in the cable that hoists it. Nothing is too small for so huge a work as that which would lift the load of mystery older than the Witch of Endor, terrified at her trick, which had summoned what we should now find it fashionable to

call a "telepathic impression"—a load as new as the last poor creature, in fresh mourning, paying two dollars a sitting to a fifth-story medium, to get "communications" from her dead child. He who means to win in a charge upon this mountain of mystery and misery can condescend—must condescend—to the infinite drudgery of discovery. It may not be too much to say that the greatest physical and metaphysical scholars of our day can do no better thing with their gifts, or their greatness, than to apply to the psychical facts the sheer force which has conquered the physical—the force that adequately observes and records before inferring; or, as Darwin puts it, that "accumulates" before "reflecting." This, then, they have sought to do. As the apostle of evolution collected, collated, colligated his enormous array of facts before theorizing, they who undertake this other task would collect, collate, and colligate the disarray of their facts before they theorize.

Let them call upon us to tell our coincident dreams, and give the references of our grandfather's ghost, and sift before their scathing jury the hallucinations, or clairvoyances, or clairaudiences, or presentiments, that our "intelligence and veracity" can muster to the summons. The more the better. The patience that summons should be equal to the perplexity that replies. Men have dedicated their lives to the classification of an insect, or the cultivation of an accent. Why not study the power which makes one man able to make another say Peter Piper, across the width of the house, with the doors shut? The spirit which gave to the world her great scientific gospel devoured itself till it knew why the flesh of a creature, invisible without the microscope, was of the color of the leaf on which it lived and died. Why, then, should not a man keep tally of the relative number of times that a blindfold subject will select the right card from a pack? "High authorities" have wearied themselves to account for the difference in the molars and premolars within the jaws of the dog and the Tasmanian wolf. May not a scientist eat mustard, to see if his mesmeric recipient will say that his mouth is burnt? Or even ask why a valuable piece of property stands unrented for a generation, because a dead woman is said to be heard sobbing in it? In brief, are not the methods which overcome the mysteries of matter entitled to the same exercise and to the same respect that they have had, when they are applied to the mysteries of mind? Here, we say, are the facts. Hundreds of people, whose word of honor is as good intellectual coin as that

of the reader of this page or the contributor to this REVIEW, have testified to the conveyance of thought, without visible or audible or tangible media, from embodied mind to embodied mind; to the tragic or the trivial incidents of mesmerism; to the coincidence of dreams; to the prophecy of mental convictions; to the visual appearance of the distant living; to the sight or sign of what is thought to be the more distant dead.

Thousands of sensible and reliable men and women to-day believe these things on the strength of personal experience; and, believing, accept them with such explanation of their own as they may, in default of any from silent science. It would seem as if these circumstances were of as much importance to science as the transverse lamellæ in the beak of a shoveler duck, or the climate of the lowlands under the equator during the severe part of the glacial period.

A cautious Spiritualist, prominently identified with the movements of his sect, in reply to inquiries made for use in this paper writes:

"I think it would be within bounds to say, that in this country, the number who have by personal investigation come into what they believe to be a knowledge of spirit return and manifestation is not less than 2,000,000, and that a still larger number have experienced enough to satisfy them that there 'is something in it,' but how much they don't know."

Estimates two or three times as large are made by less careful zealots. The writer of the article on Spiritualism in the "American Encyclopædia," says:

"As the organized bodies of Spiritualists include but a small proportion of those who wholly or partially accept these phenomena, it is impossible to make even an approximate estimate of their number."

In Great Britain, the number is supposed to be larger than among ourselves. Here, let us say, to take the most modest figures, are two millions of our people, intelligent enough to conduct the affairs and obey the laws and bear the responsibilities of average civilized society, who habitually and confidently approach the awful verities of death through the unexplained trance which we content ourselves with calling a morbid nervous condition; people whose main religious faith is formulated—God help them!—in the columns of papers,—most of which we never read if we can help it,—or in the pages of what they are pleased to call a New Bible, spiritually communicated through mediums of the sect. Say what we

may (and we ought to say it) of the nonsense, say what we may of the fraud, of the jugglery, the hysteria, the blasphemy mixed to a mush with the whole matter, the significant fact remains, that here is a huge class not of the lowest or most illiterate, while not yet, to any marked extent, of the wisest or highest, who believe themselves, in our highly-illuminated times, to have found some means of access to the consciousness of their dead. Here is the massive bulwark of the mystery—be it from within or from without; were it from above or from below; call it a base trick or a glorious possibility—where the Prince of the Power of the Air intrenches himself; that he gives or assumes to give, or is believed to give to the starving human heart, bereaved of its bread of life, the crumbs from the table of Love and Death. Were it not as great a deed, is it not as large a duty, to hunt down the facts behind this faith, to grip the truth from out this error, to have this law that lies between the body and the soul, as it were to discover the link between a monkey and a man?

Modern science is systematically severe in the conditions which she lays upon the spirit of inquiry. The spirit of inquiry may, in turn, demand something of her. We say a great deal in these days about the scientific basis of thought and action. What do we mean by it? We suppose ourselves to mean that a subject shall be approached with two qualifications: equipment and candor; the presence of equivalent ability, and the absence of nullifying prejudice. These two endowments we have the right to expect of any investigators who penetrate the unexplored upon the map of Truth. We may assume that the eminent officers and members of the psychical societies represent a wide enough range of training, psychological and physiological, religious and skeptical, to deprive us of all necessity to question their possession of the first of these conditions. Remembering the fatal facility with which the latter escapes the highest human intelligences, nay, seems often to escape in proportion to the power of pure intellectual absorption, we must adjust our anticipations in that direction more in the form of "a solemn hope" (as the sub-Positivists say of immortality) than of a fixed assurance. We have read of the chemist who said to a philosopher: "But the chemical facts, my dear sir, are precisely the reverse of what you suppose." "Have the goodness, then," was the instantaneous reply, "to tell me what they are, that I may ex-

plain them on my system." Such a spirit, which, alas ! is newer than the anecdote, would be worse than no spirit at all, in the attempt to bring down so subtle and mocking a truth as that which flies or floats in obscure psychical phenomena. We have to deal now with wings, not clay ; we must use arrows and nets, not derricks and dynamite. We must take straight lines through infinite ether, and measure the velocities of the zephyrs, and the atmospheric pressure of mists. We have to keep the judgment as open as a cloud to the colors of the sun. Our observation must be aerometric. Science finds herself in a New Earth ; whether New Heavens are above it, it is for her—and for Truth—to say.

There were scholars among the contemporaries of Galileo who never would consent to look through a telescope, lest they should be compelled to admit the existence of the stars which he had discovered. Such intellectual palsy is not out of the world's system yet. It is the rarest thing upon earth to be fair. It is a rarer thing, among what are called scientific minds, than this paper has space to justify itself for asserting. Of all human teachers, they whose claim to our respect is founded most confidently upon their endowment fail us sometimes most roundly in this secondary qualification of simple, human candor. The bigotry of the laboratory and the library is quite as robust as the bigotry of the altar and the creed. The *præjudicium* which is infiltrated with matter and fact is as stiff as that which has become hygroscopic of mind and theory. We hear a great deal about the value of scientific evidence. We have the right to ask a great deal of the scientific attitude. What should it be ? That which George Eliot would call one of "massive receptiveness." What must it be ? That which will stand the test of its own primer and grammar. Wise are they who would be unsparing as a sieve, made from the hair on the brows of Minerva, in their definition of "evidence ;" what sifts through those exquisite meshes is worth the pains. But observe the hand that weaves the sieve ; and watch the volition that guides the hand. An imperceptible jar of human prejudice may spoil the finest web of attention and inference that ever the human mind has wrought. It is his first privilege, who would take the attitude that qualifies him for handling delicate evidence, to see to it that his candor is educated equally with his skill. We have passed the time when a man might assume the name of philosopher, who did not hesitate to say that he would rather be in the wrong with Plato than in

the right with his opponents. What is it, indeed, to be candid, but to be willing to see a thing turn out either way? What is the scientific spirit, but the honest spirit? What is the investigating power, but the judicial power? What is it to be wise, but to be just?

A keen modern writer has well said, that by the time a man becomes an authority in any scientific subject he becomes a nuisance upon it, because he is sure to retain errors which were in vogue when he was young, but which a newer wisdom has rejected. Such an accusation ought to become, in proportion to the enlightenment of the age, unjust or impossible. The qualification of candor should grow as fast as that of equipment. As the intellectual outfit of scholars multiplies, fairness in the use of it should increase proportionately, must increase proportionately, or the investigating power "loses stroke" upon one side, and we have an eagle with a wing crippled seeking to cut a straight course to the stars, or expecting the observer to think he does. "Were there a single man," says Bacon, "to be found with firmness sufficient to efface from his mind the theories and notions vulgarly received, and to apply his intellect free and without prevention, the best hopes might be entertained of his success."

What is it, then, to be great, but to be fair? He who would approach a subject like this of which we write, in the sacred name of science, needs to be manned for the results, be they what they may. This matter is too large for any littleness of spirit to grasp. No prepossessions are going to get at it. It is not time yet for any "working hypothesis." It is too early to have assurances that one thing can, or another cannot be. We shall never have the truth by inventing it, but by discovering it. We must be equal to the surprises of truth. If she beat the breath out of our dearest delusions, we must be willing to bury them. If she strike the keystone out of our firmest convictions, we must be able to climb their ruins. I say, without hesitation, that no investigator is qualified to pass judgment upon psychical phenomena, who is not equally ready to admit, if admit he must, in the end, that he is dealing with the physiological action of cells in the frontal lobes of the brain, or with the presence of a human soul disembodied by death. He must be hospitable to a hallucination, or to a spectre. He must be, if necessary, just to an apparition as well as generous to a molecule. He must use the eyes of his soul as well

as the lense of his microscope. He must not be frightened away from the discovery of some superb unknown law, because there is a vulgar din of "Ghosts!" about his ears. He had better find a ghost, if ghost there be, than to find nothing at all, for fear it may not be "scientific" to walk about after one is dead. That does not deserve the name of the scientific attitude which assumes that the supernatural is impossible, any more than that which assumes that it is necessary. No foregone conclusion which restricts the nature of an undiscovered law to a purely physical basis is more scholarly than the bias which prejudicates a superhuman agency behind the dancing of a piano in the air. It may be just as unscientific to assert prematurely that a man of honor, intelligence, and education is suffering from a mere local affection of the retina, when he testifies that he sees and converses with the image of his distant brother at the moment of that brother's death by accident, as it would be to assert that Aristotle expresses himself to the American public through the columns of the "Banner of Light." It may be no more judicial to predetermine that the appearance of phosphorescent letters in the air, under given conditions, must of necessity be a piece of jugglery, than it would be to fall upon our knees before it as the work of angels, or cross ourselves before it as the threat of demons. He may be no more fitted for psychical research who dismisses a certified instance of the clairaudient inter-consciousness of friends a thousand miles apart, as a foredoomed coincidence or exaggeration, than he who would accept the "communication" of his recently dead son, sent to him unsought by the medium who has dared to subject the sacred privacy of a stranger's bereavement to the paragraph of the Spiritualistic press, happily unaware that the supposed spirit has forgotten, in the educational elevation of the disembodied life, how to spell his own name. The philosophical faculty may be no more exhibited by the student who takes it for granted that the raps in a circle of investigators are made by knuckles or toe-joints, than it is exhibited by the man who guides his investments on the advice of a female medium who does not know the difference between a United States registered bond and Mr. Micawber's note-of-hand. To assume that a historical case of house possession like that of Wesley, or his more modern fellow-sufferers, is an ingenious trick or a highly-developed rat, is perhaps, if we think of it, not much more intelligent than to manage one's matrimonial

affairs in accordance with the direction of a gentleman who examines locks of hair, and charges a dollar for his opinion.

The question: What is evidence? is a long one to answer; but the question: What is prejudice? is short enough. The stiff materialist is not educated for a sound investigator any more than the limp emotionalist; and the impulse to decry, as a matter of course, the mental or psychical basis of obscure phenomena, is scarcely more reasonable than the hysteria which hangs upon Indian babble as the utterance of the intelligent dead. As it is not logic not to accept consequences, so it is not philosophy not to prepare for them. A certain class of minds has to learn that the illogical and unphilosophical have no more chance at mystery than they have at mathematics; and that our chief hope of success in these matters lies in our more highly-developed modern consciousness of this fact, and of what it means. It is not a fixed bayonet, piercing in but one direction; it is the Flaming Sword that turneth either way.

We have said that it is too early to accept a working hypothesis. In the work of the English society, a close observer may already detect the danger of a mistake in the precise direction where the Society most deprecates mistake in its coadjutors. It seems to us that a hypothesis is put to very hard play, if not to work, in the hands of the committees most interested in the telepathic theory. Between the physical and the supernatural explanations of these phenomenal facts there is a middle ground, whereon the conjecture formulated into what is called Telepathy has sprung. If not ghosts, if not jugglery, if not electricity, we have now offered to us the occult action of living mind upon mind; and we have an excellent conjecture. Suppose that the telepathic theory might explain an immense proportion (I do not say all) of what are called the supernatural facts of Spiritualism; whether it does so, we have not yet "accumulated and reflected" enough to say. Both the objections to and the arguments for the adaptation of telepathy to these phenomena are keenly interesting; but they would require the leisure of a paper to themselves to discuss them intelligently.

There is here, we say, an excellent conjecture, so far as it goes. No student of the subject can deny that. But no student of the subject ought to assume, at this stage of the investigation, that telepathy goes far enough. Wait. Let us not repeat the blunder of superstition or of incredulity. Wait. Let us have something

that will go to the end of the matter. Sir Isaac Newton humbly said that he had one talent: the ability to look steadily at a problem until he saw it through. The only hope that we have in dealing with this problem of problems lies in the will and the power to look at it until we see it through. The world has played with the thing long enough. Otherwise sensible human beings have been the dupes or the cynics of the subject from age to age, and from civilization to civilization. It is time that the mystery which has baffled twenty centuries found its master. Other secrets of force have defied and been conquered. Why not this? Other laws have eluded and been grasped. Why not this? Other dangers have been dared, other obstacles pulverized, other ridicule or indifference waived, other patience and passion spent for other conflicts with the reluctance of nature to surrender truth. Why not these, and for this? Here is one fact: the existence from all time of a huge sum of inexplicable phenomena. Here is another: the intelligent human will. At this epoch of our development there ought, if ever, to be an equation between the two. The Indian occultist, the Jewish sorcerer, the Scotch seer, the Puritan witch, the modern medium, have presented but so many passing forms of the permanent fact, which, like Ahasuerus, has wandered from generation to generation, a homeless, deathless, unwelcome thing. Like the Spanish knight in the song, it

> "Rides from land to land,
> It sails from sea to sea."

If the time has come to break lances with it, let us do so in downright earnest.

That was a timely incident recalled by one of the distinguished investigators in London, and attributed to Sir William Hamilton and Airey. It was Airey who, Sir William having alluded to some important mathematical fact, answered: "No, it cannot be." The great philosopher gently observed: "I have been investigating it closely for the last five months, and cannot doubt its truth." "But," said Airey, "I've been at it for the last five minutes, and cannot see it at all!"

The psychical opportunity, as it may be called, takes its due chronological order after the great physical opportunity of which modern science has already availed itself, and may be looked upon as a natural sequence—as a case of evolutionary growth in inves-

tigation. After the more demonstrable comes the more elusive; after the more manifest, the more occult. We are now to prepare for what an American philosopher calls "the growing predominance of the psychical life."

View it through whatever glass we may, there is a chance here for a great discovery and for a great discoverer. The day has gone when the stock arguments of incredulity are strong enough to grip the subject. To assume that a large mass of our respectable fellow-citizens are either fools or knaves no longer quite covers the case. The jugglery hypothesis, too often a sound and necessary one, is not elastic enough to stretch over the circuit; as in a case of house-possession personally known to the writer of this paper, which was carried to the leading prestidigitator of the day for his professional opinion, with the inquiry: "Is there anything in your business which would explain these occurrences?" "No!" was the ringing answer, with a terrible thump of the conjurer's hand upon the table. "No! And by —— I wouldn't stay in such a house twenty-four hours!"

Here we stand, at the gates of an unknown law, or series of laws. To know that the unknown exists is a step gained. Science has never rested before her own admitted ignorance. To concede that there is something to conquer is to go far in prophecy that she will conquer it. When organized knowledge brings to her siege a docility equivalent to the force of resistance, the counterscarp is passed. To be educated in the laws of matter is the cell-life of knowledge. In its vertebrate development it must command the laws of mind. He makes as unscientific a mistake who would perceive the truths of physics, and stop there, as he would who should write a system of metaphysics without a knowledge of physiology. Science has her superstitions as well as faith; it is the first of these to be superstitiously afraid of superstition. Only with the developed courage which is implied in perfect skill are the tactics of truth to be mastered. We may say that Science at the bayonet's point, before the fortress of Mystery, is put upon her mettle at last. Too unscholarly has been the sneer or the silence; too feeble the attack; too serious have been the defeats. The moment of the charge has come. Most great martial crises create great generals. If ever there was a chance for one in the history of human knowledge, there is a chance for one to-day, and here.

Shall the power which could classify the kingdoms of the earth,

and claim the glory of them, be thwarted by the capacity of an untouched dining-table to thump a man against a wall? Is a "brain-wave" more unmanageable than an ether-wave? We are taught that there are octaves in the wave-lengths of light corresponding to octaves in sound-vibrations, and that the spectrum has been studied for about four octaves beyond the red end, and one beyond the violet. Is this a less mysterious accomplishment than the power of the human will to act as a substitute for anæsthesia in a surgical operation? Is the boldest conjecture of telepathy more stupendous than the telephone was twelve years ago? We smile when we are told of the telegraphic battery constructed for the accommodation of what are called spirits who desire to employ the Morse alphabet. There are probably few readers of this periodical who would get beyond a smile in regard to such an invention. Yet, is the unknown action of mind on mind possibly expressed through such a use of the laws of electricity more amazing than the half-developed phonograph from which we were told we were to hear the treasured voices of the dead or absent?

Whether we are dealing with matter, mind, or spirit, it is too early yet in the process of investigation to know. It is not too early to know that one law may be no more illegal than another law, and that because we understand the conditions of one, and do not understand the conditions of the other, is no more of a reason why the other should not exist, than Franklin's ignorance of the value of shares in the Electric Light Company of New York City, to-day, was a reason for not putting up the first lightning-rods. It is not too early to know that the psychical opportunity is a great chance for honesty and liberality of spirit, for originality and force of mind, for attention, for patience, for reason, and, we may say, for hope. What benefactors to their kind will they be who shall clutch from this mystery, ancient as earth, shadowy as dreams, and somber as fate, the substance of a verified law!

Be it the law which guides the telegraph, the law which sways an audience, the law by which a hand-pass cures a headache, the law which unites the thoughts of distant friends, or the law by which dumb death should create a vocabulary for deaf life, the chance to formulate it is the chance for a great achievement. Accomplished or defeated, it is an achievement for scholarship and for common-sense to undertake with a sober,

dedicated spirit, adequate to the seriousness of the consequences involved in success or failure. We may add, what is sure to be understood by some of our readers, and as sure not to be by others, that it is an achievement asking also for the higher education of that candid and noble power imperfectly called spirituality of nature. He who has enough of this faculty to respect it, will follow our meaning. We need not tax the patience of him who has not, by here emphasizing the relation of such a power to the scientific method.

In physical theory, the gap between the development of the lower and higher organizations has never been filled. In religious belief, there remains an insoluble mystery about the doctrine that claims to mediate between God and man. In psychical speculation, too, shall we expect a missing link? Will the conjunctive between life and death elude us? The combining medium of soul and body defy us? When we have a psychical system lacking no more than science and theology lack, we may pause, and we should not pause till then. One need not be a Spencerian in philosophy, to cry with Spencer: "The deepest truth we can get at must be unaccountable."

The Darwin of the science of the soul is yet to be. He has a large occasion. It will be found greater to explain the dissolution than the evolution of the race. It is more to teach us where we go to than to tell us what we came from. From the "Descent" to the "Destiny" of man is the natural step. The German physicist who gave his book the supreme title of "The Discovery of the Soul" was wiser than he knew. That was a piercing satire on the materialistic philosophy which suggested, not long since, that mourners hereafter be given front seats at geological lectures, and the most deeply bereaved provided with chip-hammers to collect specimens. Older than the classic of St. Pierre, and young as the anguish of yesterday, is the moan: "Since death is a good, and since Virginia is happy, I would die, too, and be united to Virginia."

Science has given us a past. Too long has she left it to faith to give us a future. Human love cannot be counted out of the forces of nature; and earth-bound human knowledge turns to lift its lowered eyes toward the firmament of immortal life.

ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.

THE NAVAL TACTICS OF THE FUTURE.

It is hardly possible to glance at the development of the modern fighting ship from the wooden craft of old without being struck with the analogy between military action afloat and ashore. It is easy to trace a similar line of progress in each case, and to show that the same stages have been successively passed through, in the attempt to render the warrior invulnerable, while providing him with every means possible for inflicting injury upon the foe. Just as the invention of gunpowder led first to the increase of body armor, and then to its final abandonment, so the introduction of rifled guns produced the iron-clad frigates, and their subsequent improvement—the huge, unwieldy monsters that appear such formidable items in the naval strength of European powers. Who shall say, in view of the impossibility of keeping pace with the ever-increasing power of artillery, that these vessels, too, will not give way in time to some new type of unarmored craft? Already the armor-belt is being confined to the more vulnerable parts of the ship, just as, with the soldier, the defensive covering of the arms and legs was abandoned, in order to give greater freedom to the limbs, and allow the covering of the chest to be increased in weight and strength.

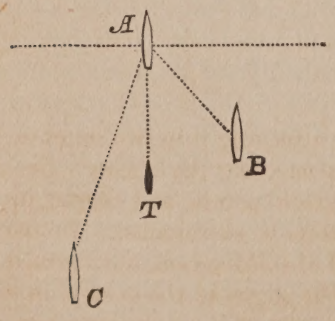
The naval fights of the past were like the hand-to-hand encounters of mail-clad warriors before the days of gunpowder. Apart from the efforts to close with the foe, there was no maneuvering, but each ship, after grappling with an antagonist, hammered away at her till one or the other was placed *hors de combat,* and the victor then passed on in search of another. It was a series of single combats, without much concerted action; the admiral in command, once the battle had begun, losing all control over the action of the fleet, generally. The introduction of steam completely revolutionized the old tactics by enlarging the area within

which maneuvering was possible. It smoothed away, as it were, all physical obstacles, giving an open field to the contending forces, with no strong stragetic positions, the timely occupation of which might turn the tide of battle at some critical moment. It was seen at once that the old system must be abandoned. With the power to move in all directions, the weather-gauge lost its advantages, besides which, any maneuvering for the purpose of attaining a windward position might cause the exposure of a weak front to the attack of an active enemy. New lines were therefore laid down for the movements of a fleet in face of an enemy, and in place of the one order of battle, various formations for attack have found their way into the system of naval tactics adopted by different countries. The same principle, however, so necessary in the days of sailing craft, of keeping the fleet in a compact mass, in order that a crippled ship might have the support of her consorts, was still maintained, and it is only within the past few years that naval commanders have shown a disposition to break entirely with the traditions. The necessity has been recognized of changing the tactical unit, and forming the order of battle not with single ships in one or more lines, but in groups of three or more vessels, and allowing a wider space for maneuvering around each, in order to increase the general mobility of the fleet. The battle of Lissa (1866), the only naval fight, properly speaking, that has taken place since the introduction of steam, was fought on the old lines. The Austrian fleet, in a wedge formation, broke through the Italian in "line ahead," and the ram did more damage than the heavy artillery. The wedge formation is undoubtedly very strong for attack against a fleet in close order, each ship of which has to look for instructions to the same leader. But a fleet, in such a formation, that gave battle to an enemy advancing against it in groups of three, would be very awkwardly situated when one of these "compound units," maneuvering round either flank, attacked it in the rear. The naval tactics of the future must have, as a foundation, the adoption of the group system. The fleet must be divided into small portions, each of which will have its own leader, who, while doing his utmost to carry out the general instructions of the commander-in-chief, will, nevertheless, be guided by circumstances in operating against the enemy. A naval commander-in-chief labors under this disadvantage, that, unlike a military commander, he cannot place himself

on a height, and take in at a glance the disposition of his forces and those of the enemy. The smoke, to a great extent, will hide from his view the course of battle; and when he would fain give orders, either for an advance or a flanking movement, it is only by signals, which may not be seen or understood, that he can endeavor to make known his wishes to those interested. Formerly the admiral led the line, and his ship was generally the first to engage the enemy. Under the altered condition, he should no more seek to be in the *mêlée* than the general in supreme command of an army in action. His flagship should be a vessel very powerful for both attack and defense, but, above all, of very high speed, so as to enable him to change his place with facility at will. Instead of taking up a fixed place in the fleet, the admiral should assume, from time to time, such positions as would best enable him to direct operations, from the facilities they would offer for the proper interpretation of his signals.

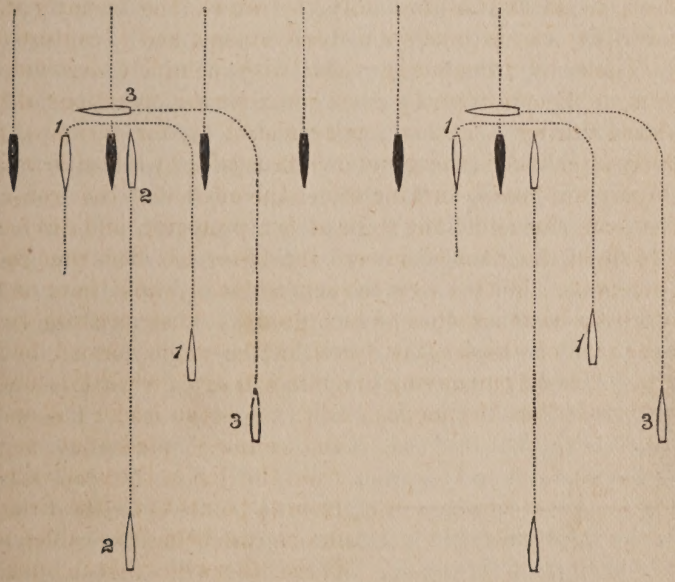
It is not only the increased mobility of ships of war that has necessitated a change of tactics, but also the greater powers of destruction with which they are endowed. Powerful artillery has much lengthened the distance at which an engagement may begin, and new weapons entail other modes of attack. The ram and the locomotive torpedo are both likely to play an important part in naval battles of the future. To use such weapons effectually, however, maneuvering space is necessary for the ship, and freedom of action for the captain in command—two conditions that are incompatible with a close formation, or an order of battle depending upon a rigid observance of fixed rules. The march of invention has destroyed the homogeneity that existed before the days of iron-clads, when fighting craft were all broadside vessels, and only differed from one another in their size and the number and caliber of the guns they carried. A modern fleet would be made up of a variety of craft, every other one of which might represent a distinct type. It is obvious that a "Devastation" or a "Duilio" is not meant to fight under the same conditions as a "Sultan" or an "Alexandria," and the circumstances favorable for the attack of a "Polyphemus" are not those precisely suited to bring out the special qualities of either a turret ship or a broadside vessel. A wise admiral will recognize the distinct purpose for which each different type represented in the fleet under his orders was originally designed, and will dispose

of his ships accordingly. The broadside iron-clads, corresponding to the infantry of which the bulk of a modern army is composed, would form the line of battle, while the turret vessels and special rams would be treated like the flying artillery and heavy cavalry. Thrown out on the flanks of the sailing formation, or placed in the van, they might be employed to open the battle with their heavy guns, while the rest of the fleet was being rapidly formed into the order best suited to the occasion. The Whitehead torpedo is essentially the weapon of opportunity. It can only be regarded as a submarine rocket of short range, which, from the uncertainty of its flight, requires a wide target and an open field. Such being the case, torpedo craft should be considered as the light cavalry of the fleet, to do skirmishing duty, to attack the enemy's ships whenever they can be taken at a disadvantage, and to capture disabled vessels by threatening them with complete destruction. Many favorable opportunities must occur for the operations of torpedo-boats during a general engagement; as, for instance, immediately after the discharge of her broadside by a hostile vessel. The pigmy war-vessel, lurking under the off-side of the iron-clad attacked, can slip round the stern of her protector, and discharge her torpedo at the giant enemy ere the latter has had time to reload her guns. With a view to such action, I would have one or more torpedo-boats attached to each group. Their position would be in the rear of the leading vessel, in the angle formed by her consorts. The accompanying diagram will explain what is meant by the "group" as the tactical unit. *A* is the leader; *B* and *C* the consorts, placed at angles from the line of the keel, varying from 2½ points to 4—the distance in one case being two cables, and in the other twice that amount. *T* is the torpedo-boat. These three ships, in a general movement of the fleet, maneuver as one, always preserving their respective bearings and distance. But the leader may change the positions of *B* and *C* at will, so that the first indicated may become the ship farthest off, and *C* the one nearest at hand. It is seen at a glance that this is a much stronger



formation for attack and defense. When the ships are in line ahead, all of them can use their bow fire, and should a hostile vessel attempt to ram the one, she cannot help exposing herself most favorably to being attacked in a similar manner by one of the others.

As a general principle, a broad front should never be presented to the enemy, as the line might easily be broken, and serious loss be sustained by an attack in columns line ahead. The leading ships of the enemy, wheeling round as they pierced the line, could bring the overwhelming force of numbers to bear upon single ships. This idea I have endeavored to illustrate in the accompanying diagram, in which the dark vessels represent a fleet in line



abreast, and the white ones the enemy attacking it in two columns. The leading vessels of the group, on meeting the enemy's line, have turned sharp round through sixteen points, and ranged up on the broadsides of the ships that are to be surrounded. In the meantime, the right-wing ships, Nos. 3 of the diagram, have turned through eight points, and are under the sterns of the enemy, in a position for pouring in a raking fire, and the rear vessels have come up on the other flank. The concentrated fire of three broadsides is thus brought to bear upon one vessel.

The order of battle to be assumed will much depend upon the formation in which the enemy is found when first discovered by the lookout ships, and a point of the utmost importance is the quick transmission of intelligence respecting this to the commander-in-chief. With the high speed at present attained by iron-clads, little time will be allowed for maneuvering before the battle begins, so that any change of formation requiring a large amount of helm would lead to a fatal exposure of the vessels. A fleet in expectation of meeting an enemy should therefore never be placed in such a formation as will not readily admit of its assuming one with a narrow front. It is not in the present day as in the olden time, when the object of a skillful captain was to bring his broadside to bear as often as possible, with a view to a raking fire. Destructive as might be the effect of concentrated fire upon the bows of an enemy, the latter would always be in a position to give more than she received by simply charging ahead. It is to be presumed that opposing fleets will attack in formations of a similar character, probably in columns line ahead, composed either of single ships or groups as the tactical unit, and the course of battle will be somewhat as follows: Rushing toward each other at a high rate of speed, the bow-guns may be discharged before the leading ships have met, but those on the broadsides will be concentrated so as to deliver crushing blows upon the weakest parts of the hostile vessels as they go past. After the fleets have cleared each other, they will naturally endeavor to re-form as speedily as possible, for the purpose of making or repelling another attack. This will be the most critical stage of the battle, for now comes the moment for using the ram and the torpedo. Well will it be for the admiral having a reserve squadron at hand which is free to dash at the foe while the ships are yet in a state of confusion incidental to an extensive change of formation. Everything will depend upon the celerity with which the ships regain a formation enabling them to present a strong front to the enemy. The individual skill and judgment of the captains in command will be displayed in this maneuvering, and the fleet in which the greatest attention has been paid to intricate evolutions will undoubtedly obtain the advantage. For this reason, not only must each ship practise by herself, turning upon circles with various degrees of helm-angles and speed, so that those in command may know exactly what to do when the necessity arrives for moving about at close quarters, but they must

also exercise together at changes of formation while proceeding at rapid rates of speed. The same qualities that won the battles of old—perception of the intentions of the enemy, skill in handling the ship, cool courage, and a clear head in the moment of danger—will give to their possessors victory in the present day. The principle that I have already laid down for the formation of orders of battle—"never expose the flank to the bow of an enemy"—must govern, as far as possible, the movements of single ships. To this may be added another axiom: never swerve from the course, when the fleets are rushing toward each other, in order to avoid being rammed. When the danger is steadily faced, much of it disappears. The shock will be received at the strongest portion of the ship, and if the enemy, dreading the encounter at the last moment, should change her helm but slightly, there is the opportunity to give her the ram with effect.

Just as with armies, a plan of battle must be drawn up beforehand. The commander-in-chief of a fleet must arrange with his captains for a certain course of action to be followed under certain circumstances; as, for instance, after the first charge, supposing the enemy's formation to have been pierced by the fleet in two columns in close order, the latter is to re-form for the purpose of charging again in the same manner, by the one column wheeling round to the right and the other to the left. Such plans, providing for more or less continuous action, should be numbered, so that by the hoisting of a single flag, or other means equally simple, the intentions of the commander-in-chief may be known at once throughout the fleet. I take it that, although two successive charges in good order might possibly take place between opposing fleets, there will be no third general charge; and probably the result of the first one will be to throw both into confusion, and the subsequent portion of the battle will be fought out by the independent action of the several units of which the fleets are composed. This will be the opportunity for the group commanders to distinguish themselves. By judicious management of the vessels under their command, they may be able to surround single ships, and compel them to surrender. The enemy's torpedo-boats will have to be looked after by vessels the specialty of which must be high speed and a multiplicity of machine guns in their armament. The commanders of such vessels must be allowed great independence of action, their duty being to destroy the enemy's torpedo-boats while protecting those of their own fleet.

So far I have treated, it may be said, of naval tactics only. Apart from this there is naval strategy, which will consist in deceiving the enemy as to the intended movements of the fleet, the drawing of his vessels out of protecting ports, and the cutting off of his cruisers from coaling stations. Very much might be written upon this subject, but such matters do not properly enter into a discussion limited to the movements of a fleet in the presence of an enemy. The same may be said in respect to measures of defense adopted against torpedo-boats, and plans of operation for the passage of channels in the possession of hostile troops. I may remark, however, that in respect to naval strategy, the admiral in command of a fleet must be provided with a number of very fast, light cruisers, able to carry coal sufficient to enable them to keep the sea for days together. Such craft, armed with a few long-range guns, must possess speed enough to enable them to outrun any ironclad of the enemy, and to show themselves when necessary, one day in one quarter, and the next several hundred miles away. To continue the comparison between fleets at sea and armies ashore, these craft would be the Uhlans, charged with the duty of exploration and masking intended movements.

In respect to defensive measures against torpedoes, the reader will notice that I have not touched upon the subject of netting. The reason for this is that, in my humble opinion, no ship will ever carry nets into action. Such cumbersome arrangements would prove, in the end, more dangerous to the vessel carrying them than the weapons against which they were designed to protect her. As to the stationary mines of the enemy, no hostile waters should be approached without some knowledge of their condition, and when there is reason to believe in the existence of a submarine defense, measures must be adopted for its destruction previous to an advance of the fleet.

A great deal of torpedo work is nothing but hollow sham, and experts with a knowledge of the physical features of the localities can easily control the reports received from secret agents on the subject of their submarine defenses. There are many places where no sort of stationary mines could possibly survive a gale, and although the waters may be reported as mined in all directions, a bold test would show them to be clear of such dangers. This was the case with Poti and several other open ports of the Russian Black Sea coast during the late war between Russia and Turkey.

They were said to have been extensively torpedoed, and yet Turkish iron-clads entered their waters with impunity on more than one occasion. In places undefended by batteries or field guns, the enemy's obstructions may be removed by processes known to seamen as "sweeping and creeping," with boats and small craft. But where the searching parties would be greatly exposed to heavy fire from the shore, there is nothing to be done but countermine. The defending torpedoes must be destroyed by the explosion of others placed by the attacking force. The advance of the fleet is made, in fact, in a manner similar to that of an invading army upon the city to which it has laid siege. Here is a fine field for the controllable locomotive torpedo. Sent ahead with two or more other ordinary torpedoes in tow, their simultaneous explosion would clear a large space around, either by setting them in action or disarranging their firing gear. In my opinion, torpedoes that can be sent in any direction to considerable distances, and exploded at will, are destined to play a more important part in naval operations than even the much vaunted Whitehead.

WOODS PASHA.

GRANT'S MEMORIAL: WHAT SHALL IT BE?

A MONUMENT over the ashes of a great man implies something very different from a memorial statue or column erected in a public place to perpetuate his name. Wellington rests in a sarcophagus in St. Paul's, while there are no less than five statues in his honor in different parts of London. Nelson's body is also placed in a sarcophagus under the dome of St. Paul's, but the Nelson Column is in Trafalgar Square. The Prince Consort reposes at Frogmore: the Albert Memorial, an elaborate shrine, with a seated statue, and a richly decorated spire rising from a sculptured terrace, is at Kensington. Napoleon sleeps in a sarcophagus of porphyry, under the stately dome of the Hôtel des Invalides, but the column which commemorates his victories stands in the Place Vendôme. The body of *Il re Galantuomo* is laid in the Pantheon at Rome; his memorial monument rises in a public square of the capital, while his statue is in every city of Italy. These are a few among numerous examples.

As the monument under consideration is to be National, and to serve the double purpose of honoring the hero's memory and protecting his mortal part for future ages, I would suggest a mausoleum, of Roman or Grecian Doric architecture, solid and simple, crowned with a dome, surmounted by an allegorical statue.

Allowing a sarcophagus, it should be massive, and simple in design, of the most durable material, and should be placed in a crypt, open and visible from the floor of the mortuary temple, so that the spectator may look down upon it; being, as it were, below the surface of the earth, and yet exposed in such manner that a wreath of immortelles may always be laid upon it.

It is hardly necessary to add that while the general design should be simple, no materials should enter into its construction or decorations except stone and bronze. The two entrances might be

impressively guarded by colossal figures, representing the North, South, East, and West.

I would further suggest that an equestrian statue of the hero be placed on a green sward, circular in shape, at a proper distance from the west front (supposing the mausoleum to face east and west), the statue looking west, on a pedestal of such height that the features could easily be recognized or discerned.

These suggestions, although given on the spur of the moment, and only in broad generalizations, represent my convictions on the subject.

LAUNT THOMPSON.

THIS monument is to be raised in honor of an individual man, a successful leader of our armies, to whom we all feel grateful, and who can no longer be seen or known by those who are living in the world from which he has departed. The first thought under such circumstances should be to do honor to his memory by erecting a strictly truthful portrait statue, in bronze or marble, that can be easily and closely scanned by every man and woman and child. Having secured this sculptor's masterpiece, the second thought would naturally be to place it in a shrine that, by its artistic value, should satisfy the taste and feeling of every beholder. I believe, therefore, that, wherever erected, the Grant Memorial ought to have a noble interior as well as a grand exterior; that it should be designed to admit of decoration with paintings and with stained glass, and also give an opportunity for the use of bronzes and other metals admitting of artistic treatment.

The Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile in Paris is, I consider, a splendid example of an unsatisfactory monumental conception, carried out on a grand scale, but having a somewhat meaningless appearance. The beautiful skyline of the Dôme des Invalides seems, on the other hand, to be always welcome, and one feels that here is a monumental form that is beyond criticism. A common type that should be avoided is a column with the statue on the top, such as the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square; and even the justly celebrated Albert Memorial is open to the objection that its central statue is not near enough to the eye to be closely studied as a portrait. The Tower of St. Jacques in Paris seems to me to be one of the most successful architectural mementos of a lofty character

that has ever been erected, and yet it may be said to be almost the result of an accident. It belonged to a church which had to be pulled down, as a part of the Haussmann street improvements, and this exquisitely conceived Gothic tower was therefore re-dedicated to the honor of the philosopher Pascal, and left, with a newly designed lower story, to be a joy forever in the middle of one of the smaller city gardens that was specially arranged to receive it.

I give my opinions, or rather my impressions, on the subject thus freely, not because I think they should be controlling, but because their expression in this unqualified way leads me directly to the main purpose I have in view, which is to point out the necessity for securing, and, indeed, almost compelling, from the outset, the effective co-operation of the representative architects of the country. My individual views may be sound or unsound, but no one will deny that there are views that ought to be controlling, and that the right to state them should be reserved for those who have already proved by their works their capacity as designers. The preliminaries should undoubtedly be arranged by a committee of thoroughly trained architects, who would certainly have a clear conception of the difficulties to be surmounted, and at the same time would have the ability to show that the design for the Grant Memorial, being essentially an architectural conception, could be most properly formulated, in the interest of the public, under the direct guidance of architects. I will not attempt to foreshadow what methods of procedure the committee would initiate, or what form this art work would eventually assume under these circumstances; but it is evident that the result must be in some sense an illustration of the law of the survival of the fittest, and there is every reason to believe that it would prove to be a conspicuous example of the artistic advantage to be derived from adopting, at the outset, a gravely considered course in the attempt to arrive at a successful solution of this very interesting architectural problem.

CALVERT VAUX.

A LOVED and honored son of the nation has gone out from among us, to live henceforth in history and in the hearts of the people, and a grateful country now would build to his memory a monument worthy his great name. There is no doubt but the nation at large will pour out from its abundance ample means to

erect a structure adequate for the purpose; will be only too glad to provide all that is necessary, if assured of a satisfactory result —if convinced that what is done will be the most acceptable their money could procure or the artistic ability of the nation produce —something which should be the glory of the age that erected it, and continue the pride of ages to come! This monument should be replete in all its parts, though not crowded or overdone; should be full of meaning in every line and form from base to apex; it should be simple, though full; pure, grand, unique, though not strained, and indigenous to the soil. In short, it should be an epitome of the simply great character it commemorates, as well as the conditions and peculiarities of the country and institutions of which our hero was the outgrowth.

All this is possible to attain, *though easy to miss!* If individual conceit, vanity, and crude notions are allowed to prevail; if cunning, sordid, plausible self-interest of incompetent persons is permitted, through deceit or adroit flattery, to gain possession of the minds of those having the matter in charge, the result is obvious, for it has so often been exemplified with our well-meaning, unthinking, and, I may add, unknowing countrymen, who so frequently find their mistake when too late and beyond remedy, and know no security against future imposition.

As the coming of the great Captain from the people, to win for them the inestimable blessing of continued nationality, marks an epoch in the country's history, the sad occasion of his taking up his final march, the ending of his earthly career, seems to me one that should be improved to fix an epoch in American art—a most fitting time to give the nation its first (single statues excepted) great monument. As I have already said, it is easy to miscarry in this; it is also possible to secure the desired end. I have pointed out, briefly, some of the causes of easy failure; I will more explicitly present my theory, which seems to me would, if put in practice, result in complete success, and give this country something to point to with a degree of pride it could never before indulge. Something entirely its own, and of such interest as to induce sight-seers—travelers—to pause, or turn in their journey and make a pilgrimage to this national shrine. Each subscriber probably believes that some artist of his acquaintance could produce something of value enough to add merit to this work, and his confidence in the sincerity and earnestness of the enterprise would be strengthened

to know that his favorite, with the rest, was to be given an opportunity of making himself heard. Let every man who believes he has a valuable idea, express it. Let every able man who has that which would be of importance, contribute it. Let there be a systematic plan devised to secure every valuable thought, come from whom or where it may. No one person has every requisite for such a work; no one mind may furnish all the thought; no single skull carries all the artistic brains! Each may have some attribute peculiar to itself, so let great and small be given opportunity to express their thoughts, and from this mass of material let the most gifted and experienced select. Much, of course, would be worthless, and some good material would have to be rejected, because of its inadaptability, but there would most likely be precious bits that the greatest genius would not otherwise have found. No satisfactory results are often obtained by an open competition. Men of established reputations are loath to enter the lists with incompetent or untried aspirants; naturally they are jealous of their hard-earned positions, which they are not willing to submit to the damaging treatment of an unlearned committee, who, though honest and well-meaning themselves, are still almost certain to be unconsciously drawn into the services of adroit, unscrupulous charlatans, through corrupted influences. There might be a competition limited to a few, selected from the ranks of established artists, to be paid for their designs, and the chosen one submitted to the whole body for criticisms, suggestions, etc., the designer, of course, being the judge as to what should and what should not enter into the work. Or better still, perhaps, the work might be given into the hands of two, possibly three, persons of divergent qualities, the one having what the other lacked; the powers of one supplementing those of the other. These would act in unison, and the combined acquirements, natural taste, and judgment of both, still corrected and refined by the advice, criticisms, etc., of the entire body of artists, it would seem to me could not fail to produce a work worthy of the country and its art, and worthy of the hero whose virtues it was made to commemorate. This system of criticism is usually practiced by most artists to a lesser degree. When a great work is in progress, his studio is visited by his peers, either through their own interest or by invitation, and every capable visitor is asked for an opinion, criticism, or suggestions, and often the work is materially

changed through these contributions, and the recipient always ready to do a like service in turn. W. H. BEARD.

THE death of General Grant, the greatest man of our century, is not America's loss only: it is an international bereavement. The memorial to be erected to his honor, therefore, should be so comprehensive in its conception as to admit of being so international in its execution that it would provide for the reception of art contributions from the governments of every civilized nation. As America is the greatest of modern nations, to be a truly national memorial, it should excel in grandeur any existing monument. To be representative of the man, its design should be like his character—it should be distinguished for its simplicity and grandeur.

Grant was a soldier and a conqueror; but he was also the ruler of a united people, and his famous utterance, "Let us have peace," was the key-note of his political administration and the inspiration of his civic life. A monument to him, therefore, although, to be truthful, it *must* represent him as a military victor, should contain no suggestion in its groups or its tableaux or its bas-reliefs that he ever gained a battle in which the defeated army was composed of his countrymen in rebellion.

The basis of the conception of the proposed memorial to Grant of course must be his life—his achievements. Shall it be a single figure? That is a portrait only—it tells no story, or never more than a single moment of a life. Shall it be an equestrian figure? The tradition of art interprets such a statue to signify a prince or soldier. But it can tell nothing more. Now, Grant's life was complex, full of great incidents worthy of enduring remembrance, and his career was crowded with his inspirations of the great acts of other great men. An adequate plan of a monument, therefore, should provide for the enduring commemoration of many events in which other great soldiers and great civilians took part. It should also immortalize the heroism of the common people from whom Grant sprang—as best typified by the common soldier.

As no one moment of time, therefore, could tell to the future the story of Grant's life, we should erect to his memory the grandest mausoleum or temple of modern times.

Let it be the combined work of our greatest architects, sculp-

tors, and painters. Let architectural grandeur, statuary, bas-reliefs, and frescoes, illustrative of his life, tell the story of his grand career to future generations. Let the memorial be worthy of the man, the nation, and American art, equally and alike.

KARL GERHARDT.

IT has been found extremely difficult for any nation to have a better quality of monumental art than it is capable of appreciating. The stream will not rise higher than its source, except by a sort of forcing process, of which the phenomenal results are apt to be betrayed by their expression of conscious effort. If they are not natural to the soil, they are either pedantic or are wanting in that inestimable quality of repose and reserved force which is essential to a work of monumental art.

The patriotic sentiment which in our own country has, in every town, compelled the erection of monuments commemorative of the citizen-soldiers who fell in defense of the Union in the civil war is every way commendable and beautiful. It could only arise among a free people intelligent enough to comprehend the name of our political institutions. But, from the point of view of art, it must be admitted that the results of this ebullition are not flattering to our civilization. Among these votive piles, erected thus from a very noble sense of duty, there are very few indeed which are not poor in conception and illiterate in execution. We hardly know where among them to look for a work of positive inspiration, developed with force, poetic feeling, and a just appreciation of the nature of detail. No nation ever had such an opportunity for pure artistic expression, and, we are constrained to say, none could have so misused it.

This failure is to be attributed not so much to the absence of available and competent architectural or artistic advice as to the fact that the committees of citizens, to whom has been intrusted the privilege of giving expression to this exalted sentiment, have either not possessed intelligence enough to summon and rely upon such advice, or have preferred to depend upon their own uninstructed notions of the manner in which the emergency should be met. Trained intelligences have had but little opportunity to study and develop the difficult problem of a soldier's monument.

Who has not observed how dumb and cold these granite shafts

stand upon our town inclosures and village greens, how destitute of any quality to excite emotion or even interest, how bald in expression, how illiterate in detail, how capricious in proportion, how poor in invention, how commonplace, and yet how prodigal! A monumental memorial, however simple, to be a work of art, should be as absolute in proportion as a column of the Parthenon or as the Choragic monument of Lysicrates; but the conventional soldiers' monument of America may have a cubic added to or taken from its stature without loss of any essential artistic quality. They exhibit a vain endeavor to astonish the beholder with new things. They are for the most part the conceptions of untaught stone-cutters derived from a narrow range of conventional graveyard types. Their best inspiration has been the ambition, by the addition of some arbitrary caprice of architectural detail or emblem, to better the production of the stone-cutters who raised the attenuated shaft, crowned with its soldier-at-rest, in the neighboring town.

The type of native monumental form which has been gradually evolved out of these unfavorable conditions is not difficult to describe. A similiar type does not exist elsewhere in the world; it is distinctively American. If the process of development from monument to monument in successive examples had not been constantly disturbed by formidable eruptions of individual caprice, this national type would have had the precious quality of genuineness; it would have deserved and obtained the respect of the artistic mind as containing the elements of a true indigenous art, from which, in competent hands, we might finally have evolved beautiful forms.

General Grant was as distinctively American as Lincoln. Our monument to his memory should be American. But is it possible for us to use in this monument these improvised elements of form with fitting and adequate results? This indigenous art, if it may be so called, is not without its virtues: the material is perfect; the mechanic has, in a workmanlike, practical manner, understood what could be done with it; he has not forced it beyond its natural capacity; he has carried out his crude conceptions with almost too great perfection and smoothness of execution; he has learned how to contrast polished and unpolished surfaces, how to carve them with a certain mechanical precision. These practical advantages are available to us, and, in skillful hands, they may be so combined

and directed as to produce a monument not without a certain character of nationality, and adequate to the occasion. The great monoliths of our granite quarries, the peculiar aptitude of our craftsmen, may be so used as to produce a work fit and proper to be raised before the world in such a cause—a work, we hope, not so far removed from the suggestions of our previous and humbler attempts that it may not be recognized in some sense as the product of a national evolution of monumental form.

It is well for us to remember, however, that even in the old world, among the rich and abounding traditions of ancient art, and with the wealth of civilizations grown old and great with experience and culture, examples of signal success in purely monumental art are rare indeed. We may expect to find them literate and correct always. Their natural error is in the direction not of vulgarity but of sophistication. They refine and build upon venerable and accepted types so that they rarely offend even the most cultivated eye, but they rarely rise above the conventional—we had almost said the commonplace. Art in the old world is handicapped more or less by its own perfection. Its greatest successes are the products of commanding genius working upon the restricted lines of accepted and well-defined national styles.

Thus Rauch's monument of Frederick the Great at Berlin is correct renaissance; it is an equestrian colossus raised high upon two dies, of which, in each, the four faces are covered with paneled bas-reliefs, and around the lower die, upon an elevated stylobate, are grouped four equestrian figures on the corners, and between them twenty figures on foot, all colossal; the general expression is triumphant, and the artist, with incomparable success, has made all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war subservient to the apotheosis of a great king. As a purely military monument this seems to have no equal.

Kranner's lofty monumental fountain at Prague in memory of the Kaiser Francis I. is in pure German Gothic. It is a florid spire enriched with pinnacles, peopled with eight symbolic figures under rich canopies, and around the base, upon detached pedestals, are sixteen figures typical of the reign. The armed monarch himself upon horseback rides through a triumphal arch about midway of the shaft. It is one of the richest and most poetical conceptions of modern times.

Von Klenze's architectural Ruhmeshalle at Munich is Greek:

a columnar temple with two wings around three sides of a square, and in the center the colossal bronze figure of Bavaria. It is a learned and exotic composition, and fairly typifies the pedantry of the reign.

Chelgoin's Arc de l'Étoile at Paris is Greco-Roman, following imperial types of form. It is a monument of French military vanity, and all the resources of contemporary art were combined to decorate its enormous properties.

Julio Lombardi's tomb of the Doge Andrua Vendramin at Venice is of the most luxurious and delicate Italian renaissance. Michael Angelo's tomb of Lorenzo de Medici at Florence is debased Roman. Wren's monumental column at London Bridge is also correct Roman, with no touch of imagination beyond the cold perfection of the style.

The monument to Scott at Edinburgh is Scotch Gothic—a bastard style but ill-understood in this composition. Yet the result, with its wealth of illustrative sculpture, is romantic in the extreme, and the common voice pronounces it one of the very few successful memorials in Great Britain. On the whole, the mind of the Great Romancer could not have received a more adequate portrayal in art.

Sir Gilbert Scott's monument of Prince Albert in London is correct Italian Gothic, but, with all its wealth of column material and sculpture, it is an artistic quotation. It is not English, but it is rich and splendid. Perhaps the somewhat cosmopolitan attitude of the prince in his life, and his conspicuous service to modern art in England, demanded some such expression in his monument; but London fogs and London dirt seem to be incompatible with this exuberance of exotic Gothic detail.

These may be accepted as typical examples of the best modern European work in monumental art. But it is only in the Berlin type that we can discover anything approximating to a form of memorial which would seem adequate to our present purposes, and even this is an imperial structure which we could not imitate in a monument to the greatest soldier of the Republic without offense to the directness and simplicity of his character. To import Gothic romance or Italian renaissance for this service would be still more incongruous and grotesque.

Although Grant was essentially an American, as we have said, in grain and tissue, in flower and fruit, it would not be just to

his memory to attempt in this memorial the American process of form-building without regard to the great European precedents. We must consider the simplicity of his personal character, as well as the fullness and national importance of his public career. Let us, therefore, in this concrete expression of national sentiment, be simple, like him, but let the scale of our effort be commensurate with our dignity as a nation; let its beauty and fullness of expression comport with the finest sense of gratitude for his services, and the most complete recognition of the continental magnitude of their results.

It may be said that these are but glittering generalities, when specific statements are required. No true artist, we would reply, would commit himself to the egression of opinion in favor of any especial form of memorial in this emergency without far more study than it has been possible as yet to bestow upon the subject. We can only risk these statements: the monument should be simple and not complex; it should be great in size, and lofty; it should be adjusted carefully to the conditions of site; it should be approachable, and not surrounded by a boundary fence; by statues and bas-reliefs and inscriptions it should tell the story of this great public life in language which all may read; by its refinements of detail, its justness of proportion, its careful balance of constructional idiom, its suggestions of poetic fitness, it should inspire and excite the beholder; predominant, the figure of our general should appear equipped for war upon his horse, exact in portraiture, without theatrical display, colossal, so that the true personality shall be made familiar in its best estate to our posterity.

These attributes may be accepted as essential to our monument, and under such conditions an infinite variety of artistic invention is possible. How the best capacities of the nation may be made available in an honorable competition of designs and models is in reality by far the most essential point to be considered at this stage. To attempt to preoccupy the public mind with this or that idea as to the monumental form most appropriate to the occasion would be, in our judgment, unwise, and would defeat its own ends.

A long and arduous experience in architectural competitions and a close observation of all their phenomena have convinced us that absolute justice is rather more unattainable in this than in almost

all other departments of human experience. But some of their more palpable errors might be avoided in the inevitable competition of designs which we shall have presently to face, by the strict observance of these conditions, which are earnestly commended to the careful consideration of the authorities.

The committee on building the monument should not be so large that its members should lose their sense of personal responsibility; a majority of the members should be carefully chosen from the profession of architecture—a profession trained in the study of monumental forms and in the application of sculpture to monumental purposes.

This committee should prepare with great care a programme of requirements; in respect to the design, they should specify all the elements essential to be considered, but should not overload their programme with unnecessary restrictions.

A limited number of the best architects in the country should be invited to ally themselves each with an eminent sculptor in the production of competitive models. These competitors should be liberally paid for their advice so given. The field should also be open to voluntary competitors throughout the country and abroad.

The erection of the monument should be entrusted to the competitor, whether paid or unpaid, whose design, coming within the requirements of the programme, shall best commend itself to the committee.

This proposition presents in rough outline nearly all the conditions essential to the obtaining of a series of projects for a national monument worthy of our civilization. The most capable and best trained minds in the nation would under such circumstances feel it an honor to devote their best energies to the cause. They would be repelled by propositions less cognizant of the dignity of art.

HENRY VAN BRUNT.

THE monument to General Grant should be a grand mausoleum, imposing from its simplicity rather than its elaboration; distinguished for its fine proportion and form, and pure in style, however severe. It should have an interior rich and impressive, the central object of which might be a massive and highly wrought sarcophagus of beautiful and enduring stone. This interior should be accessible to the public at all or at stated times. Near the monu-

ment, but not as part of it, should be placed statues of generals, naval commanders and others, identified with General Grant during the war. These statues, not being a part of the monument proper, could be added at different times, if necessary.

This seems to me to be the kind of monument needed. Yet the particular style and design requires a great deal of thought and study. It would be difficult, of course, to procure an adequate plan; but it is certain that a good result never will be attained unless the matter is left, to some extent, to those who are accustomed to the study and contemplation of fine monuments and objects of art throughout the world.

I think the country demands and will appreciate sincere artistic effort in this matter.

OLIN L. WARNER.

THERE is no surer or safer standard by which to judge the status of nations in the scale of civilization than by their proficiency in the fine arts.

The proposed monument, therefore, is likely to be simply an expression of the public taste of our present civilization. It should be, however, far in advance of the general public on the subject of monumental architecture and memorial sculpture.

The death of our greatest soldier has given the people of the present generation an opportunity to build a grand monument: we have the wealth, the subject, and the location, but it remains to be seen whether we have the taste, genius, and ability. There are other obstacles besides these—the factors of prejudice, avarice, politics, and competition have always been impediments in the way of such an undertaking.

The question is, What kind of a memorial or monument shall be erected to the life, services, and memory of General Grant? The first problem in this enterprise is the raising of a sufficient sum of money, next the design, and lastly the men to do it. It will require not less than ten hundred thousand dollars to erect such a monument as is now demanded—one worthy of the age, the people of New York, and of the nation.

The great monuments of the world are before us, from the Pyramids and temples of the Nile to the matchless Obelisk on the banks of the Potomac. We can contemplate them all. The

incomparable temples of Greece, whose perfect proportions and peerless beauty have been the admiration of the world for more than twenty centuries; the Arch of Titus, that pure example of all romanesque monumental architecture; the monuments by Michael Angelo; those by Canova; the equestrian statue and monument to Frederick the Great at Berlin; the Column Vendôme in Paris; the German monument on the Rhine, in commemoration of victories of Germany in France; the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square; the Scott Monument at Edinburgh; and lastly, the most costly, elaborate, ornate monument in Europe, that to the late Prince Albert in London, are some of the most important examples. All these grand works, and many more, may be critically examined and studied.

Shall we draw upon these great works of the past centuries, and upon the experience of older nations, or shall we invent some new style or character of monument which shall be germane to our present civilization and environments; or shall we go back to old Greece, and draw from that pure and ancient fountain of art, as we have drawn upon her for our models of morals, philosophy, and literature? These are questions which force themselves upon us, and well they may, in view of the important work we have before us.

Take the Parthenon or Temple of Diana for our model of the building, which would at once be tomb, shrine, memorial, and monument. Its size and dimensions could be governed by the amount of funds contributed. The Parthenon is the flower of a thousand years of Greek culture—it is simply perfection. Time, the elements, and the barbarian, all have for centuries crumbled its entablatures, destroyed its columns, and torn down its freizes, and although it is but "the ghost of the god-like thing it was of yore," it still leaves upon the mind of the spectator a fadeless vision of beauty. If such a monument should be erected in the place selected for General Grant's memorial, its beautiful proportions and imposing appearance would lend an additional charm to the lofty and picturesque banks of the river, made classic by the inimitable pen of Irving, the poems of Poe, Drake and Halleck. With the imperishable history of the Revolution, and its immortal associations, it would make a monument more impressive, more appropriate, and more durable than any column or pile of masonry that could be reared, though it reached the clouds.

We can but faintly imagine the impression such a structure would produce—say one hundred feet in height, which would make the elevation two hundred and thirty feet from the river to apex of the temple. On either side there would be twelve monolithic columns, and eight at each end of the building. The buttresses at the ends of the steps, say sixteen feet in height from the ground, would provide places for four colossal groups in bronze representing War, Peace, Victory, and Fame. On the cornice inside of the building, figures, life-size, in alto and bas-reliefs, illustrating the life of General Grant, in marble, with dark polished granite composing the inside structure, pilasters at proper distances, and ornamented panels between. On the outside, the frieze could be used to illustrate the history and progress of the United States. In the pediment or gable facing the river could be placed the "Landing of Hendrick Hudson." In the eastern pediment the "Landing of the Pilgrims"—colossal groups in bronze. The floor in the center could be sunk to the depth of ten feet; in this the sarcophagus containing the body of General Grant would be placed, the whole resting upon an appropriately constructed elevation. Around this sunken part would be heavy granite railing. The outside of the building composed of the very lightest shade of granite would give the whole structure the appearance of white marble.

The roof would be partially constructed of bronze frames, with heavy ground glass for light and ventilation.

Nothing but granite, glass and bronze should enter into the construction of the work—these are practically indestructible. No queer, grotesque, or eccentric stuff should be admitted, no matter by whom proposed; no hybridous architecture or nondescript figures, or shapes intended to catch the eye and excite the applause of the vulgar. Everything should be left out and avoided except that which would give dignity, beauty, grandeur, and indestructibility to the work.

It is very seldom that such an occasion occurs, in the life of a nation, as that now presented. This generation has the rare opportunity to build a monument to the memory of one of the world's greatest captains, and at the same time to demonstrate that Americans can erect a monument equal if not superior to any of ancient or modern times.

WILSON MCDONALD.

So many unfortunate monuments—monuments at once ugly and inappropriate—have been erected to the memory of public men in this country, that it is not possible to hear without apprehension of a project for repeating the experiment in the case of General Grant, especially when we consider the proposed size and cost of the memorial.

Who can think without displeasure amounting to disgust of the statues of Bolivar, Scott, Burns, Halleck, Morse, and Webster in the Central Park, of the Washington in Wall Street, and of the statues of Hamilton, Franklin, Webster, Mann, Everett, Sumner, and Lincoln in Boston, not to speak of the many bad works that disgrace the National Capital? And who that has learned anything of the way in which these schemes are in many cases set on foot, and of the spirit of jobbery in which they are too often carried out, but must fear lest the present enterprise may share the fate of its predecessors?

There are evidences, however, that our people are outgrowing their insensibility to the actual state of things, and that common-sense and improving taste are working together to bring on a better day. Our education in the matter has not gone far, it is true, since it has only brought us to the point of ignominiously dragging down and breaking to pieces one monument, and of wishing that the same fate might befall the rest. Yet who, a year ago, would have believed that what has been done in the case of the statue of the late General Custer could be brought about by any influence, social, artistic, or political? It is by mistakes that we learn; and let us hope that the blunders we have thus far committed may have done something to teach us caution in the case of the proposed monument to General Grant.

Taking it as a point decided that the memorial is to be erected at Riverside Park, and on the spot where the receiving tomb is built, it seems to me that the monument should be distinctly architectural in its design; and I would suggest a lofty tower rising in stages to a height equal at least to that of Trinity, and serving as a canopy to a statue of the hero. This tower should be a building of Roman simplicity, four square, round arched, depending for its effect upon its height, its proportions, and the harmonious relations to each other of its successive stages.

The height and size of the monument would make it plainly seen and an impressive object when viewed from the river. Grand-

eur of outline ought to be more studied than a softer grace; and the indomitable will, the large heart, and the unadorned manners of the dead should be written in imperishable lines of fortressed strength far seen against the sky.

But the monument should not serve merely as a beacon to catch the eye leagues away, it must have an attraction for those who visit it close at hand. To meet this, a finer art should be called in, and hence the statue of bronze on its pedestal, seen on all sides through the buttressed arches of marble that uphold the tower, standing under a vaulted dome, where the art of the mosaic worker shall portray in symbol sombre-rich in hue the virtues that made the life of Grant what it was.

A tower of the size proposed would easily admit of stairs in the buttressed angles by which the building could be ascended, and the main floor would give an area large enough to enable visitors to walk about the statue and survey it from all sides. But nothing should be added to the monument in the way of decoration beyond what has been suggested, and it may be that, to some persons, even the proposed mosaics on the roof of the vault would detract from the dignity of the impression. Still, the need is always felt in such memorials of something serving as an interpreter between the work of the artist and the spectator, and these four symbolic figures, Endurance, Self-Restraint, Strength, and Magnanimity, depicted by that art which Michelangelo called "painting for eternity," would speak to the forming heart of youth most eloquently through the eye.

The military career of General Grant being safe in the hands of history, there ought not to appear upon his monument the name of any battle of our Civil War. The great end accomplished by his splendid services was not victory over a foe, but reconciliation between brothers. His monument ought only to speak of those civic virtues which are the source of his true fame: Love of Country, Unselfish Sacrifice to Duty, Freedom from Ambition. When all his mistakes of statesmanship shall be forgotten, and all the clouds that shadowed his latest days dispersed, these public virtues ascribed to him alike by friend and foe, and those private virtues that so deservedly endeared him to the great, right-feeling heart of the people, will shine far above the victories of the battle-field. The harvest of brotherhood, of union, of the common good was reaped for us by Grant: his battles were nothing but the clumsy

enginery by which his noble work of reconciliation was accomplished.

The union of architecture with sculpture proposed in this suggestion for a monument seems to me of vital importance. One of the reasons why the sculpture of to-day, even the best of it, has so futile an air—seems to most people so alien from their life—is that it was never meant for sculpture to be separated from building: sculpture is the highest ornament, the flower of building, and all the antique sculpture, as well as all the sculpture of the mediæval time, was designed to be an essential element of the architecture with which it was associated. The idea of statues, equestrian, seated, standing, stuck up as we see them in our cities, in the open and on isolated pedestals, would have seemed absurd to a Greek and even to the Romans in their good time. Statues never look so well as when their lines and masses are mingled and harmonized with the lines and masses of building. Even a poor building may be made endurable by sculpture, and our public statues, even the worst of them, would look better than they do if they were placed in niches or under the arches of an arcade, or on the front of some public building. The statue of Walter Scott in the Central Park is a very bad statue, but it does not look like such an insult to the poet as it seems to us, when seen half covered up in the Gothic canopy that shelters it in Edinburgh. And it would be an important point gained for the monumental art so much in favor in this country, and growing every year in importance, if in the Grant Memorial we could see for the first time on this soil a noble piece of architecture intimately, essentially associated with a noble piece of sculpture, and the whole consecrated to the commemoration of a character of enduring worth.

CLARENCE COOK.

COMMENTS.

MR. EDITOR: I have been interested in Gail Hamilton's arraignment of the Prohibitionists in a recent issue of the REVIEW. As a good hater and a good fighter she appears at her best. Her words are shot and shell, and her pages are illuminated by the lightning of her scorn. I rarely agree with her in opinion, but am always fascinated by her shining ways. Her raid on the poor Prohibitionists is merciless. She pursues them through every line of escape, and into every possible refuge, while exultingly parading the scalps which dangle at her belt. As I am not a member of the Prohibition Party, I have no motive to enter the lists as its defender. I only desire to notice some of her surprising statements touching the facts of anti-slavery history. She says the Liberty Party "threw away its votes," or "very soon stopped throwing them anywhere, and disbanded." In this statement she "shows the danger of slight knowledge." Abolitionism, as a working force in politics, had to have a beginning. It belonged to the inevitable logic of a great and dominating idea. If the Liberty Party of 1840 and 1844 "disbanded," it was only to merge itself in a larger movement begotten by itself, committed to the same principles, and better fitted to secure their triumph. As the child is father to the man, so the little party which blazed the way for the armies which followed was the prophecy and parent of the larger movement which rallied under Fremont in 1856, elected Lincoln in 1860, and played its grand part in saving the nation from destruction by the armed insurgents whom it had vanquished at the ballot-box. I am sorry to find Gail Hamilton denying the well-known facts of history, and disowning the ancestry of the party she so idolizes. She says, "the candidacy of Mr. Birney defeated Mr. Clay, and elected Mr. Polk, and thus brought about the Mexican War;" and she holds the Abolitionists responsible for the acquisition of territory, the growing domination of slavery, and the civil war which followed. Nothing could be more remarkable than this sort of rhetoric. Intelligent men of all parties have long since abandoned the ridiculous story that Birney defeated Clay. The anti-slavery voters of 1844 were seceders from both the old parties, and if the Liberty Party had disbanded, or had not been formed, the result of the election would have been the same. Clay was defeated by his own vacillating course on the slavery question, by the Kane letter of Mr. Polk on the tariff, by the Plaquemine frauds in Louisiana, and other causes; while the annexation of Texas occurred under Tyler's ad-

ministration, and would certainly have happened in any event. The sole offense of the Liberty Party was the espousal of the truth in advance of the multitude, which finally followed in its footsteps. If Gail Hamilton had insisted that Washington and his Revolutionary associates were responsible for the Stamp act and the War of Independence, her success would not have been more brilliant as the writer of first-rate nonsense. GEO. W. JULIAN.

MR. EDITOR: By an unfortunate mistake, not originally mine, and certainly not yours, I am made to say in the August number of the REVIEW that a wineglassful or more of the 1 to 500 solution of corrosive sublimate could be taken with impunity; and that in language which may easily lead to a free and dangerous use of this potent medicine.

I would have detected this error instantly in the proof-sheets except for a combination of causes, the principal one of which was relying too confidently upon the directions given by several careful and competent authorities for the preparation of the 1 to 500 solution in smaller quanties than 500 pounds.

We are told to put two grains in a large quart of water.

The words are: "In making up smaller quantities it will be well to remember that the amount of corrosive sublimate required to make a 1 to 500 solution is two (2) grains to the litre" (a French quart).

These authorities I knew to be so familiar with French weights and measures, as well as our own, that I did not suspect at first that they had made the typographical error of substituting the word GRAINS for *grams*. This mistake used to be met with very frequently some years ago, especially when the spelling of *grammes* was first dangerously shortened to *grams*. But French weights and measures have so long been household words among us that we have not had of late to watch so carefully, constantly, and even anxiously for this great error; for a French *gramme* or *gram* is 15 grains. I never use French weights or measures when it can possibly be avoided, and I always spell *gramme* in full, for fear that gram may be mistaken for grain written without a dot over the i.

I had made the simple calculations carefully, and had written them out for the REVIEW, that two (2) grains to the quart will give 1 grain to each pint; ½ grain to each ½ pint, or ordinary tumblerful; ¼ grain to each claret-glass; and ⅛th grain, or less, to each wine-glass, for wine and sherry glasses often run from 5 to 7 to the ½ pint, which would reduce each dose to $\frac{1}{70}$th or even $\frac{1}{74}$th of a grain. I seemed on safe ground, and in the extreme condensation and compression of my article, which was necessary at a late moment, had to omit or strike out these minute directions, and all that I had prepared about the solutions 1 to 5,000 and 1 to 10,000, the latter of which I prefer. I have never personally prescribed more than $\frac{1}{74}$th of a grain, and generally only $\frac{1}{32}$d.

The German physicians are allowed by law to give ½ grain doses, but not to exceed 1½ grains per day. The English physicians often give ¼ grain doses, and some writers recommend them in this country. Doses of ⅛th of a grain are often given; but the medium dose is from $\frac{1}{76}$th to $\frac{1}{72}$th of a grain. Dr. Hernberg, a very cautious man, suggests $\frac{1}{50}$th of a grain, in cholera, every five minutes for

the first hour, or until nearly a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a grain is given; then every ten minutes for two hours more, or until nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ a grain is adminstered; and adds, "It may be that larger doses could be tolerated."

It only remains to add that no solution of corrosive sublimate called 1 to 500 should be given internally except in doses of a few drops; even 1 to 5,000 is not safe in wineglassful doses. JOHN C. PETERS.

MR. EDITOR: It is worth noticing that in the interesting conversation in the July number, between Henry George and David Dudley Field, the soundness of Mr. George's primary dogma, that private land-ownership should be abolished and common ownership established, is not questioned at all by Mr. Field. He questions only the practicability of Mr. George's scheme of land nationalization. Mr. Field has the best of it there. The most sincere admirers of Henry George are of opinion that he has not finished his great work. He has not solved the problem that was the base of his "Progress and Poverty." Land nationalization, as he states it, is palpably impracticable. But the justice of Mr. George's main proposition, that private property in land is an injustice to human kind generally, cannot, I think, be doubted. Mr. Field, I believe, tacitly admits it. What is wanted, then, is a plan better than Mr. George's for accomplishing the desired reform in the structure of human society. Such a plan, in my opinion, is that elucidated in "Man's Birthright; or, the Higher Law of Property," a little book recently published in New York and London. It is a condensation and simplification of "Ownership and Sovereignty," published a few years ago by David Reeves Smith, a work which never received the attention its importance merited. The theory presented accomplishes more than Mr. George would accomplish, and still has points to commend it to a conservative thinker. The higher law of property, as stated, is this: Man comes into the world with not only an interest in land, which is one of the natural elements necessary to his existence, but with an interest, too, in all things of the material world outside of man himself—all the accumulated wealth of the world.

At first glance this proposition seems like rank communism; but when stated properly it seems an unanswerable truth. Every product of the hand of man is the result of a combination of what Aristotle called "the bounty of Nature," and labor. This bounty of Nature, in the forms of timber, stone, iron, gold, etc., has been taken out of land for thousands of years and transmuted into everything that man has wrought. Thus our ships and railroads are but land, or the bounty of Nature, transmuted. Matter has no existence for itself; it exists for the conscious, the living. When a man dies, his right to utilize any part of the material wealth of the universe dies with him; and his possessions, the unconscious, revert to the common stock, to be the property of the conscious. Let me quote a paragraph: "The people own the earth—own it while they live on it—each generation while they possess it. But the people die. Statistics teach that two persons in every hundred die yearly. If such is the case, two per cent. of the country's wealth falls back annually into the common estate. If, at the death of every citizen who now passes away from the

earth, his effects should be seized by their sovereign owner, it would take just fifty years for the reversion of present individual property to the general store. But this direct reversion is not the thing wanted, for the whole property would have to be again distributed into individual hands in order to make its full value to every one." If the wealth of the earth reverts from one generation to another every fifty years, two per cent. reverts every year. Thus the interest of the universal estate—what might be termed the natural rent of it—is exactly two per cent. The share of the sovereign owner, therefore, may be simply levied and collected as a tax—an annual two per cent. tax upon all assets. This could be done, and disturb social institutions very little. Anybody and everybody may hold property, may buy and sell, own and bequeath it, precisely as they do under the present laws and customs. But the possessors will have to pay the annual rent of it. This will fall equally upon the millionaire and the laborer. This simple and natural tax would be sufficient to defray the expenses of government while dispensing with the pernicious and confusing tax systems of the present. It might leave room, too, for the accomplishment of all the beneficent projects of Mr. George. All the objections that Mr. Field makes to Mr. George's plans are satisfactorily disposed of in this newer philosophy. All that Mr. George would accomplish by his complex and radical land nationalization, and more besides, may be accomplished by the simple and unrevolutionary tax based on the death rate. It appears very just and very practicable. What does Mr. Field think of it? What does Mr. George think of it?

C. O'C. HENNESSY.

MR. EDITOR: In the conversation between David Dudley Field and Henry George, both contestants claim "Christianity," "the Christian religion," as supporting their views, and Mr George says: "Christianity that does not assert the natural rights of man . . . seems to me a travesty. A Christian has something to do as a citizen and law-maker." If we hold Christianity to mean the rules of life contained in the Christian Scriptures, I do not see how Mr. George can find confirmation there for his doctrine above stated. Certainly, there is much in the New Testament to conflict with that doctrine. The writers of that book and Jesus never once speak of the Christian disciple as a citizen and law-maker. He is always addressed as a subject, and a subject bound to render obedience (except in matters of faith) to whatever the ruling power may require of him. Neither does Christianity (so defined) at all "assert the natural rights of man." On the contrary, it enjoins on the disciple submission and non-resistance, even when the ruling power is as oppressive as Nero and Tiberius were. The reason for this absence of inculcation of civil and political duties seems to have been that Jesus, and therefore the apostles, really expected a winding up of human affairs, and the establishment of new heavens and a new earth, within the lifetime of their own generation. But, whether this reason or some other induced the policy in question, the fact remains that the New Testament rule for Christians is non-resistance and patient submission to injury; and, this being so, the French and American revolutions, and our late war against rebellion and slavery, were violations of that rule.

People that write about Christianity rarely define the particular sense in which they use that word, and seem to assume that their readers will understand it as they do. But the popular conception of Christianity is a heterogeneous mixture, including sometimes more, sometimes less, of the following things : The teaching and example of Jesus and the apostles recorded in the New Testament ; the teaching of Moses, the prophets, and the other writers recorded in the Old Testament ; the doctrines of the creeds ; the customs of the churches. Since Christianity is so differently understood and interpreted by different people, he that writes about it would do well to state clearly his own view of its meaning and scope. I hold Christians to be those who, accepting Jesus of Nazareth as the fulfillment of the Messianic prophecies of Hebrew Scripture, acknowledge him therefore as Christ and Lord, and acknowledge the duty of conforming their lives to his precepts. What does Mr. George mean by Christianity ? And what does the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst mean by it when, in the same number, he seems to assume that Irish immigrants are not to be reckoned as Christians ? CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

MR. EDITOR : I would like to add one word to the controversy called out by the articles of Mrs. Stanton and Bishop Spalding on the question, " Has Christianity benefited Woman ?" The June number of your REVIEW contains a letter from Mrs. or Miss Charlotte F. Daly. She attempts—what has often been attempted before—to distinguish between " Christianity " and " the teachings of the Christ ; " but not with signal success. While recognizing the fact that monasticism has easily made itself at home in Christianity, she assumes that there is no basis for it in the words of Jesus. She even thinks it blasphemy to suppose that he would have countenanced anything of the kind. Let us see then if this is true. It is supposed that John, the favorite disciple, was the author of Revelation. By a reference to the 14th chapter and the 4th verse, it will be seen that he placed virginity far above the married state. The 7th chapter of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians shows this also to have been the opinion of the great apostle. One might argue, with some degree of success, that John and Paul had some exceptional opportunities for knowing what Jesus thought on a subject like this. But, by turning to Matthew, chap. xix. and verses 10–12, we find better authority still—that of the Christ himself. He there plainly intimates that the virgin condition, though one of difficulty, is also one of superiority. And he closes with, " He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." And not only this, but a wrong inference would be drawn from the example of one who was supposed to be our perfect pattern of life. In this way his example has actually been used, and is so used to-day by the Shakers. I will not open up the larger question as to whether it is a good thing or a bad thing ; but it seems to me unquestionably a true thing, that Christian monasticism is not an exotic. It roots itself not only in the words of apostles, but is the teaching of Christ himself. M. J. SAVAGE.

MR. EDITOR: The articles on woman's dress, in the June number of the REVIEW, were read aloud before a group of persons, some of whom had given

the question much thought, and the general opinion seemed to be that one of the writers was more influenced by what has passed for the beautiful in society than by a regard for health. Not a word did he say in condemnation of the corset. On the contrary, in speaking of petticoats, the sentence, "by fastening them with strings or bands around the waist, over the corset," gives the impression that he makes no objection to these contrivances, which I suppose have helped to injure more women than any work or care. Let him try the experiment of a day's work with several petticoats hung from his hips, and then let him suspend them from his shoulders, and see if he will still say, "it is to be hoped it will not spread"—meaning the support of the skirts from the shoulders. I do not think shoulder-straps need make one round-shouldered, nor have I found that they hinder the chest movement. They render motion much easier and less tiresome, with fewer back-aches. But even here his most important argument against them seems to be that they would interfere with the low-neck dress. What a pity! How thoughtful he is, too, of woman's sensitiveness to class distinctions, when he would put all those that must work for a living into trousers, "even at the sacrifice of warmth and beauty," while the draperies should be reserved for the ladies of leisure, the ornaments of society. Miss Jackson, on the other hand, not only shows us the great injury arising from corsets, many petticoats, or whatever tends to interfere with the working of the vital organs, but also helps us out of the difficulty by several very sensible and practicable suggestions; as for instance, the wearing of outside drawers of ladies-cloth or flannel in winter, instead of the usual skirt, and the simple trimmed dress in preference to the one heavily loaded with drapery and plaitings. Dr. Hammond seems to consider that his advice will not be heeded, and women will dress as they like; but it is a well-known fact that they dress for man's approval, and if no word of censure is spoken by one of his medical experience, against the corset and heavy petticoats, we shall continue to see young girls encased in rigid bones and steel, which prevent the development of those very beauties generally considered by man most pleasing, to say nothing of the evil results to health and activity; and we shall still find fleshy women girding in the waist, till one stops in amazement at their endurance of torture. Mr. Warner speaks with force on this point, and we wish every man might be led to join him in disapproving of such a form, as contrary to all laws of beauty and common-sense.

ALICE H. WITHERBEE.

MR. EDITOR: I was greatly interested in the conversation between Messrs. Field and George. The latter proposes to remedy social economic evils by taxing land at its value without improvements. My only present object is to call attention to the fact that this method of taxation has been partially tried in this country. The earlier policy of Ohio was, by means of the taxing power, to encourage farm improvements and discourage the holding of large bodies of unimproved land. The following is from the acts of 1831, page 276: "All lands shall be valued at their true value in money, taking into consideration the fertility and quality of the soil, the vicinity of the same to public roads,

towns or villages, navigable rivers, water privileges on the same, or location and route of canal or canals, with any other local advantages of situation, and having no reference to the value of improvements—upon actual view of the same." This provision did not extend to towns or cities, and it was further provided that dwelling-houses over the value of three hundred dollars should be assessed. Non-resident land-holders complained, and some residents thought it hardly fair that land, whose improvements rendered it worth in market three or four times the value of neighboring unimproved land, should pay only the same tax; but still it was easy to see that the chief value of such land was given it by the labor of those who had come into the State, had cleared and cultivated farms, had built roads and canals, had organized society, and established institutions. Without any of the labor and frontier privation involved in all this, the non-resident land-holders received the full benefit, so far as shown in the increased value of naked land. This policy was not extended to cities, but, so far as it went, it worked well, and aided in the distribution of land among those who desired to use it. Still it did not reproduce the golden age, and, if the more radical measures of Mr. George should be realized, we should still find poverty and want calling for our sympathies, should still find disease, ignorance, indolence, improvidence, misfortune, crime, and their fruits, which no economic system can prevent or cure.

PHILEMON BLISS.

MR. EDITOR: In Dr. Parkhurst's article, in the July number of the REVIEW, he cites, with propriety and strength, the nature of the Christian religion as antagonizing the natural instincts of man. The point is well taken, but there is another point, corresponding with this, which should be kept in mind when estimating the vigor of Christianity and the progress it is making. I refer to the indolence and inconsistency of church-membership, and the burning personal ambition that marks so many of the clergy. If the clergy were all meek, self-sacrificing, willing to work hard in the humblest places, foregoing all rights to preferment and promotion; if the members were even half-way models in righteousness and quarter-way models of diligence, and in a little models of faith, the Church's progress would not only be reasonable, but we might expect a great deal more. But when conferences are torn with bitter struggles for the best places; when open charges are made in assemblies of electioneering for the high places; when the religious conventions of other denominations are marked most painfully with the traces of rivalry and jealousy; and when but a small fraction of any church-membership are found exerting themselves to any greater works of faith and stewardship than attending Sunday services and contributing to charities—the growth of the Church becomes more than a miracle, and the continual improvement of the tone and purity of society under its defective influence reveals the perfection of the Holy Spirit acting through the church. Peter the Reader is still a living character, but the church lived in spite of him once, does now, and always will, with a still increasing power.

C. T. JAMIESON.

71st Year. Published Monthly. Volume 141. No. 4.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

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NEW YORK:

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXLVII.

OCTOBER, 1885.

INHUMAN CRIMES IN ENGLAND.

THE revelations of the inhuman crimes perpetrated in England, made the other day by the "Pall Mall Gazette," have given a profound shock to the moral sense of our whole country, and, as we know from the journals and correspondence now daily coming back upon us from all parts of Europe and from the United States, to the whole world. All eyes are fixed on London as the modern Babylon, full of all manner of iniquities, and it may be that in foreign capitals many are resting in the belief that the atrocities of London exceed in degree, if not also in kind, the offenses of any other city.

It is unavoidable that, in a population of over four millions, our offenses should be greater, at least in multitude if not also in enormity, than the crimes of other and lesser centers of population. Nevertheless, it was only on Friday last, the 24th July, that I received from Boston a letter of ardent sympathy in the terrible work in which the "Pall Mall Gazette" is engaged, and invoking our help, when our labor at home is done, in a similar effort for the cleansing of Boston and New York.

The writer of the letter very truly says that the example and influence of London demoralizes the world, not only by reason of

its vastness, but also because it is, like Rome of old, the *certera gentium*—for the foul streams of all nations flow into it. There are quarters of London inhabited by aliens of all nations which for profligacy and all manner of evil are proverbial. I do not say this to throw off our own shame, which is too black and burning to be shifted from ourselves. I have no care to ask what revelations might easily be made in Paris, in Vienna, or in Naples. We are black enough, and guilty enough, in London to confine my thoughts to London alone.

You may wish to learn whether these enormities were not already known, and, if known, why they were not long ago exposed. The answer, I believe, is this: They were known as forms are seen in the dark. We were sure of their existence. Here and there terrible cases came before our courts or were dealt with in private. The state of our streets at night gradually awakened attention and caused remonstrance. The efforts to check these evils were partial and intermittent. The extent of the immoral world in the midst of us was altogether unrecognized; its organization and systematic purveying and its almost ubiquitous activity were not only not ascertained but not even suspected; and, when suspected, were treated as incredible. Excepting only those whose professions and duties brought them into immediate contact with the terrible realities of life, the greater part of the upper and governing classes of England in London were more or less living in a fools' paradise. Our newspaper press has been, happily, singularly guarded and pure. In social life such subjects are seldom if ever mentioned. Many men may have known of them, but the great multitude of women have lived and died without any knowledge of what passes in the very streets in which they dwell. Under the shelter of this unconsciousness every form of evil is multiplied.

I will not ask whether our state is worse at this day than it was in 1820 or 1830, which was a period of extraordinary and barefaced wickedness. It is enough to say that, with the rapid increase of the population in London, a steady relaxation of all social and moral authority and a perceptible breaking up of the domestic life of the people have continually grown upon us.

At length, the knowledge of these terrible iniquities forced itself upon our attention, and in 1881 a commission took evidence and reported on the immoralities in London, and especially on the

traffic in young girls between London and the Continent. The revelations of that report fall little short of the revelations of the "Pall Mall Gazette." But a blue book is read by few, and, except to those concerned—I may say to experts on the subject—the report of the commission has remained almost unknown. I have never so much as seen it. A bill founded on it, and intended to check these immoral practices, was introduced into the House of Lords. It was much opposed and weakened, and, finally, for want of time, it was dropped. The bill was again introduced in the following year, and with the same result. Once more, in 1884, it was discussed, and again suffered to drop. In the session of the present year, 1885, it passed the House of Lords, weakened to such a point as to afford protection only to girls of fifteen years of age. The bill reached the House of Commons. As usual, it encountered considerable opposition, and, finally, was talked out on a Wednesday, on which day the House rises at six o'clock. It then seemed as if all hope of protection was thrown over to 1886. That is to say, five long years, still with uncertain result, have been wasted over a measure for which the vital necessity to the moral life of England ought to have obtained a peremptory and prompt legislation.

This heartless delay, full of fatal consequences of demoralization and wreck and ruin to the innocent, the helpless of our people, justly aroused the indignation of those to whom justice and mercy are more dear than the redistribution of seats or the disfranchisement for medical relief. Prompted—I might say stung—by an indignant impatience, the editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," and other like-minded men, defying all antagonists, entered upon their warfare against the dominion of cruelty and lust. I have said elsewhere, that many of those who profoundly sympathize in the motives which induced the "Pall Mall Gazette" to take up the question might have desired its modes and expressions to have been revised and chastened; but that in such a matter of moral life and death, and above all, when the obloquy and calumny of the bad, and hasty and shortsighted censures of some good men, were heaped upon those who entered the furnace to save souls, I should hold it to be not only ungenerous, but cowardly and cruel, not to stand between the handful of men who, for the moral life of England, dared this courageous action, and the whole world of their censors. The substance of this action is intrinsically just and merciful.

The incidental evils that may arise are of a lower order, and depend upon the use or the abuse which individuals may make of these terrible revelations.

I believe that I am correct in saying that in all the States of the Union laws far more stringent and adequate exist for the punishment and the repression of criminal vice.

In many of the States the punishment for rape is still death. Seduction is punished by five long terms of imprisonment. Young girls, in the eye of the law, are infants until they are 18, and, in some States, until they are 21 years of age. The punishment for inveigling, or enticing, or decoying for immoral purposes, by fine or by imprisonment, is justly severe. On the continent of Europe, in like manner, girls are regarded as infants before the law until the age of 18. In England such offenses against a girl of 13 are felony; above 13 they are treated only as a misdemeanor.

By our present legal code a girl cannot give her consent to marriage before the age of 21, but she is regarded as capable of consenting to her own ruin at the age of 13 years. The man who marries her before 21 is punishable by law. The man who ruins a child of 13 escapes with impunity. She may ruin herself at 13, but cannot marry, for defect of consent, till 21. If any one should know that his dog or his cat were detained in any house, the police, with all expedition, could search for his property. But if he knew that his child were detained in the house, neither he nor the police could enter it. His only remedy would be by writ of *habeas corpus*, which could not be obtained for many hours, and perhaps for days; but the ruin of his child might be at any moment. Once more I say, children of 13, and all girls above that age, are supposed to be free agents, and capable of consenting to their own ruin; thus he who ruins them for life escapes with impunity, on the rule "*Volenti non fit injuria.*" It has been therefore solemnly argued, by men who have great legal reputation, that the abominable and inhuman trade of the procurer and the procures cannot be punishable at law, because the end to which their hideous traffic is directed is not illegal. Here we have another legal dictum: the accomplices are not punishable because the principals are within the rights of their liberty.

I have even heard this question asked: "Would you punish the postboy who drives a runaway couple to Gretna Green?" Such

is the levity with which this subject has hitherto been treated, even by men who have a reputation to lose.

The moral sense of this country has been profoundly aroused. Our public newspapers in the provinces, without number, have written with great ardor and indignation, and forty-one public meetings in such places as parts of London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Sheffield have been held. In thirteen days the immense pressure brought to bear upon the Government has compelled it to promise that the Criminal Law Amendment bill shall pass into the statute book before Parliament is prorogued. If it were to be defeated by any of the means which have wasted the last few years, no one can foresee what might be the popular excitement and the indignation in the country. Most assuredly at the next general election, when 2,000,000 new voters, chiefly the fathers and sons of the working-classes, shall appear at polling booths, all those who have obstructed the bill to protect the children and the girls of this country will meet with no toleration.

To-morrow night the Criminal Law Amendment bill will be discussed. A multitude of amendments to weaken its reach and its effect are already on the notice. On the other hand, amendments will be proposed directed to the four points touched on above; viz., first, the raising of the age from 15 to 16, or possibly to 17; secondly, the providing of an effective power of search in all houses where there is reason to believe any child or girl under age may be detained; thirdly, stringent and effectual powers to arrest and punish the perpetrators of this inhuman traffic; and fourthly, to equalize the penalties of solicitation, whether by man or by woman, thereby giving equal protection to both. Such are the chief points for which we are contending.

It will be remembered that the editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette" offered to submit the evidence that he had collected, in proof of the statements that he had made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., and myself. To these was afterward added Mr. Reid, M.P. and Queen's Counsel. After four protracted sittings, the following judgment was unanimously framed and signed:

"We have been requested to investigate the truth of the statements contained in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 10th of July, 1885, under the title of 'The Report of our Secret Commission.'

"In doing so, we decided from the first to exclude any inquiry into charges against particular men or classes of men, or into the conduct of the police officers. We have strictly confined ourselves to inquiring into the system of criminal vice described in that report.

"After carefully sifting the evidence of witnesses, and the materials before us, and without guaranteeing the accuracy of every particular, we are satisfied that, taken as a whole, the statements in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' on this question are substantially true."

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS.

PART I.

MR. LINCOLN was nearly eight years my senior, and settled in Illinois ten years before I did. We first find him in the State splitting rails with Thomas Hanks, in Macon County, in 1830. Not long afterward he made his way to New Salem, an unimportant and insignificant village on the Sangamon River, in the Northern part of Sangamon County, fourteen miles from Springfield.

In 1839 a new county was laid off, named "Ménard," in honor of the first lieutenant-governor of the State, a French Canadian, an early settler of the State, and a man whose memory is held in reverence by the people of Illinois for his enterprise, benevolence, and the admirable personal traits which adorned his character. A distinguished and wealthy citizen of St. Louis, allied to him by marriage, Mr. Charles Pierre Chouteau, is now erecting a monument to him, to be placed in the State-house grounds at Springfield.

The settlement of New Salem, now immortalized as the early home of Lincoln, fell within the new county of "Ménard." Remaining there "as a sort of clerk in a store," to use his own language, he then went into the Black Hawk war, and was elected a captain of a company of mounted volunteers. In one of the great debates between Lincoln and Douglas, at Ottawa, in 1858, in a somewhat patronizing manner and in a spirit of badinage, spoke of having known Lincoln for "twenty-four years," and when a "flourishing grocery-keeper" at New Salem. The occasion was too good a one not to furnish a repartee, and the people insisted that while Lincoln denied that he had been a flourishing "grocery-keeper," as stated, but said that if he had been he was "certain

that his friend, Judge Douglas, would have been his best customer."

The Black Hawk war over, Mr. Lincoln returned to New Salem to eke out a scanty existence by doing small jobs of surveying and by drawing up deeds and legal instruments for his neighbors. In 1834, still living in New Salem, he was one of nine members elected from Sangamon County to the lower house of the Legislature.

I landed at Galena by a Mississippi River steamboat, on the first day of April, 1840, ten years after Hanks and Lincoln were splitting rails in Macon County.

The country was then fairly entered on that marvelous Presidential campaign between Van Buren and Harrison, by far the most exciting election the country has ever seen, and which, in my judgment, will never have a parallel, should the country have an existence for a thousand years. Illinois was one of the seven States that voted for Van Buren, but the Whigs contested the election with great zeal and most desperate energy. Galena, theretofore better known as the Fevre River Lead Mines, still held its importance as the center of the lead-mining region, and was regarded as one of the principal towns in the State in point of population, wealth, and enterprise. But the bulk of population of the State at that time, as well as the weight of political influence, was south of Springfield. Mr. Lincoln was first elected to the lower branch of the Legislature (then sitting at Vandalia) from Sangamon County, in 1834, and that was his first appearance in public life. He was re-elected in 1836, 1838, and 1840, having served in all four terms—eight years. He then peremptorily declined a further election. Before his election to the Legislature, Mr. Lincoln had read law in a fugitive way at New Salem; but arriving at Vandalia as a member of the Legislature, a new field was open to him in the State law library as well as in the miscellaneous library at the capital. He then devoted himself most diligently not only to the study of law, but to miscellaneous reading. He always read understandingly, and there was no principle of law but what he mastered; and such was the way in which he always impressed his miscellaneous readings on his mind, that in his later life people were amazed at his wonderful familiarity with books—even those so little known by the great mass of readers. The seat of government of Illinois having been removed from

Vandalia to Springfield in 1839, the latter place then became the center of political influence in the State. Mr. Lincoln was not particularly distinguished in his legislative service. He participated in the discussion of the ordinary subjects of legislation, and was regarded as a man of good sense and a wise and practical legislator. His uniform fairness was proverbial; but he never gave any special evidence of that masterly ability for which he was afterward distinguished, and which stamped him, as by common consent, the foremost man of all the century. He was a prominent Whig in politics, and took a leading part in all political discussions. There were many men of both political parties in the lower house of the Legislature, during the service of Mr. Lincoln, who became afterward distinguished in the political history of the State, and among them might be mentioned Orlando B. Ficklin, John T. Stuart, William A. Richardson, John A. McClernand, Edward D. Baker, Lewis W. Ross, Samuel D. Marshall, Robert Smith, William H. Bissell, and John J. Hardin, all subsequently members of Congress; and James Semple, James Shields, and Lyman Trumbull, United States Senators.

There were also many men of talent and local reputation who held an honorable place in the public estimation and made their mark in the history of the State. Springfield was the political center for the Whigs of Illinois in 1840.

Lincoln had already acquired a high reputation as a popular speaker, and he was put on the Harrison electoral ticket with the understanding he should canvass the State. Edward D. Baker was also entered as a campaign orator, and wherever he spoke he carried his audience captive by the power of his eloquence and the strength of his arguments. He was one of the most effective stump speakers I ever listened to.

It was his wonderful eloquence and his power as a stump speaker that elected him to Congress from Illinois in a district to which he did not belong, and made him a United States Senator from Oregon when he was a citizen of California.

John T. Stuart was already known by his successful canvass with Douglas, in 1838, as an able speaker and a popular man; and John J. Hardin, of Jacksonville (killed at Buena Vista), was widely known as a popular and successful orator. These Springfield Whigs led off in canvassing the State for Harrison in 1840.

Lincoln and Baker were assigned to the "Wabash Country,"

where, as Baker once told me, they would make speeches one day and shake with the ague the next. It is hard to realize at this day what it was to make a political canvass in Illinois half a century gone by. There were no railroads and but few stage lines. The speakers were obliged to travel on horseback, carrying their saddle-bags filled with "hickory" shirts and woolen socks. They were frequently obliged to travel long distances, through swamps and over prairies, to meet their appointments. The accommodations were invariably wretched, and no matter how tired, jaded, and worn the speaker might be, he was obliged to respond to the call of the waiting and eager audiences.

In 1840, Stephen T. Logan, then a resident of Springfield, was one of the best known and most prominent men in the State. Though a Whig, he was not so much a politician as a lawyer. In 1841, he and Mr. Lincoln formed a law partnership which continued until 1843, and there was never a stronger law firm in the State. Like Lincoln, Logan was a Kentuckian, and a self-made man. Though a natural-born lawyer, he had yet studied profoundly the principles of the common law. He was elected a circuit judge in 1835, and held the office until 1837. He displayed extraordinary qualities as a *nisi prius* judge. In 1842, he consented to serve in the lower branch of the Legislature from Sangamon County. He had even more simplicity of character, and was more careless in his dress, than Mr. Lincoln. I shall never forget the first time I ever saw him. It was in the hall of the House of Representatives, on February 10, 1843, and when he was a member of that body. He had a reputation at that time as a man of ability and a lawyer second to no man in the State. I was curious to see the man of whom I had heard so much, and I shall never forget the impression he made on me. He was a small, thin man, with a little wrinkled and wizened face, set off by an immense head of hair, which might be called "frowzy." He was dressed in linsey-woolsey, and wore very heavy shoes. His shirt was of unbleached cotton, and unstarched, and he never encumbered himself with a cravat or other neck-wear. His voice was shrill, sharp, and unpleasant, and he had not a single grace of oratory; but yet, when he spoke, he always had interested and attentive listeners. Underneath this curious and grotesque exterior there was a gigantic intellect. When he addressed himself to a jury or to a question of law before the courts, or made a speech in the Legislature or at

the hustings, people looked upon him and listened with amazement. His last appearance in any public position was as a delegate to the "Peace Convention" at Washington, in the spring of 1861. In his later years he lived the life of a retired gentleman in his beautiful home in the environs of Springfield. His memory has been honored by placing his portrait, one of the most admirable ever painted by Healy, in the magnificent room of the Supreme Court at Springfield.

I never met Mr. Lincoln till the first time I attended the Supreme Court at Springfield, in the winter of 1843 and 1844. He had already achieved a certain reputation as a public speaker, and was rapidly gaining distinction as a lawyer. He had already become widely known as a Whig politician, and his advice and counsel were much sought for by members of the party all over the State. One of the great features in Illinois nearly half a century gone by was the meeting of the Supreme Court of the State. There was but one term of the court a year, and that was held first at Vandalia and then at Springfield. The lawyers from every part of the State had to follow their cases there for final adjudication, and they gathered there from all the principal towns of the State. The occasion served as a reunion of a large number of the ablest men in the State. Many of them had been dragged for hundreds of miles over horrible roads in stage-coaches or by private conveyance. For many years I traveled from Galena, one of the most remote parts of the State, to Springfield in a stage-coach, occupying usually three days and four nights, traveling incessantly, and arriving at the end of the journey more dead than alive. The Supreme Court Library was in the court-room, and there the lawyers would gather to look up their authorities and prepare their cases. In the evening it was a sort of rendezvous for general conversation, and I hardly ever knew of an evening to pass without Mr. Lincoln putting in his appearance. He was a man of the most social disposition, and was never so happy as when surrounded by congenial friends. His penchant for story-telling is well known, and he was more happy in that line than any man I ever knew. But many stories have been invented and attributed to him that he never heard of.

Never shall I forget him as he appeared almost every evening in the court-room, sitting in a cane-bottom chair leaning up against the partition, his feet on a round of the chair, and surrounded by

many listeners. But there was one thing—he never pressed his stories on unwilling ears, nor endeavored to absorb all attention to himself. But his anecdotes were all so droll, so original, so appropriate, and so illustrative of passing incidents, that one never wearied. He never repeated a story or an anecdote, nor vexed the dull ears of a drowsy man by thrice-told tales, and he enjoyed a good story from another as much as any person. There were many good story-tellers in that group of lawyers that assembled evenings in that Supreme Court-room, and among them was the Hon. Thompson Campbell, Secretary of State under Gov. Ford from 1843 to 1846. Mr. Campbell was a brilliant man and a celebrated wit. Though differing in politics, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he and Mr. Lincoln were strong personal friends, and many of his stories, like those of Mr. Lincoln, have gone into the traditions of the State. They were never so happy as when together and listening to the stories of each other. Mr. Campbell was elected to Congress from the Galena district in 1850, and served one term. In 1853, President Pierce appointed him a Judge of the United States Land Court of California.

Mr. Lincoln was universally popular with his associates. Of an even temper, he had a simplicity and charm of manner which took hold at once on all persons with whom he came in contact. He was of the most amiable disposition, and not given to speak unkindly of any person, but quick to discover any weak points that person might have. He was always the center of attraction in the court-room at the evening gatherings, and all felt there was a great void when for any reason he was kept away. The associates of Mr. Lincoln at the bar at this time were, most of them, men of ability, who gave promise of future distinction both at the bar and in the field of politics. The lawyers of that day were brought much closer together than they ever had been since, and the *esprit de corps* was much more marked. Coming from long distances, and suffering great privations in their journeys, they usually remained a considerable time in attendance upon the court. Among the noted lawyers at this time, the friends and associates of Mr. Lincoln, who subsequently reached high political distinction, were John J. Hardin, falling bravely at the head of his regiment at Buena Vista; Lyman Trumbull, for eighteen years U. S. Senator from Illinois; James A. McDougall, Attorney-General of Illinois, and subsequently member of Congress and United States

Senator from California; Stephen A. Douglas, Edward D. Baker, Thompson Campbell, Joseph Gillespie, O. B. Ficklin, Archibald Williams, James Shields, Isaac N. Arnold (who was to become Mr. Lincoln's biographer), Norman H. Purple, O. H. Browning, subsequently United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior, Judge Thomas Drummond, of the United States Circuit Court, and many others, all the contemporaries of Mr. Lincoln, and always holding with him the most cordial and friendly relations. In the Presidential campaign of 1844, Mr. Lincoln canvassed the State very thoroughly for Mr. Clay, and added much to his already well-established reputation as a stump speaker. His reputation also as a lawyer had steadily increased. In August, 1846, he was elected to Congress as a Whig from the Springfield District. Ceasing to attend the courts at Springfield, I saw but little of Mr. Lincoln for a few years. We met at the celebrated River and Harbor Convention at Chicago, held July 5, 6, and 7, 1847. He was simply a looker-on, and took no leading part in the convention. His dress and personal appearance on that occasion could not well be forgotten. It was then for the first time I heard him called *Old* Abe. Old Abe as applied to him seemed strange enough, as he was then a young man only thirty-six years of age. One afternoon several of us sat on the sidewalk under the balcony in front of the Sherman House, and among the number the accomplished scholar and unrivaled orator, Lisle Smith. He suddenly interrupted the conversation by exclaiming, "There is Lincoln on the other side of the street! Just look at 'Old Abe!'" and from that time we all called him "Old Abe." No one who saw him can forget his personal appearance at that time. Tall, angular, and awkward, he had on a short-waisted thin swallow-tail coat, a short vest of same material, thin pantaloons, scarcely coming down to his ankles, a straw hat, and a pair of brogans with woolen socks.

Mr. Lincoln was always a great favorite with young men, particularly with the younger members of the bar. It was a popularity not run after, but which followed. He never used the arts of the demagogue to ingratiate himself with any person. Beneath his ungainly exterior he wore a golden heart. He was ever ready to do an act of kindness whenever in his power, particularly to the poor and lowly.

Mr. Lincoln took his seat in Congress on the first Monday in December, 1847. I was in attendance on the Supreme Court of

the United States at Washington that winter, and as he was the only member of Congress from the State who was in harmony with my own political sentiments, I saw much of him and passed a good deal of time in his room. He belonged to a mess that boarded at Mrs. Spriggs' in "Duff Green's Row" on Capitol Hill. At the first session the mess was composed of John Blanchard, John Dickey, A. R. McIlvaine, James Pollock, John Strohm, of Pennsylvania; Elisha Embree, of Indiana; Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio; A. Lincoln, of Illinois; and P. W. Tompkins, of Mississippi. The same members composed the mess at Mrs. Spriggs' the short session, with the exception of Judge Embree and Mr. Tompkins. Without exception, these gentlemen are all dead.

He sat in the old hall of the House of Representatives, and for the long session was so unfortunate as to draw one of the most undesirable seats in the hall. He participated but little in the active business of the House, and made the personal acquaintance of but few members. He was attentive and conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and followed the course of legislation closely. When he took his seat in the House, the campaign of 1848 for President was just opening. Out of the small number of Whig members of Congress who were favorable to the nomination of General Taylor by the Whig Convention, he was one of the most ardent and outspoken. The following letter addressed to me on the subject will indicate the warmth of his support of General Taylor's nomination:

"WASHINGTON, *April* 30, 1848.

"DEAR WASHBURNE: I have this moment received your very short note asking me if old Taylor is to be used up, and who will be the nominee. My hope of Taylor's nomination is as high—a little higher than when you left. Still the case is by no means out of doubt. Mr. Clay's letter has not advanced his interests any here. Several who were against Taylor, but not for anybody particularly before, are since taking ground, some for Scott and some for McLean. Who will be nominated, neither I nor any one else can tell. Now, let me pray to you in turn. My prayer is, that you let nothing discourage or baffle you, but that in spite of every difficulty you send us a good Taylor delegate from your circuit. Make Baker, who is now with you I suppose, help about it. He is a good hand to raise a breeze. General Ashley, in the Senate from Arkansas, died yesterday. Nothing else new beyond what you see in the papers. Yours truly, "A. LINCOLN."

I was again in Washington part of the winter of 1849 (after the election of General Taylor), and saw much of Mr. Lincoln. A small number of mutual friends—including Mr. Lincoln—made up

a party to attend the inauguration ball together. It was by far the most brilliant inauguration ball ever given. Of course Mr. Lincoln had never seen anything of the kind before. One of the most modest and unpretending persons present, he could not have dreamed that like honors were to come to him almost within a little more than a decade. He was greatly interested in all that was to be seen, and we did not take our departure until three or four o'clock in the morning. When we went to the cloak and hat room, Mr. Lincoln had no trouble in finding his short cloak, which little more than covered his shoulders, but after a long search was unable to find his hat. After an hour he gave up all idea of finding it. Taking his cloak on his arm he walked out into Judiciary Square, deliberately adjusting it on his shoulders, and started off bareheaded for his lodgings. It would be hard to forget the sight of that tall and slim man, with his short cloak thrown over his shoulders, starting for his long walk home on Capitol Hill at four o'clock in the morning without any hat on. And this incident is akin to one related to me by the librarian of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Lincoln came to the library one day for the purpose of procuring some law books which he wanted to take to his room for examination. Getting together all the books he wanted, he placed them in a pile on a table. Taking a large bandana handkerchief from his pocket, he tied them up; and putting a stick which he had brought with him through a knot he had made in the handkerchief, adjusting the package of books to his stick, he shouldered it, and marched off from the library to his room.

In a few days he returned the books in the same way. Mr. Lincoln declined to run for Congress for a second term, 1848. His old partner and friend, Judge Stephen T. Logan, was the Whig candidate, and, to the amazement of every one, was defeated by a Democrat, Colonel Thomas L. Harris, of "Ménard" County. From 1849, on returning from Congress, until 1854, he practiced law more assiduously than ever before. In respect to that period of his life he once wrote to a friend:

"I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again."

There was a great upturning in the political situation in Illinois, brought about by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. In the fall of that year an election was to be held in Illinois for members of Congress and for members of the Legislature,

which was to elect a successor to General Shields, who had committed what was to the people of Illinois the unpardonable sin of voting for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. There was something in that legislation which was particularly revolting to Mr. Lincoln, as it outraged all his ideas of political honesty and fair dealing. There was an exciting canvass in the State, and Mr. Lincoln entered into it with great spirit, and accomplished great results by his powerful speeches. From his standing in the State and from the great service he had rendered in the campaign, it was agreed that if the Republicans and anti-Nebraska men should carry the Legislature, Mr. Lincoln would succeed General Shields. I know that he himself expected it. There is a long and painful history of that Senatorial contest yet to be written, and when the whole truth is disclosed it will throw a flood of new light on the character of Mr. Lincoln, and will add new luster to his greatness, his generosity, his magnanimity, and his patriotism. There is no event in Mr. Lincoln's entire political career that brought to him so much disappointment and chagrin as his defeat for United States Senator in 1855, but he accepted the situation uncomplainingly, and never indulged in reproaches or criticism upon any one; but, on the other hand, he always formed excuses for those who had been charged in not acting in good faith towards him and to those with whom he was associated. He never forgot the obligations he was under to those who had faithfully stood by him in his contest, through good report and evil report. Allied to him by the strongest ties of personal and political friendship, I did all in my power to secure for him, which I did, the support of the members of the Legislature from my Congressional District. The day after the election for Senator he addressed to me a long letter, several pages of letter-paper, giving a detailed account of the contest and the reasons of his action in persuading his friends to vote for and elect Judge Trumbull, and expressing the opinion that I would have acted in the same way if I had been in his place. He then says:

"I regret my defeat moderately, but am not nervous about it. . . . Perhaps it is as well for our grand cause that Trumbull is elected."

He then closes his letter as follows:

"With my grateful acknowledgments for the kind, active, and continual interest you have taken for me in this matter allow me to subscribe myself,

"Yours forever,

"A. Lincoln."

On the last day of the balloting in the Legislature, it seemed inevitable that a Nebraska Democrat would be elected United States Senator. Judge Trumbull had the votes of five anti-Nebraska Democrats. And of this crisis Mr. Lincoln writes to me :

"So I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advising my friends to go for him, which they did, and elected him on that, the 10th ballot."

Though the failure to elect Mr. Lincoln brought grief to many hearts, yet the election of Judge Trumbull was well received by the entire anti-Nebraska party in the State. He proved himself an able, true, and loyal Senator, rendered great services to the Union cause, and proved himself a worthy representative of a great, loyal, and patriotic State.

Notwithstanding the great satisfaction with which Judge Trumbull's election had been received, there was a deep and profound feeling among the old Whigs, the Republicans, and many anti-Nebraska Democrats, that Mr. Lincoln should have had the position, and that he had not been fairly treated. But never a complaint or a suggestion of that kind escaped the lips of Mr. Lincoln. Cheerily and bravely and contentedly he went back to his law office, and business poured in upon him more than ever. In stepping one side and securing the election of Judge Trumbull he "builded better than he knew." Had Mr. Lincoln been elected Senator at that time he would never have had the canvass with Judge Douglas in 1858—never have been elected President in 1860 to leave a name that will never die. From 1855 to 1858 Mr. Lincoln was absorbed in the practice of his profession, though he took an active part in the canvass of 1856, when the gallant Colonel Bissell was elected Governor. But what was somewhat remarkable, in all this time, without the least personal effort, and without any resort to the usual devices of politicians, Mr. Lincoln's popularity continued to increase in every portion of the State. In the fall of 1858 there was to be an election of a Legislature which would choose a successor to Judge Douglas, whose term of service was to expire March 3, 1859. The Republican party by this time had become completely organized and solidified, and in Illinois the Republican and Democratic parties squarely confronted each other. Everywhere, by common consent, no Republican candidate for Senator was spoken of except Mr. Lincoln. In the Republican State Convention, in the summer of 1858, a resolution was unanimously

passed designating Mr. Lincoln as the unanimous choice of the Republicans of the State, as the candidate for U. S. Senator, to succeed Judge Douglas. That action is without precedent in the State, and shows the deep hold Mr. Lincoln had on his party.

Without being designated by any authorized body of Democrats, yet by common consent of the party, Judge Douglas became the candidate of the Democratic party. No other candidates were mentioned on either side, either directly or indirectly. The seven joint discussions which the candidates had in different parts of the State have become a part of the political history of the country. It was the battle of the giants. The parties were rallied as one man to the enthusiastic support of their respective candidates, and it is hard for any one not in the State at the time to measure the excitement which everywhere prevailed. There was little talk about Republicanism and Democracy, but it was all "Lincoln and Douglas," or "Douglas and Lincoln." I attended every one of these joint discussions. It was at Freeport, in my Congressional District, which was the bulwark of Republicanism in the State. Two years later it gave Mr. Lincoln a majority for President of nearly fourteen thousand, and my own majority for member of Congress was about the same. The Freeport discussion was held in August. The day was bright, but the wind sweeping down the prairies gave us a chilly afternoon for an out-of-door gathering. In company with a large number of Galena people, we reached Freeport by train about ten o'clock in the morning. Mr. Lincoln had come in from the south the same morning, and we found him at the Brewster House, which was a sort of rallying-point for the Republicans. He had stood his campaign well, and was in splendid condition. He was surrounded all the forenoon by sturdy Republicans, who had come long distances, not only to hear him speak but to see him, and it was esteemed the greatest privilege to shake hands with "Honest old Abe." He had a kind word or some droll remark for every one, and it is safe to say that no one who spoke to him that day will ever have the interview effaced from memory. The meeting was held on a vacant piece of ground, not far from the center of the town. The crowd was immense and the enthusiasm great. Each party tried to outdo each other in the applause for its own candidate. The speaking commenced, but the chilly air dampened the ardor of the audience. Mr. Lincoln spoke deliberately, and apparently under a deep sense of the responsibility which rested

upon him. The questions he propounded to Mr. Douglas he had put in writing (and the answers to which sounded the political death-knell of Mr. Douglas); he read slowly, and with great distinctness. The speech of Mr. Douglas was not up to his usual standard. He was evidently embarrassed by the questions, and floundered in his replies. The crowd was large, the wind was chilly, and there was necessarily much "noise and confusion," and the audience did not take in the vast importance of the debate. On the whole, it may be said that neither party was fully satisfied with the speeches, and the meeting broke up without any display of enthusiasm.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow the incidents of the Presidential campaign of 1860. The great event in Illinois was the monster Republican mass-meeting held at Springfield during the canvass. It was a meeting for the whole State, and more in the nature of a personal ovation to Mr. Lincoln than merely a political gathering. It was one of the most enormous and impressive gatherings I had ever witnessed. Mr. Lincoln, surrounded by some intimate friends, sat on the balcony of his humble home. It took hours for all the delegations to file before him, and there was no token of enthusiasm wanting. He was deeply touched by the manifestations of personal and political friendships, and returned all his salutations in that off-hand and kindly manner which belonged to him. I know of no demonstration of a similar character that can compare with it except the review by Napoleon of his army for the invasion of Russia, about the same season of the year in 1812. Up to that time it was the grandest army the world had ever seen. A magnificent stand had been erected on the banks of the Niémen, where sat Napoleon surrounded by his marshals. For hours the earth shook under the tread of his unrivaled soldiers. The Emperor sat cold, silent, and impassible. It was not before one of his most splendid divisions of cavalry defiled before him that he broke his silence by saying to the old marshal, Gouvion St. Cyr, "The French are a great people." "Yes, Sire," responded the old republican, "and they deserve more liberty."

E. B. WASHBURNE.

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GEORGE ELIOT'S LIFE.

AFTER reading for the third or fourth time, "George Eliot's Life, as Related in her Letters and Journals," arranged and edited by her second husband, J. W. Cross, our first favorable impression of Mr. Cross has deepened with each fresh examination of his work. In no other biography of the kind is there such a complete self-effacement of the biographer in the subject of his biography. He presents his wife as she lived and labored in her high calling, but he intrudes himself simply to connect the letters and journals into something like a consistent narrative. The reader constantly complains that he has not made his own contributions to the book more voluminous and more luminous. He tells us little or nothing of some matters which he must have thoroughly known, and which he must have felt that his readers ached to know. All the mysteries of George Eliot's life are left unexplained, or only partially explained. His only aim seems to have been to make his work an autobiography, compiled from the letters and journals of his wife. With exasperating modesty and diffidence he declines to venture an opinion on some matters as to which the admirers of George Eliot are divided in opinion. He evidently adores his wife, thinks that what she says in defense of her conduct is a final judgment which no courts in Christendom can overrule, and only appears to state the conditions under which a letter was written, and disappears the moment the information is given. Indeed, as far as Mr. Cross enters into this autobiography of George Eliot he leaves the impression of a somewhat shy gentleman, but still a gentleman of unmistakable honor, intelligence, and integrity. If any faults are to be found in his editorial labors, they are faults of omission and not of commission.

Indeed, if any admirer of George Eliot's writings expected to find in these volumes much which would throw new light on the

genesis and processes of her genius, he is doomed to disappointment. The letters are genuine letters, without a trace of insincerity or affectation; but they chronicle her maladies much more than reveal the method of her creations. The pangs of childbirth are usually considered the most dreadful physical torments entailed on women for the sin or indiscretion of Eve. In reading this biography we are made to believe that they are slight in comparison with the pangs of bookbirth. A third, at least, of her letters and journals is taken up with distressing accounts of her attacks of headache, dyspepsia, rheumatism, and other miseries connected with a frail and infirm bodily constitution. Throughout the work one gets the general impression that he is following, week after week, month after month, the life of an invalid. He hardly seems competent at any time to produce the great works of genius which bear her name. Her spiritual health, when we recur to her novels, seems strangely at variance with the almost constant physical ill health, which she ruefully records in her letters. We can hardly recall another instance of a mind so strong, broad, hardy, beautiful, heroic, and creative, lodged in a body so ill adapted to house such a spiritual guest. Thus, in a letter written when she was twenty-one years old, she says she cannot "attack Mrs. Somerville's connexion of the Physical Sciences" until she has applied four leeches to her suffering head. It was the noble soul in the weak frame that burst through all these obstructions and overcame all these difficulties. As the world goes, she might, like her weak sisters in invalidism, have been justified in leading the life of an effortless valetudinarian, fearful every moment that activity of any kind would bring back her headaches, and plaintively demanding of the healthier members of her family a constant attention to her wants and her whims. It is frightful to think how many inmates of otherwise happy households are cursed by the care they have to bestow on some sick sensitive and selfish relative, who commonly contrives to survive them all.

When we say, however, that the correspondence of George Eliot dwells too much on her constantly recurring bodily troubles, we do not mean that her letters, taken as a whole, are not remarkable specimens of epistolary composition; for they are full of keen observation, weighty thoughts, penetrating glances into the problems of human life, and descriptions of scenery which are as notable for their accuracy as for their vividness and power. When she first appeared

as a novelist she was about thirty-seven years old. We remember that, after reading the first chapters of "Scenes of Clerical Life," published in "Blackwood's Magazine," we were both charmed and puzzled—charmed by the style, and puzzled as to whom, among living celebrities, could the authorship be ascribed; for the writer was evidently a great master of English prose, and his sentences had the last grace of good prose—that of exquisite rhythm. No novice could have written "Amos Barton," for on every page was the evidence that it proceeded from the mind of a person long practiced in the art of forcing language to convey thought and feeling with perfect exactness, and, at the same time, with perfect ease and freedom. The private letters and journals now published show that George Eliot was a great prose writer, in her correspondence with intimate friends, long before the "Scenes of Clerical Life" were dreamed of; yet hardly one of these friends discovered that she was the George Eliot who was talked about in all literary circles, until she confided the fact to such persons as she thought would keep the secret as long as she thought it could be kept from the public.

It is hardly necessary to dwell at length on the first period of her life. She was the child of a thoroughly practical and a thoroughly honest man of the English middle class, but at the same time a man limited in his conceptions to what are called Tory notions in church and State. Caleb Garth in "Middlemarch" is an idealized yet substantially truthful representation of her father. To this father she was literally true to the death. She was the only genius born in the family. Her brothers and sisters doubtless grew up to be admirable specimens of the average virtue and intelligence of the middle classes of Great Britain. They belonged to what Abraham Lincoln called "the plain people"—the people who, in England as in the United States, have done the work which has aided the slow progress of that real civilization which is gradually lifting the lower and dependent classes into a higher rank among the forces which control the politics of the few nations on the globe which have arrived to the dignity of being ruled by constitutional governments. But the one daughter of this excellent family, in whose career we are especially interested, was a thinker from her childhood, and at the same time the most affectionate of human beings. She could not, as a girl, live without love, and could not accept an opinion or a creed which she had

not verified by her own vital experience, whether the experience came from the exercise of her reason or from the feelings of her heart. As she grew up into womanhood, she was overcome by the emotional side of Evangelical Christianity, and her whole soul was absorbed in it. It afforded her what she thought a substantial ground for her two primary impulses, which were perfect self-sacrifice for the good of others, and an awful sense of the obligations of duty. In this period of her life she showed all the peculiarities which prophesied a new Protestant saint. She knew enough, as she thought, of the pleasures of the world to appreciate all their value, and to condemn them as valueless. She was overcome by the sense of sin, even in indulging in what the general theological sense of the world has come to consider comparatively sinless. She had, as a woman of genius, an instinctive sense of the splendor and beauty of the great authors she had read and assimilated, and yet she had a fear that her intense appreciation of exceptional but still unsanctified genius might be a grievous violation of her duty. Her letter to Miss Lewis, at the age of twenty, on the bad effects of novels, illustrates her renunciation of even the cherished companions of her youthful years. She had, at the age of eight, a passionate admiration of "Waverley." During this interval of evangelical piety she half surrendered her delight in the novels of Scott. She read books which taught that the indulgence of her taste for even innocent works of fiction might lead her down to perdition. Her sense of the folly of this extreme creed kept her on the sane path of reasonable evangelicism; but she persisted in it until she read the works of Isaac Taylor. This good Christian, in his many books, especially in his "Physical Theory of a Future Life," and in his elaborate discussion of facts connected with "Ancient Christianity," unsettled, in her mind, that faith in the Christian religion it was designed to establish on an indestructible foundation. The book which completed the work of making her reject all orthodox creeds was Charles Hennell's "Inquiry Concerning the Origin of Christianity." When, afterwards, she met, in London, Mackay, Lewes, Herbert Spencer, not to mention others, all her old theological opinions were cast aside by her understanding, while they still held a strange influence over her heart and soul. It is curious that her greatest efforts in characterization are those which embody men or women of religious genius. As far as we remem-

ber, there is not a single character in any of her novels who attracts our sympathies by his skepticism. The intense experience through which she passed as an unquestioning Christian animates all her novels. In her life she never swerved from religion, as she understood it. In all her published letters she expresses something like horror at vulgar irreligion. No novelist or dramatist has approached her in her singular power of embodying religious character; and the reason is that she had "experienced" religion vitally. All after-addition of skepticism added not any element to her power. To the last she made religion the central part of life, for in religion she found her deepest belief that self-sacrifice for others was the fundamental base of all ethics, and that to give humanity what a Yankee might call "a shove forwards" was the greatest thing that the best and noblest men and women could hope, in this imperfect world, to do.

One of the puzzles of her life is that, in matters regarding religion, she allowed her understanding to adopt opinions which her deepest reason and affections repudiated. Her heart ever gave the lie to her head:

> "The best good Christian she,
> Although she knew it not."

But the fact remains that in her published works the reader would search in vain for any indication of her private skeptical tendencies.

What some liberal critics would call the great mistake of her life, if not, as both English and American matronhood assert, the great blot on her character, was her marriage to George H. Lewes. According to English law the marriage was illegal. The wife of Mr. Lewes abandoned him after committing adultery; she felt, or pretended to feel, remorse for her conduct, and was received back into the household she had dishonored. Then some new seducer tempted her to fly away from her husband and children. The home became homeless. By a technicality of English law, Lewes had forfeited his right to be divorced from his faithless partner, because, in a moment of compassion, he had received her back as his "lawfully" wedded wife. In this condition, as a twice-dishonored husband, he met with Miss Evans. He was fascinated by her, and she gradually became fascinated by him. There was no outward beauty on either side; Lewes was one of the homeliest men in Great Britain, and Miss Evans had no personal attractions, if we ex-

cept the sweetness of her voice and the singular beauty of expression in her eyes. Each saw the visage of the other "in the mind." Miss Evans, repudiating the technicality of the English law, consented to be united to Mr. Lewes, went abroad with him, was married to him, we think, in some foreign city, and returned to England a kind of social rebel, frowned upon by all women except those intimate friends who knew her motives and never faltered in their friendship. As she never sought "society," and rather disliked it, she bore with exemplary patience all the social disadvantages of her illegal rather than immoral conduct. Seven years before her union we find in one of her letters this remark about the novel of "Jane Eyre," then the literary sensation of the season: "All self-sacrifice is good, but one would like it to be in a somewhat nobler cause than that of a diabolical law which chains a man soul and body to a putrefying carcass." After her marriage, she wrote to her friend Mrs. Bray that "any unworldly, unsuperstitious woman who is sufficiently acquainted with the realities of life can pronounce my relations to Mr. Lewes immoral; I can only understand by remembering how subtile and complex are the influences which mold opinion."

Whatever may be thought of the legality or morality of the connection, there can be no doubt it led to the happiest results to both parties. Lewes had been practically homeless for two years. There was danger that his children would grow up uneducated and uncared for. He was fast drifting into Bohemian habits. Four years after his new marriage, Mrs. Lewes states in her journal that their "double life is more and more blessed—more and more complete." A few weeks after, Lewes writes in his journal that he owes an intellectual debt of gratitude to Herbert Spencer. He says:

"My acquaintance with him was the brightest ray in a very dreary, wasted period of my life. . . . I owe him another and deeper debt. It was through him that I learned to know Marion—to know her was to love her—and since then my life has been a new birth. To her I owe all my prosperity and happiness. God bless her!"

It is curious that on this first introduction he did not make a favorable impression. He was a brilliant converser on all topics that come up for discussion at a dinner table, was one of the best story-tellers in London, was a man of various accomplishments,

seeming to know everything without having thoroughly mastered anything, and with a self-confidence and self-sufficiency which offended many grave people who were not captivated by his wit and pleasantry. The austere Lucy Aiken once met him at a dinner party, and in a letter to Doctor Channing records her dislike of him as a flippant, pretentious and irreverent person. Miss Evans, on first seeing him, says that in appearance he was "a miniature Mirabeau." In March, 1853, he seems to have overcome her repugnance, for she says, "Lewes is always genial and amusing. He has quite won my liking in spite of myself." A month after he had avanced in her opinion, for she writes to Mrs. Bray :

"Lewes especially is kind and attentive to me, and has quite won my regard after having had a good deal of my vituperation. Like a few other people in the world, he is much better than he seems—a man of heart and conscience wearing a mask of flippancy."

During the next fifteen months he gained her love—love, we think, born somewhat of compassion in considering his desolate home and neglected children, but which, after their union, ripened into an intensity of affection seldom equaled in the annals of matrimony. After completing any of her great books, the manuscript concludes with a dedication of the work to her "dear husband." The manuscript of "Romola" may be selected as an example. The inscription runs thus :

"To the husband whose perfect love has been the best source of her insight and strength, this manuscript is given by his devoted wife and writer."

"Romola" was the novel which, of all her works, most tasked the energies of her mind, and most exhausted her bodily strength. "I began it," she said to Mr. Cross, "a young woman—I finished it an old woman." Yet the inscription of "Middlemarch" to Lewes, nine years after, shows that the "old woman" still glowed with undiminished affection for her "George," as she lovingly called him :

"To my dear husband, George Henry Lewes, in this nineteenth year of our blessed union."

Indeed, the honey-moon, in the case of this couple, lasted as long as the life of the husband.

Lewes himself was also immensely benefited by his marriage.

She was his salvation. All the works for which he will be remembered were written in the years when her ardent sympathy with his labors was at once his inspiration and his guide. His love and reverence for her were unbounded, and exhibited on all occasions, public as well as private. Mr. Estcott has, since the autobiography was published, given quite a vivid picture of him as he appeared at the Sunday receptions of his wife:

"The function," he says, "was more like a religious ceremonial than a social reunion, and Mr. Lewes played to perfection the part of Hierophant. The gifted lady sat in the center of a crowd of worshipers, of whom some were permitted to hold personal converse with her. But the majority gazed at her reverently and mutely from afar, as if they were looking upon the Beatific Vision. If any one spoke in too loud a tone, or spoke at all, when George Eliot happened to be speaking herself, he was at once met with a 'hush' of reprehension by Mr. Lewes, and was made to feel that he had perpetrated a sort of impiety."

He continues:

"George Eliot had unquestionably immeasurable charm of mind, manner, and conversation for those who knew her well; but I must say that I never advanced beyond the outer circle of worshipers, and that I always felt myself one of the Levites at the gate."

We have heard a number of visitors at these receptions, both those who were in the inner and those who were in the outer circle, relate their experiences, and they all agree in ascribing to Mr. Lewes this devotional air and attitude to his wife, while those who happened to be in the inner circle on such occasions agree in ascribing to Mrs. Lewes the charm of unpretentious, unassuming modesty of behavior while conversing with such thinkers as Spencer and Mill.

But perhaps we owe to this marriage—illegal in a technical point of view, but violating no principle of absolute morality—the great works of fiction which have rendered the name of George Eliot illustrious, and which promise to live as long as the English literature of the nineteenth century interests people who speak the English language. When she first thought of writing a story, he doubted whether she had the power of dramatic presentation. Still he urged her to try, and in less than two months she wrote the first of the "Scenes of Clerical Life"—that devoted to the sad fortunes of "Amos Barton." Lewes at once appreciated it, and sent it to John Blackwood for publication in "Blackwood's

Magazine." He was just the person to look after his wife's interests in dealing with publishers. He saved her from all the annoyances connected with authorship, and finding that she was susceptible to that commonest kind of criticism which ignores the writer's aim and purpose, he at last selected for her reading all those portions of contemporary comments on her works which would please her, and concealed from her all those which betrayed ignorance, envy, or malice and prejudice. It was not that she wished to be praised or flattered—she was superior to that ignoble ambition—but her sensitive nature was hurt by reading a criticism which misconceived the whole spirit of the work on which she had conscientiously expended months of labor, and every page of which represented an expenditure of vitality which her weak physical frame could ill spare. Criticism which indicated an interior glance into the processes of her mind, and proved that the critic had, for the time, assumed her point of view before objecting to her treatment of a subject, was always welcome to her; but purely external criticism, which condemned without in the least understanding her, had the effect of throwing her into long moods of depression, during which she felt as if the very sources of her creative activity were smitten as by paralysis. Lewes did her great service by not allowing her to be disturbed by reviews which could do her no good, but which might do her much evil.

And then, at the time of their union they were poor, and they were called upon not only to support and educate his children, but to support the wretched mother of his children—the last task one of almost superhuman benevolence. They had to look sharply at every sixpence that was spent, and often deprive themselves of the simplest pleasures. Now Lewes knew, to a farthing, the exact money-value of every drop of ink which flowed from his wife's pen. It is refreshing to observe that, from the moment the success of the "Scenes of Clerical Life" indicated the province of literature that the genius of George Eliot, as distinguished from her talent, was to enrich with new and original works, money poured into the family with almost bewildering rapidity. For "Adam Bede" Blackwood gave her £800 for four years' copyright; its success was so great that he sent her voluntarily an additional £400 before the first year of its publication had elapsed; and then came another £800 for the second year after the agreement. It was evident that Blackwood felt that he had ob-

tained a great prize in the new author, and that he wished to retain the prize by his liberality. For "The Mill on the Floss" he gave £2,000 for the first edition of 4,000 copies. When "Romola" was in preparation, Smith, Elder & Co. offered £10,000 for the copyright at home and abroad, and they finally paid £7,000 for its serial publication in the "Cornhill Magazine." For "Middlemarch" and "Daniel Deronda" the author must have received much larger sums. The Harpers, of New York, paid £1,200 merely for the advance sheets of "Middlemarch." In November, 1859, she writes to a friend that the offers made to her by rival publishers are so great, that if she could be seduced by them she might have written three poor novels, and made her fortune in a year. "Happily," she adds, "I have no need to exert myself when I say, 'Avaunt thee, Satan!' Satan, in the form of bad writing and good pay, is not seductive to me."

It is with regret that want of space prevents us from entering upon an elaborate consideration of many topics that these volumes suggest. We have said that they do not shed so much new light on the interior facts and processes of her mind as the reader could wish. There is one passage, however, in a letter to John Blackwood, while she was engaged in writing "The Mill on the Floss," which is suggestive of her method. "My stories," she says, "grow in me like plants, and this is only in the leaf-bud. I have faith that the flower will come. Not enough faith, though, to make me like the idea of beginning to print till the flower is fairly out—till I know the end as well as the beginning." This indicates her marvelous power of representing character as it grows. Dickens once said that in reading the novels of many of his contemporaries it appeared to him as if the authors lived next door to their characters. "Now," he added, "I always live *inside* of mine." George Eliot might, with even greater truth, have said this of her own creations. She placed herself, by imagination and sympathy, at the inmost core of the natures of her characters, and delineated them from within, not approached them from without. She did not merely look at them, but she looked into them, and also looked through them to the spiritual laws they obeyed or violated. She kept a sort of relentless watch on all the subtle, interior movements of their minds and hearts, and they could not pass into a dreaming sleep without being still subject to this piercing glance into the fantasies and wild incidents of their dreams.

It has always seemed to us that the genius and character of George Eliot widened and deepened as the years passed on, and that "Romolo," "Middlemarch," and "Daniel Deronda" are the greatest of her works. They certainly show that she did not repeat the characters she had once depicted, but enlarged her field of characterization with each successive novel. However this opinion may be questioned, there can be no doubt that Lewes, after his union with her, became a much better man and a much abler writer than before. He produced, by patient thought and study, several scientific works of decided merit. The union between the two continued "blessed" up to the day of his unexpected death, which occurred in November, 1878. The shock to her of this event was terrible. She at last recovered sufficiently to see her intimate friends, and to arrange her husband's MSS. for publication. In every duty she was called upon to perform she was cordially assisted by Mr. J. W. Cross, with whom and with whose family she had enjoyed an uninterrupted friendship for more than thirteen years. He had such a love and reverence for her that it is hardly a matter of wonder that the friendship ended in marriage, about eighteen months after the death of Mr. Lewes. She lived only a little more than seven months afterwards, dying on the 22d of December, 1880. The paragraph with which Mr. Cross concludes the autobiography may well serve as the conclusion of this brief article:

"The place that may belong to her in the minds and in the hearts of future generations will be finally adjudged on the merits of her works. We who write and we who read to-day will never know that final verdict, but I think that those of us who loved her may trust to it with confidence."

EDWIN P. WHIPPLE.

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS IN '64.

THERE are two incidents in regard to the nomination of Vice-President in 1864 which for obvious reasons did not get into the newspapers of that day, but which bit of history may be of interest.

It will be remembered that Mr. Chase was using his position as Secretary of the Treasury to aid in his candidature for the Presidency as early as the winter and spring of 1864. That was supposed to have created some coolness between him and Mr. Lincoln.

Early in the spring of that year, a prominent Treasury official, who held his office directly from Mr. Chase, without the intervention of either the President or the Senate, but yet who controlled the disposition of more property and the avenues of making more fortunes than any other subordinate Treasury official, and who afterward held as large a controlling influence with Mr. Seward, but in quite a different direction, came to the head-quarters of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, ostensibly upon official business.

After that was finished, the actual object of his visit was disclosed by a question, in substance as follows :

"There has been some criticism, General, based on the assertion that Mr. Chase is using the powers of his office to aid his Presidential aspirations. What do you think of Mr. Chase's action, assuming the reports true ?"

"I see no objection to his using his office to advance his Presidential aspirations, by every honorable means, providing Lincoln will let him do it. It is none of my business, but I have for some time thought that Mr. Lincoln was more patient than I should have been, and if he does not object, nobody else has either the power or right to do so."

"Then, General, you approve of Mr. Chase's course in this regard ?"

"Yes, certainly; he has a right to use in a proper manner every means he has to further a laudable ambition."

"As Chase is a Western man," said my visitor, "the Vice-Presidency had better come from the East. Who, General, do you think will make a good candidate with Mr. Chase?"

"There are plenty of good men," I answered, "but as Chase is very pronounced as an anti-slavery man and free-soiler, I think that Gen. John A. Dix, of New York, ought to be selected to go on his ticket, and thus bring to his banner, both in convention and at the polls, the war Democrats, of whom Mr. Dix claims to be a fair representative."

"You are a war Democrat, General; would you take that position with Mr. Chase yourself?"

"Are you specifically authorized by Mr. Chase to put to me that question, and report my answer to him for his consideration?"

"You may rest assured," was the reply, "that I am fully empowered by Mr. Chase to put the question, and he hopes the answer will be favorable."

"Say then to Mr. Chase that I have no desire to be Vice-President. I am but forty-five years old; I am in command of a fine army; the closing campaign of the war is about beginning, and I hope to be able to do some further service for the country, and I should not, at my time of life, wish to be Vice-President if I had no other position. Assure him that my determination in this regard has no connection with himself personally. I will not be a candidate for any elective office whatever until this war is over."

"I will report your determination to Mr. Chase, and I can assure you that from what I know of his feelings he will hear it with regret."

Within three weeks afterward a gentlemen who stood very high in Mr. Lincoln's confidence came to me at Fort Monroe. This was after I had learned that Grant had allotted to me a not unimportant part in the coming campaign around Richmond, of the results of which I had the highest hope, and for which I had been laboring, and the story of which has not yet been told, but may be hereafter.

The gentleman informed me that he came from Mr. Lincoln; this was said with directness, because the messenger and myself had been for a very considerable time in quite warm, friendly

relations, and I owed much to him, which I can never repay save with gratitude.

He said: "The President, as you know, intends to be a candidate for re-election, and as his friends indicate that Mr. Hamlin is no longer to be a candidate for Vice-President, and as he is from New England, the President thinks that his place should be filled by some one from that section; and aside from reasons of personal friendship which would make it pleasant to have you with him, he believes that being the first prominent Democrat who volunteered for the war, your candidature would add strength to the ticket, especially with the war Democrats, and he hopes that you will allow your friends to co-operate with his to place you in that position."

I answered: "Please say to Mr. Lincoln that while I appreciate with the fullest sensibility this act of friendship and the compliment he pays me, yet I must decline. Tell him," I said laughingly, "with the prospects of the campaign, I would not quit the field to be Vice-President, even with himself as President, unless he will give me bond with sureties, in the full sum of his four years' salary, that he will die or resign within three months after his inauguration. Ask him what he thinks I have done to deserve the punishment, at forty-six years of age, of being made to sit as presiding officer over the Senate, to listen for four years to debates more or less stupid, in which I can take no part or say a word, nor even be allowed a vote upon any subject which concerns the welfare of the country, except when my enemies might think my vote would injure me in the estimation of the people, and therefore, by some parliamentary trick, make a tie on such question, so I should be compelled to vote; and then at the end of four years (as nowadays no Vice-President is ever elected President), and because of the dignity of the position I had held, not to be permitted to go on with my profession, and therefore with nothing left for me to do save to ornament my lot in the cemetery tastefully, and get into it gracefully and respectably, as a Vice-President should do. No, no, my friend; tell the President I will do everything I can to aid in his election if nominated, and that I hope he will be, as until this war is finished there should be no change of administration."

"I am sorry you won't go with us," replied my friend, "but I think you are sound in your judgment."

I asked: "Is Chase making any headway in his candidature?"

"Yes, some; but he is using the whole power of the Treasury to help himself."

"Well, that's the right thing for him to do."

"Do you really think so?"

"Yes; why ought not he to do it, if Lincoln lets him?"

"How can Lincoln help letting him?"

"By tipping him out. If I were Lincoln I should say to Mr. Chase, 'My Secretary of the Treasury, you know that I am a candidate for re-election, as I suppose it is proper for me to be. Now every one of my equals has a right to be a candidate against me, and every citizen of the United States is my equal who is not my subordinate. Now, if you desire to be a candidate, I will give you the fullest opportunity to be one, by making you my equal and not my subordinate, and I will do that in any way that will be the most pleasant to you, but things cannot stay as they now are.' You see, I think it is Mr. Lincoln's and not Mr. Chase's fault that he is using the Treasury against Mr. Lincoln."

"Right again!" said my friend, "I will tell Mr. Lincoln every word you have said."

What happened after is a matter of history.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S CHANGE OF BASE.

GENERALS McCLELLAN and Fitz John Porter have recently published articles in the "Century Magazine," on the campaign against Richmond in 1862, explaining to some extent the causes of that failure to capture the capital of the Confederacy. These papers are written from the same point of view, and are clearly intended to fasten upon Lincoln and Stanton the chief responsibility of the failure. They write in the same spirit, they use the same materials, and they work to a common end—thus showing a mutual understanding, as was to have been expected from their intimacy during the war.

Their efforts to make history have been widely read; and owing to the grave accusations made against the most beloved of our Presidents, they should be carefully considered and critically analyzed. If they have made statements not consistent with each other, and not confirmed by facts well established, the truth of history demands a refutation of their perversion of it. I propose to point out some of the errors into which the generals have fallen, and to note some of their inconsistencies.

It is charged that McClellan was forced to place and maintain his army in a dangerous position on the two banks of the Chickahominy, in consequence of a running promise of Lincoln to send the force of McDowell to his assistance by land; that this promise was not kept; that McDowell never came; but that in consequence of the constant expectation of his coming a base of supplies had to be maintained on the Pamunkey, in order to feed the 40,000 men whenever they should appear, and that the right wing of the army was thereby made weak and invited attack from Lee.

General Porter says:

"The faulty location of the Union army was from the first realized by Gen. McClellan, and became daily an increasing cause of care and anxiety to him;

not the least disturbing element of which was the impossibility of quickly re-enforcing his right wing or promptly withdrawing it to the south bank. That this dilemma was known to so intelligent a commander as Lee could not be doubted."

The error, then, was certainly known to General McClellan at the time it was committed, and Generals McClellan and Porter had no doubt that it was soon known to Lee. It appears by their representation to have been a great fault. The question is, whose was it? Having declared it a fault from the beginning, they then seek to convey the impression that the responsibility for it belonged to the authorities in Washington, and they try by insinuations and statements to demonstrate that the Pamunkey base was a necessity growing out of the promise to send McDowell with 40,000 more men, and hence that General McClellan was fatally cramped in his movements by the location of the base. They imply that had General McClellan not expected General McDowell he would not have held a position so illy chosen, or that he would have escaped from it before any trouble arose.

The reader may be surprised to learn that there was no connection whatever between McDowell's coming and McClellan's stay on the Chickahominy, but such is the fact. McClellan himself relates the circumstances which prove it. In his report to the War Department (printed in Vol. I., p. 542, "Moore's Rebellion Record"), McClellan says he was at first in favor of moving towards Richmond from Urbanna, but that circumstances made it unadvisable; that at a council of war, held at Fairfax, the corps commanders decided to move by the Yorktown route; that he agreed and sent word to Stanton, who replied that Lincoln made no objection. It further appears that Lincoln was rather opposed to the plan agreed upon at first, and only assented when he found it was the unanimous judgment of the high officers upon whom devolved the duty of endeavoring to take the rebel city.

This admission clearly relieves Lincoln and Stanton of the whole responsibility of selecting the line of operations, and from all that grew out of that selection which was not directly due to their arbitrary interference.

Now the Pamunkey as a base became a necessity of the route selected, and it was chosen before any question about McDowell had arisen. The first step in the plan of moving by the peninsula was to secure an immense flotilla of transports adapted to the naviga-

tion of the rivers, and they were loaded with supplies and ordered to that base preliminary to all else. Head-quarters were established on the Pamunkey at the earliest moment—16th May—and from that moment the supplies for the whole of McClellan's army had to be protected, whether McDowell came or came not. It was a necessity from the moment of McClellan's arrival, and there can be no dispute about it. On May 20, of his own accord, wholly uninfluenced from Washington, McClellan divided his army and put the strongest half across the Chickahominy. The dispatches of that period make no reference to the promise of McDowell's coming as a reason for dividing the army, nor do they show any doubt of the propriety of the movement or of the entire safety of the plan. McClellan complained of not having troops enough, and of other things, but there is no word intimating that he is held in his dangerous position by McDowell's non-appearance. Most of the time he seemed to be in a cheerful frame of mind, and held out the idea of soon being within shelling distance of the rebel capital.

The one anxious man was Abraham Lincoln. On June 3 the President telegraphed :

"With the continuous rains I am *very anxious* about the Chickahominy—so close in your rear and crossing your line of communication. Please look to it.

"A. LINCOLN."

McClellan answered on the same day :

"As the Chickahominy has been almost the only obstacle in my way for several days, your Excellency may rest assured it has not been overlooked."

This was a diplomatic way of saying to the President : "Do you regard me as a military fool, not knowing enough to look out for my base ?" If McClellan had been held there at the time by Mr. Lincoln, the opportunity was now given by the telegram for him to explain the danger, and he could scarcely have refrained from telling him all about it, instead of quieting him with the assurance that the communications had been looked after. The answer exhibited no sign of apprehension, and no anxiety because of the division of the army. That he felt none is evident ; because three days later he sent word to Stanton (dispatch June 7) :

"I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches me, and the ground will admit the passage of artillery.'

How could McClellan have felt able to take Richmond if, at

this time, he and Fitz John Porter were trembling with fear lest Lee or Johnston should pounce upon and take *them?* He was not despondent at all. On May 26 he telegraphed that he did not think the defenses of Richmond were formidable, and he hoped soon to be in shelling distance; and yet his army was divided, and had been divided for nearly a week. Besides, on this very 26th of May, when he was so hopeful, he detached Fitz John Porter with a large force from the right wing—the very wing which was so weak as to invite an attack from Lee—sent him away to Hanover Court House, and two days later went there himself in person. That was an unaccountable proceeding on the supposition that they were aware that Lee knew the perilous condition of the Union army and was ready to strike the weak right wing. If there were a necessity for sending off Porter, certainly there was none for McClellan's being away at so critical a moment. What would have become of the army had Lee swooped down when the two chief officers were absent?

The troops crossed the Chickahominy May 20, and for thirty-five days the army was divided by the river, and of course in peril. Porter says that from the first the fault was realized. Then he goes on to say that, on the morning of June 26, he

> "Was informed of a large increase of forces opposite Reynolds, and before noon the Confederates gave evidence of an intention to cross the river at Meadow Bridge and Mechanicsville. . . . Thus the attitude of the two armies toward each other was changed. Yesterday McClellan was rejoicing at the success of his advance towards Richmond."

The statement now made in this last quotation is a flat contradiction of the averment that the failure to take Richmond was due to the division of the army, about which they had been so anxious. They were happy until the morning of June 25, when the rebels confronted Reynolds. They thought everything had gone well, and rejoiced as successful generals should rejoice. They were in blissful ignorance that Lincoln had been holding them for a month in mortal peril astride the river by an unfulfilled promise to send McDowell. They had not discovered they were staying there to guard provisions for McDowell's soldiers to eat when they should come. They thought themselves on the aggressive, and "yesterday," the 25th, McClellan was rejoicing!

It is a remarkable circumstance connected with the ingenious theory put forth by these generals as an excuse for their failure,

that the change in their frame of mind occurred on the 26th of June; because, as luck would have it, the bridges were all completed and communications were perfected on the day before. On the 25th of June the inability to reinforce the right wing, and the impossibility of withdrawing it promptly to the south side of the river, ceased. The danger which had caused their daily increasing anxiety ended with the completion of the bridges, and the invitation they had been holding out to Lee to come on while it was impossible to strengthen the right wing was withdrawn; yet now sadness took the place of joy. All was changed! In a single night, after their danger growing out of inability to concentrate had disappeared, they suddenly discover the peril of waiting for McDowell, and gloom settles over the tents of head-quarters!

But the generals furnish another piece of testimony which also overthrows their new theory. They were to move as soon as McCall arrived and the roads were ready for artillery. McCall arrived on June 12, and had been with McClellan a fortnight. Lee first found the roads passable, and, as it appears, concentrated his army; and on the 26th of June attempted to crush the right wing, as McClellan had from the first supposed he would try to do. Porter calls for help, and what does McClellan say? Does he tell him that Lincoln has so divided the army that he cannot assist? Not a bit of this nonsense. McClellan says that he has sent to Keyes and Sumner and Heintzleman and Franklin, but that none of them can spare any men. Why should Porter ask for men if none could cross to his support? Why should McClellan ask his corps commanders how many they could spare if none could cross the river?* It is not thus that great generals act.

No; McClellan did not fail to concentrate his army because Mr. Lincoln had prevented such action, but because he was carrying out a plan of campaign of his own choosing, which necessitated a base on the Pamunkey and a division of the army at the river. He thought that that route, on the whole, was the best way to approach Richmond, and therefore he took the chances, whatever they were, and accepted the necessity of maintaining and defending his supplies.

A curious feature of this case is the strenuous insistance by McClellan and Porter of the binding obligation upon them of the or-

* See Vol. I., page 585, "Moore's Reb. Rec."

der given by Stanton to McDowell to join McClellan. McClellan says that as the order had not been revoked—only suspended—he could not abandon the Chickahominy, because he was looking for the coming of McDowell. But he had already shown that he could not get away because his bridges were not finished till the 25th, and he only confutes himself by charging his stay upon the President when the other reason was so much more conclusive and indisputable.

Porter undertakes to fortify McClellan (page 310 of "Century") by saying that the assurances of McDowell's coming were kept up as late as June 26. Yet he knew that on the 25th McClellan had decided to change his base; that on the 24th of May, a month previous, Lincoln had sent word that McDowell was to go to the aid of Banks; and that McClellan had replied on the same day that he would get along without him. From that moment McClellan had known that McDowell was not to go to him, and there was no intimation that he would go from that day on, until McClellan decided to move on the James. Having sent word to Lincoln, May 24, that he would do without McDowell, it is monstrously absurd to pretend that he must hang upon the river in chronic peril waiting for him to come; and especially after Mr. Lincoln had sent him the memorable dispatch of May 25, in which he said: "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job." This dispatch, coming the day after the announcement that McDowell had been sent to Banks, could not by any twisting be construed as requiring the army to remain where it was in order to feed or receive McDowell, and showed that both generals knew they were expected to get away from the river the moment the roads were in condition.

The fallacy of this theory, that they were held to the river by expectations of the coming of McDowell, is queerly exposed by General Porter himself. On page 311 of June "Century" he says: "In the middle of June General McClellan intrusted to me the management of affairs on the north bank of the Chickahominy, and confided to me his plans, as well as his hopes and apprehensions. His plans embraced defensive arrangements against an attack from Richmond upon our weak right flank. We did not fear the results of such an attack if made by the forces from Richmond alone; but if, in addition, we were to be attacked by Jackson's forces, suspicions of whose approach were already aroused, we felt

that we should be in danger. But as Jackson had thus far prevented McDowell from joining us, *we trusted that McDowell*, Banks, and Fremont would be able to prevent him from joining Lee, or, at least, would give timely warning of his *escape from their front*, and follow close upon his heels."

Being in front of McDowell of course placed Jackson between McDowell and Porter. This was the fact; and the above statement proves that Porter and McClellan were aware of it in the middle of June. They knew Jackson was not that kind of a commander who would allow the positions to be reversed, and they could not have had the faintest shadow of hope that McDowell could march around Jackson and get to them first, and especially when, at the very moment, their suspicions were aroused that Jackson was on the way. It is absurd on the face of it; and in penning the paragraph the general for the moment quite forgot how desperately they were clinging to the river in expectation of McDowell's joining them.

Porter says: "Yesterday (25th June) McClellan was rejoicing over the success of his advance towards Richmond. He was still assured of McDowell's junction. To-day all the united available forces in Virginia were to be thrown upon his right flank, which was not in a convenient position to be supported." In this statement Porter is still using the expectation of McDowell's coming, which he has shown did not exist after the middle of June, and he is still holding on to the theory that the right wing could not be supported or withdrawn in spite of the circumstance that General McClellan had completed the bridges the day before, that is on the 25th, and that he had confided to Porter his intention to transfer his whole force to the south bank in case events should justify it. Now if Porter's 27,000 men could conveniently be taken to the south bank of the river, it is nonsense to say that the river was any obstacle *then* to the sending of aid to Porter on the north bank. General Porter is here in a dilemma. He could not say that the reason for his not being supported was the presence of the rebel army in front of McClellan, because he is showing that his own peril is due to the concentration of the whole rebel army in front of himself; and to make that assertion good he gives McClellan away entirely, for McClellan had reported the reason for not aiding Porter to be the impossibility of sparing the men. To cover the great discrepancy Porter falls back on the exploded theory that the river

could not be crossed, and that President Lincoln was to blame for not sending McDowell.

Several things are therefore made certain, namely :

1. That the plan of moving on Richmond was adopted by McClellan, and that Lincoln was not responsible for it.

2. That the plan as adopted provided a base on the Pamunkey.

3. That the supplies being sent to the base must be protected as a military necessity, without regard to the sending or withholding of McDowell.

4. That the crossing of a part of his army to the south bank of the Chickahominy was the act of McClellan alone, and that Lincoln and Stanton were not responsible for it.

5. That McClellan at the time gave as the reason for remaining in his position the impossibility of moving before the bridges were completed and the roads in condition to pass artillery.

6. That the theory of being compelled to protect the supplies on the Pamunkey in order to meet the conditions of an expected arrival of McDowell is an erroneous theory, there having been no such expectation during the most of the time claimed to have been covered by this season of non-action.

Why this untenable theory should have been set up is not yet made clear. It must be left to further study, and perhaps to further explanations by the two generals. Many things concerning the campaign remain mysteries. The army was divided by the river from May 20 to June 27. The flood prevented the building of bridges to unite it (if the dispatches of McClellan told the truth), but the disclosures now made in the "Century" articles necessarily create great doubt whether those dispatches were true. Why should we be asked to believe the failure came from an attempt to protect supplies for McDowell, when they knew that general could not come ? Why should we be asked to believe that McClellan stayed on the Chickahominy for that reason, when it was not possible for him to get away because of the rains and the destruction of the bridges ?

Some other things, also, need to be accounted for. McClellan had been in front of Richmond for a month, and holding out a reasonable promise of being able to take it. Lincoln urged an advance while Jackson was in the Valley. According to Porter they did not fear Lee alone, but they did fear him united with Jackson.

They learn enough in the middle of June to excite suspicion that Jackson is coming, but yet they seem to have made no extra effort to get to Richmond before him. They must have known that if he had started on the 15th he would join Lee before the 24th. Yet McClellan makes his arrangement to move on the 26th. On the night of the 24th of June definite information arrives that Jackson is within two days' march of a junction. On the 25th McClellan is particularly hilarious. There can be no mistake about the date, because it was the day before the change to sadness, which was the day when Porter was attacked in force. One would naturally suppose that the knowledge of Jackson's approach received on the 24th would have made McClellan sad on the 25th; but it seems not to have done so, or else it took a whole day to work him up to a realization of the danger.

On the 25th McClellan telegraphed Stanton: "I incline to think Jackson will attack my right and rear." That was a strange telegram under the circumstances. What inclined him to think so? According to Porter they had been daily anxious about the condition. The right was weak and the base exposed. They were aware that Lee knew it, and, as a good general, that he would attack there if he made an attack at all. It was not likely he would make an attack in any weak fashion, and obviously McClellan must be prepared for the worst that Lee could do. Why does he say "incline to think" when he well knows Lee is going to do the proper thing for him to do? Is it to leave an impression that in case of disaster he will be able to plead there was such doubt of Lee's intentions he dared not strengthen Porter? But however this may be, he did not materially strengthen Porter and he did not withdraw him. He sent word to Stanton that the rebel army was reported at 200,000 men, and then he allowed Porter to meet as much of that force as Lee might see fit to precipitate upon him, and Porter had but 27,000 men! He conceived the extraordinary idea that if Porter's little band could repel the assault of what Porter called the combined rebel army, the left wing would be able to go at once into Richmond; and he resolved to stake the whole army on that notion, and, if Porter should be beaten, to burn up the enormous stores on the north of the river and fly in haste to Harrison's Landing on the James. Porter *was* beaten, and then McClellan discovered a way to get him across the river—the very thing which, for a month, he and Porter had seen *must* be done if

Lee did what they supposed he would do—struck the weak right wing with an overwhelming force.

Rebel General D. H. Hill now shows it would have been easy for McClellan to have captured Richmond while Lee was fighting Porter, but McClellan must be judged by what he knew at the time and not by what Hill knew. McClellan knew that an army divided by a river was in a bad position, and he knew that Lee at Gaines's Mill had placed the strongest portion of his army against the weakest portion of the Union army, and that the river was in the rear. This gave *him* the chance which Lee had all the time possessed down to June 26—the chance of throwing the strong wing against the weak one of the enemy ; and yet he could not do what he gave Lee the credit of seeing was the right thing to do, and what he expected would be done—what indeed he saw was being done. Lee fought the McClellan weak wing ; McClellan left Lee's weak unmolested.

Reference has been made to the persistency of the two generals in claiming they were bound to treat a suspended order as still in force because it had not been revoked in terms. This amazing loyalty to orders does not appear to have been a striking characteristic of these commanders on any other occasion ; and when contrasted with the claims set up by them of the right and the duty of Porter to disobey the peremptory orders of Pope, because he imagined that Pope at the time of giving the orders did not understand the situation, makes it difficult to imagine that we are dealing with the same officers. They would have us think, in the one case, that an order which had been suspended for a month, and practically abandoned by sending McDowell where he could not come to them, must be treated as still in force, although at the peril of losing the campaign, while, in the other case, a positive and recent order was to be treated with direct contempt.

In an article by General Franklin in the July " Century," that officer says the Prince de Joinville requested him to tell General McClellan to concentrate his army at the junction of the two roads leading to Malvern Hill, to make a stand, and the next day he would be in Richmond. As Joinville was a man of ability, with a military education, and had been in the battle of Gaines's Mill on the staff of Porter, he was well able to judge in regard to the relative strength and fighting resources of the two armies. From what has been revealed since by Hill, there can be no question that Joinville was

right. Franklin did not tell McClellan, for two or three reasons, among them, and chief among them, because he knew McClellan had no intention to assume the aggressive, and was scrabbling toward the James with all his might.

There had been fighting every day since June 25, and General McClellan stated that he won every battle but the single one of Gaines's Mill. And yet he fled from every field! This singular conduct has not been explained on military principles. The presence of the Chickahominy no longer accounts for the situation, for that difficulty has been surmounted. The defense of the supplies on the Pamunkey has been abandoned. The weak right wing is no longer specially exposed. The ability to concentrate is recognized by the Frenchman, and has been demonstrated by Lee, whose forces, farther away and wider apart, *have* concentrated in spite of the river and the destruction of the bridges. But the victorious Union general concludes to escape the defeated foe and rest his laurels on the achievement of having saved his army!

AMERICA AND THE VATICAN.

In March, 1884, the American Legation at Rome was cabled by the late Secretary of State Frelinghuysen to use every proper exertion on behalf of the Roman Propaganda to prevent the forced sale of one of its dependencies called the American College.

The secularizing of ecclesiastical property, in the conversion of monasteries and church lands to public uses, had been going on in all the provinces of Italy, excepting Rome, since 1862, under laws passed in 1861 and enlarged in 1867. In 1873 the operation of these laws was applied to the last fragment of the late temporal States of the Church. The constitutionality of these laws had been contested for ten years by the Propaganda before successive tribunals. The court of final appeal had recently rendered a decision ordering the enforcement of the law upon the property of the Propaganda. In substance, the laws passed by the Italian National Parliament provided for the conversion of lands belonging to the Roman Church in Italy into securities for the Italian government —an effective method of enlisting the pecuniary interest of an irreconcilable enemy in its permanence.

During the period of years from 1862 to 1884, no interposition had ever been made to prevent the "spoliation" of the church. Once only, and mainly at the instance of Mr. Gladstone's government, had a mild remonstrance been made by several European states to preserve the beautiful Neapolitan Monastery of Monte Casino. The considerations urged were its antiquity, its architectural interest, and its historic value to travelers of all nations. As an amicable concession to the public opinion which prompted this species of archæological argument, Monte Casino has been left unmolested. But this was a voluntary concession, and not a recognition of any right; and the sensitiveness of both the Italian government and people in treating their conflict with the Vatican as

an internal question, in which none other had a word to say, had long made it apparent that any further interposition would be received with great disfavor. And when, in 1883, the British College of the Propaganda became threatened with "conversion," the British ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget, avowed his inability to interpose.

It was therefore with no sanguine anticipations that I presented myself to Signor Mancini, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs. My personal relations with him were such as to obtain a courteous hearing of even so unwelcome a communication as that of the American government.

The first point to be attained was to "get the case into court" —to secure a hearing of the reasons which might be presented for exempting the College. In approaching the question, I treated it exclusively as one involving *American* property, and not at all as an interposition in favor of the Propaganda. I presented to him the claim to the title to the College as stated by those of the American Roman Catholic clergy who had first urged the subject upon the United States government: this, although vested in the Propaganda by Pius IX., as a gift upon the condition of a perpetual use for the training of priests for service in the United States, was claimed by the Catholic Church in America as property of the American people, on the ground that large sums had been from time to time contributed by American Catholic congregations, for the repair of the original building, for its maintenance for a period of a dozen years, and for the establishment in it of a library.

Signor Mancini admitted these rather unsubstantial claims to a title, and appointed an afternoon when he desired me to bring all the papers bearing upon the subject, when he would consider the matter fully, and see whether, as he expressed it, "*si può trovar un modo*"—a way can be found.

The Propaganda, apprised of the instruction of the Washington authorities, sent to the Legation a quantity of documents, and Monsignor Jacobini, Secretary of the Propaganda, the Vice-Rector of the American College, and the lawyer who had unsuccessfully contested the case before the Court of Appeals, recounted the successive phases of the legal defense to that time. Despite their recent defeat, these gentlemen were considerably elated at having transferred at least a portion of the question at issue to the channel of diplomacy, and declared success to be of extreme impor-

tance, as establishing a precedent of exemption upon which a claim for further concessions might later be based.

I became acquainted at this time with an English gentleman, who discharged with rare discretion the office of confidential diplomatic agent of the British government to the Vatican. In proof of the interest with which the solution of the pending negotiation was awaited, he told me that he had conferred with the representatives to the Vatican of the countries similarly interested, and that two of them were ready to support the government of the United States in making a protest. At the stage which the negotiations had then reached, and bearing as it did the character of an amicable request rather than that of an interposition, this action would evidently have done more harm than good. I therefore decided to proceed alone, while preparing, should the request of the American government prove insufficient, to propose to the representatives of several European powers at the Vatican Court to unite in a combined remonstrance, to save all those dependencies of the Propaganda which bear the names of the nationalities by which they have been founded or supported. Remembering the estrangements that characterized the last years of the reign of Pius IX., I was impressed during the incident with the improved relations which his successor has brought about, not only with the ultra-Catholic states of Austria and Spain, but with France and Germany, and, through confidential agents, with Great Britain and Russia.

In my second interview with Signor Mancini, I adhered to the first position of treating an American, not an Italian question. The following is an outline of the arguments which I presented to him at some length.

First, the consideration of equity: that the College had been given to the Propaganda by Pope Pius IX. years before the national occupation of Rome; that it had been received with the intention of a perpetual use; that upon the faith of this gift considerable sums had been expended upon it by American Catholics. Second, that as it was not intended, under the law, to sell the Propaganda itself, but only its property—such as leased houses and vineyards and farms—so, any building used for the purposes of the Propaganda, and subject to its discipline, should be regarded as materially part of the Propaganda, whether isolated or actually contiguous. And, lastly, I urged the favorable impression that such an act

of generosity would produce in the hearts of millions of American Catholics. The arguments which had served in the long defense before the Court of Appeals related to all the property of the Propaganda collectively, and were inapplicable specifically to the American College; and the documents were of little service beyond establishing the title, which was not in dispute, and as showing that the College had been largely supported by contributions from the United States, which was also conceded.

Signor Mancini showed an evident willingness to exempt the College, could a sufficient reason be found for so doing. "*Faremo tutto il nostro possibile per contentar' gli Americani,*" he laughingly remarked. The consideration of the "use" chiefly weighed with him, and he asked in connection with it whether I could obtain from the Propaganda a guaranty that, if exempted, the College should never be converted to any other purpose. This I engaged to do if required. On communicating this stipulation to the Propaganda authorities, it was at once assented to—perforce, perhaps; but as it was never reverted to by Signor Mancini, the obligation was not formally assumed.

In conclusion, Signor Mancini said that he would confer upon the subject with his colleague in the Cabinet, the Minister of Justice, in whose province the question lay, and it was also considered on the following Tuesday morning, at the usual Cabinet meeting over which the King presides. I doubted not that we should now advance through lengthy stages to a stay of proceedings in the proposed sale. I was greatly surprised and delighted when, calling at my residence a few days later, Signor Mancini showed me a letter from the Minister of Justice, stating that the reasons communicated were deemed sufficient to justify the exemption; but the letter was dated prior to my interview with Signor Mancini, that the concession might stand as one spontaneously made, and not in response to any influence or pressure. I immediately cabled the substance of this disposition to the State Department, and communicated it to the Propaganda.

At Washington so prompt a solution was unlooked for. The Italian Minister had verbally assured the State Department that his government would NEVER listen even to the statement of the case—would not even hear the question asked through the diplomatic channel whether the College might be spared. Possibly his declaration might have been justified had there been the semblance

of an intervention in Italian affairs, under the guise of an intercession in favor of the Propaganda. The State Department replied to me, "Your course in Propaganda matter is commended. Express President's thanks to Italian government.—Frelinghuysen."

The establishment by the Italian government of a precedent against itself attracted comment in the diplomatic corps at Rome, and to my amusement a number of my colleagues called to inquire, for the information of their respective governments, how this result had been obtained, as though some trick of sleight of hand had been performed. I invariably answered, after stating the considerations urged, that it had been the voluntary concession of the Italian government, induced solely by equity and by sentiments of national amity towards the American people.

Unfortunately, three weeks later Signor Mancini received from his representative at Washington cuttings from American Roman Catholic newspapers, wherein the concession was described as having been made under menace, together with injurious expressions relative to the "spoliation" of the church, and rejoicings that at length "the usurping House of Savoy" had been ordered to halt. It was difficult to palliate the offensiveness of these publications to Signor Mancini. "This is my return," he said, "for a voluntary act of kindness. The Mayor of Brooklyn holds a mass meeting at which resolutions denouncing the Italian government are adopted. Your clerical papers are allowed to publish that the exemption was made under a threat of war." I could only suggest to him that the United States government is not responsible for newspaper utterances, nor for resolutions adopted at a mass meeting. He conceded this point so far as concerned the intention of the government. "But," said he, laying his hand upon a particularly venomous article, which predicted that the "interposition" of the United States was but the prelude to such a crusade the world over as should restore to the Pope his own, "I tell you, that if ever it comes to more than words for the possession of Rome, which is the keystone of Italian unity, I, who am an old man, and thousands like me, will go out with a rifle with the young volunteers, and fight to maintain what has been achieved."

WILLIAM WALDORF ASTOR.

HOW TO QUELL MOBS.

RIOTS generally originate in crowded cities or in districts where the population is principally composed of operatives. They are due to two causes. First: the restlessness or peevish discontent of the working-classes, who imagine that others are reaping large gains from their labor. Second: the plotting of demagogues and designing men, too indolent to earn their bread by their own exertions, who hope to receive power and profit, or perhaps notoriety. A third cause may be mentioned: the desire of honest but misguided men to obtain a better position for themselves and their families, who, brooding over real or fancied wrongs, finally resort to unlawful measures for redress.

The actors in the first movements which finally lead to a riot rarely, if ever, imagine that they are inaugurating one of these ebullitions of popular fury.

A combination of workmen, who have banded together presumably for proper purposes, believing themselves to be imposed upon by their employers, take measures to secure what they consider their rights. Sometimes one, sometimes another method is adopted, either one of which finally leads to a breach between employers and employed. Then comes a strike. Perhaps the strikers are in the employ of a railroad company, which, with its connections, reaches across the continent: all operations are suspended upon the railroad; passenger and freight cars are stopped upon the tracks; each individual striker has a little circle which he influences; the circumferences of these circles touch each other, and thus commotion is spread through the land. Human sympathy always goes out to the oppressed; the strikers represent themselves as oppressed by the monopolizing corporations, and the sympathy of the community for the weaker unites with its natural prejudice against the stronger in the contest; disorder begins; confusion

becomes worse confounded. Now appear the baser elements of society—the tramp, the thief, the rogue, the burglar—and these elements, which before were the outcasts of society, now become the rulers of the hour. The quarrel, before confined to the railroad and its employés, now enlarges its field, and the bad is arrayed against the general good. Pillagers at first despoil the railroad company, and then seek the property of others, no matter whom, to satisfy their greed. The community awakes to the danger of the situation, but it is too late; anarchy has the upper hand, and vice and lawlessness reign supreme.

Or perhaps the general government, in a time of exigency, using an undisputed right, enacts an obnoxious law: mutterings of discontent are heard; the demagogue or the ambitious man, seizing the opportunity, foments the public agitation. From a simple disturber, he becomes a leader of the mob and attempts to rule the storm, always having in view, however, his own personal ends. But, to rule, he must unite the masses in a grand struggle for relief from a grievance, real or imaginary. Again the passions of the mob are excited, and there peep from out their hiding-places scoundrels who never before dared face the light of day. These wretches, by their presence and active efforts, add to the fury of the rioters—not to redress their own wrongs or the wrongs of others, but in the hope of plunder and for the gratification of their baser passions—and scenes of anarchy, ravage, and arson, like whirlwinds, sweep over the country.

Or, looking in the faces of their wives and children, and upon their abodes, and finding a lack of the ordinary comforts of civilized life, a number band together, hoping by the strength of union to secure those comforts for themselves and their families. They use no improper means at first; they intend to use none. The mere desire to better their condition develops in time into a disregard for law, a contempt for order, and a trampling upon the rights of others; they are carried away in their excitement by aspirations which they would not have entertained in their cooler moments; the circle of discontent increases; others seeking redress for imaginary wrongs join in the contest. Numbers add to the turbulence, and again scoundrels and rascals appear, until at last the same scenes are enacted as before described, and riot rules the land.

These are no imaginary scenes. They have been enacted again

and again in this country, and under similar circumstances will be repeated. Public and private property to the value of millions of dollars has been destroyed, and precious lives have been sacrificed in only one such turbulent uprising.

"How shall the future riot be suppressed? Upon whom lies the duty of suppression—upon the general government, the State, or the municipality?"

These are the practical questions to be discussed.

The general government has no power, except such as is derived by cession from the States. It is the creature of the State governments, and in its relations with the States is governed by organic law, beyond which it cannot step. Like all general rules, there is an exception to this rule; for there is a law, not to be found in any written constitution, which must from necessity control the general government, and that is the law of self-preservation. While it cannot interfere in any of the municipal regulations of the States, still there may be an exigency when it is not only its right, but its duty to interfere. Whenever the property of the government is endangered by an unlawful assemblage of persons, the government should protect its property, even with the sacrifice of life. It can make no difference where that property is situated. It is not subject to the laws of the States; no taxes are paid to the State for its protection.

To illustrate: During the late Rebellion, a draft became necessary to fill up the army of the Union. The President, in pursuance of an act of Congress, had ordered it, but the draft could not be made under the immediate direction of the general government; it must be made under the supervision of the State authorities. The draft, like all general laws, imposed hardships, and in some localities was resisted—especially in the city of New York—and from one step to another the resistance culminated in a riot, one of the most disgraceful ever known in this country. Houses were pillaged, orphan asylums were burned, innocent men were hung to lamp-posts, and for days, in this great city, scenes of anarchy and bloodshed were enacted, at the mention of which to-day every citizen of this great metropolis should shudder with horror. But the United States Government had no right to interfere, although the draft was for its benefit—to replenish its armies, fighting for the restoration of the Union. The draft was made under the immediate direction of the State. No officer of the govern-

ment, from the President down, could act, except when called upon by the State authorities. But the call of the President must be obeyed, and the duty of suppressing the riot rested upon the State and municipal authorities. If the rioters had attacked any property of the government, however, then it would clearly have been the duty of the general government to protect that property. Indubitably, the State officials could have called upon the general government for aid in an emergency, as in some cases they did; but until such call was made the government had no right to interfere. The rights of the States, so sharply defined, precluded the idea of any interference from the general government; but those very rights threw on the State and the municipality the responsibility of suppressing the riot—the rights claimed and the responsibilities were proportionate and inseparable.

It might become the duty of the government to suppress a riot in order to enforce an act of Congress with a penalty attached, where the duty of enforcing that act rested with the United States or its officers. True, it is the duty of the State to protect its citizens; but in this case the cause of the riot is resistance to an attempt on the part of the general government to enforce its laws—its officers are defied, its laws set at naught, and its dignity compromised. It would be of little use for Congress to make laws, if those laws could be abrogated by the turbulence of lawless men. If the government could not enforce its enactments, then its laws would be mere nullities.

With these two exceptions, it is believed that the duty of suppressing riots rests upon the State and municipality. The highest duty devolving upon a government is the protection of the lives and property of its citizens. Taxes are levied by the State and paid by the citizen for this protection, and neither State nor municipality can escape the responsibility. The duty of suppression rests, first, with the municipality. The municipality failing, then the State is bound to render assistance.

The legislatures of the different States have enacted laws for the punishment of rioters; but these laws only apply to the punishment of rioters as such, and do not reach the real trouble in the case. It is true that laws may be passed making it a penal offense for persons to meet together for the purpose of beginning a riot, for inciting a riot, for conspiring to bring about a riot; but no law can be passed preventing citizens from demanding in a

peaceable manner the enforcement of rights, or what they believe to be their rights. No law can operate against the formation of societies by working men whose object would be simply to better the condition of its members. What is necessary is the adoption of measures creating such a condition of things that a riot will be impossible. An ounce of prevention, in this case, is worth many pounds of cure.

It is very difficult to draw the line where forbearance shall cease to be a virtue, and where stern duty compels the authorities to use coercion. All this must be left to their good sense, alert judgment, and proper appreciation of each individual case. There should be no dallying with a mob. It is hydra-headed, many-sided, and, at the outset, undecided as to its future movements; but if, without the use of decided measures for prevention, it be suffered to take its own way, a leader will soon be found of sufficient capacity to direct and control these movements. Let this period once be passed, and let a master-mind be placed in command, with subservience on the part of his followers, and the control of the mob in the right direction is forever lost.

When then is the decisive moment at which the blow must be struck? The solution of this problem depends not upon any argument, but upon an instantaneous grasping of the facts and necessities of the case and of the steps necessary to be taken, and prompt action upon the decision of the moment. A howling, surging mob may be scattered in an instant by the use of discreet measures; but a mob actuated by one ruling motive, organized and directed by one master mind, can no more be controlled by human influence, outside of itself, than can the Falls of Niagara be dammed with straw.

The qualities most needed, in those who are charged with the duty of preventing riots, are coolness, decision, alertness, and courage. Let the mob once ascertain that any of these qualities are wanting in those who seek to suppress, and the opportunity for suppression is lost. It would have been more merciful in the end to those composing many mobs, certainly to those who suffered from their excesses, if instead of firing blank cartridges a few bullets had found their way into the muskets. One determined man, with fearless front and undaunted courage, has been of more service in preventing a riot than scores of dilly-dallying mayors and governors who read the riot act and begged and

besought the rioters to disperse, and called them by endearing names.

In 1877 riots broke out all over the land. The history of these riots reveals strange inconsistencies and many shameful derelictions of duty. In the city of Pittsburg, with the police of the city at his back, and a large number of State troops at his command, the mayor of that great town, with an indecision which was indefensible and unaccountable (except upon the supposition that by so doing he hoped to preserve his popularity), suffered anarchy and pillage and murder to rule for days. He strove to stem a torrent of turbulence and violence with soft speeches, by reading the riot act, by kind words. But it was too late. The time for such formalities had passed. The sacrifice of a few lives by charges of fixed bayonets, or by salvos of musketry charged with bullets, would have scattered the howling, demoniac mob back to the holes and dreary retreats from which so many of them had come.

At Harrisburg, the same policy at first placed the troops of the great State of Pennsylvania, sent to relieve its capital from the depredations of the mob, prisoners in the hands of that very mob that they were sent to suppress. The militiamen were marched up and down the streets amid the jeers and howls of the rioters. But a different state of affairs was soon inaugurated, through the exertions of one determined man, the mayor of the city. He selected some of the best citizens, and with the sheriff of the county marched at their head, and almost in an instant dispelled the mob while in the very act of pillaging.

All along the line of the railroads extending west from Buffalo the employés were in commotion. Mobs of several thousand people had gathered at different points, but only at one place was the mob beyond the control of the authorities. This was at the city of Buffalo. At East Buffalo, where a mob which was estimated at more than three thousand persons was hooting, howling, and threatening vengeance, a captain of police, with the aid of the baton forcibly brought in contact with the heads of the rioters, in a very few moments dispelled the mob, so that, in the words of the historian who records this incident, "the East Buffalo grounds were as clear and quiet as a country field on a Sunday afternoon."

No other town in the great State of New York, except Buffalo, was seriously incommoded at this eventful period in the history of the riots of this country; and this was due to the determined action

taken by the authorities, and to the splendid organization of the State militia, aided by a well-conducted police force. Other States were at the mercy of mobs, but New York was free.

In New Jersey, when the late Theodore F. Randolph was governor, a remarkable instance was exhibited of what wise policy and determined action on the part of the executive of a State could accomplish. A riot was threatened, arising from the old grudge, long existing, between the different Irish factions—the Orangemen and the Catholics. Citizens went to bed at night quaking and quivering with fear. A few quick military preparations to quell the expected turbulence, a determined proclamation, with stern warning of punishment if the law were broken, and quiet was restored as if by magic. If the same policy of prevention had been pursued all over the country during the riots of 1877, an effectual stop would have been put to violence, property of incalculable value would have been saved, and lives valuable to the community would have been preserved.

Mobs are cowards at first. Crime always enervates. They only gain courage as they find that those whose duty it is to suppress them are themselves cowards. A mob is not to be feared when it is first aroused. It is only as its passion for carnage is whetted by the taste of blood, or its greed for pillage is gratified, that it becomes dangerous.

Upon whomsoever devolves the duty of suppression, let this be his first effort: check at the very beginning; allow no tumultuous gatherings; permit no delay; a few stern, resolute words; if these be not heeded, then strike resolutely, boldly; let there be no hesitation; if necessary, take life at the outset. It will be more merciful to take one life then than to suffer the mob to take the lives of many, or to be compelled to sacrifice the innocent with the guilty at the point of the bayonet, or in the discharge of musketry or cannon. But the necessity to take life will not arise unless there be inactivity and indecision at the outset on the part of the authorities.

Before the time shall come when it will be necessary to use musket-ball or bayonet, the opportunity will be afforded to suppress the riot; perhaps at the sacrifice of a few broken heads, or by the imprisonment of some of its leaders.

In every large city, in fact in every city where a police force is employed, a perfect drill should prepare policemen to meet the

exigencies arising from any tumultuous assemblage of the people; so that, at a moment's warning, these conservators of the peace will be ready to act, and to act understandingly and promptly. It will be found that a few determined policemen, placed in the field at a moment's notice, will prove one of the best and most direct methods of quelling a mob. These, by skillful maneuvers, can take a mob in flank, or in rear, or in front, if necessary, and so employ themselves and their clubs that almost before the mob would know what was impelling them they would be driven from the field of action. This drilling, advised to be used with policemen, can also be used to excellent advantage with the militia of every State, so that in case of emergency they can be used with as good effect as policemen. It has often been found, in the history of the riots of this country, that when the soldiery have been brought in the face of a mob, even the officers were so unacquainted with their duties as to evince the most ridiculous ignorance of what was required of them and of their men in the exigency; and they and their troops have been driven ignominiously from the field. They would have known what to do, without hesitation, had they been in the face of an enemy; but, surrounded as they were by a frantic mob, they failed—and for lack of the necessary drilling.

In the draft riot of 1863, after the mob had had full possession of the city of New York for several days, and the United States troops had been called in with little or no effect, and the State militia had failed, the police of the city, by their bold, brave, and indefatigable action, quelled the riot and prevented any further disorder. It was a remarkable instance of what can be done by a drilled organization. Since that time no riot could by any possibility have occurred in that great city. The police force of New York are ready to act in any emergency; and it is very doubtful whether it would be necessary to call in the aid of the State troops, or of the United States forces, in case a riot were threatened. Governor Seymour, in a proclamation made just after this riot, gave due credit to the police force, fully appreciating their magnificent services. Let it be known, in every large town and city throughout the land, that the police force is constantly under control and discipline, ready promptly to perform its whole duty in case of any riotous action, and there will be an end of these turbulent assemblages.

The most fertile cause of all riots is the peevish discontent of

wage-workers—too often ignorant of the true relations between themselves and their employers. This peevish discontent may perhaps be confined to a few, but those few will be able to avail themselves of the restlessness which may pervade the whole body of operatives. This discontent arises not so much from any real oppression, or from any wrong, but simply from the natural jealousy which every man feels, more or less, when he sees others living more luxuriously than himself, and especially when that luxury appears to be the result of his labor. Now this discontent may be dispelled, perhaps not in the present generation, though it may be greatly moderated; but, certainly, means can be taken to prevent it in the future. The employer and employé may surely be brought together in more intimate relations than those they at present sustain. Where lies the fault in the present system? Who is justly chargeable with the origin of this discontent? That question cannot be settled in this discussion. But so much may be said: the working-classes can be educated up to a higher tone of feeling, a better appreciation of their duty to their employers, a higher standard of morals, and a nobler level of thought and action. May not the employers find something in the present condition of things for which they are responsible; and which they, in the exercise of the duty they owe to common humanity, may be able to better?

There is a factory, in one of the large manufacturing towns of the country, where one of the employers, imbued with true Christian philanthropy, brings himself, in a measure, down to a level with his hundreds of employés. He mingles with their families; finds out the social status and wants of all; gives a word of advice to one; imparts counsel to another; sympathizes with the mourner; puts his strong arm round the weak; and employs all of his ability to raise his workingmen in the scale of human existence. He provides a reading-room for them, furnishes them with reading matter, and gives them lectures. Let this example be emulated by every employer in the land, and riots would be impossible.

The legislators of the country, with a "penny wise and pound foolish" spirit, have neglected this their highest duty—the enactment of wise and judicious laws to provide for the many-sided interests of the employers and the employed. Demagogues invade legislative halls, and, with the hope of rising upon the wave of

popularity, cater to the worst passions of their constituents. Many, imagining that the source of popularity lies with one class or with another, forget everything but their own selfish, groveling aims, and cater to the passions of that class.

The history of the legislation of the country, unfortunately, is full of the evidences of this ignoble spirit. The true legislator, rising equal to his position, surveys the whole field and legislates for all—not for a class. In the near future it is quite evident that there is a contest imminent between labor and capital. The true law-maker may avert that contest—the false may hasten it.

FITZ JOHN PORTER.

RECOLLECTIONS AND LETTERS OF GRANT.

PART I.

My early recollections of General Grant extend from the time he was six or seven years of age, in 1828, or one year later, to the autumn of 1836. During that time we lived within three hundred yards of each other in the small village of Georgetown, the county seat of Brown County, Ohio. From proximity, and perhaps from other causes, our association was intimate. When we were so small that we had the belief that in a much-swollen stream there must be a superabundance of fish, we were engaged with hook and line in an attempt to catch them. He ventured out on a barked poplar log, very slippery from the rain; in an instant his feet were in the air, and he disappeared in the turbulent, muddy water. I rushed down the stream some thirty feet, where it narrowed, and willows partly undermined bent over the stream nearly to the surface of the water. Out upon one of these willows I clambered quickly, and grabbing my young companion as he was borne down by the swift current, helped him to reach the bank. It is not unlikely that this incident would have been entirely forgotten by me had he not worn at that time a Marseilles upper garment with red stripes, buttoning on the nether garment, as worn by children. It seemed to me so superb, that I was filled with regret that it should thus be irretrievably ruined. In the following pages a letter from General Grant, when at Nice, will be quoted, which alludes to this incident.

His mother at that time was perhaps thirty years of age, above medium height, graceful in manner, gracious to children, neat in person, and kept her children neatly clothed, which was rather unusual in that part of the world at that time. In after years the General told me that he had never seen his mother shed a tear; she had a cheerful countenance, a kind word to all, and in my eyes was very handsome, and, in reality, certainly was at least very prepossessing and agreeable.

As a boy, General Grant was never aggressive nor given to profanity, a vice that was not unusual with many of his companions. If provoked or insulted he would fight it out manfully. He never entered into a fight without it being clearly the fault of the other boy. He was fond of horses; we rode usually without a saddle, a blanket being strapped on the back of the horse, and without stirrups. In childhood he was a sturdy little fellow, never boisterous. Without being slothful or inert, he had not that superabundant flow of animal spirits which impels many boys to "stand on their heads," yell vociferously, and do many disagreeable things from thoughtlessness, apparently arising from great vitality.

A small brick school-house stood on a hill some three hundred yards from the court-house, near which we lived. It had two rooms, the one for the girls, the other for the boys.

Writing from Pau, France, General Grant says of this period of our lives:

"PAU, FRANCE, *December* 6, 1878.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL:

"On my arrival here last night I found a very large mail, and in it two letters from you. This is the first mail since leaving Gibraltar, from whence I wrote you. At that time I had fully determined not to go by India, China, and Japan, and so wrote the Secretary of the Navy—saying, however, that if I determined otherwise before the departure of the 'Richmond' from America, I would cable him. This morning I sent him a dispatch that I would accept his offer of a passage on that steamer. I could not say much in a dispatch, but I hope we will be able to join the steamer on the north side of the Mediterranean, somewhere between Marseilles and Palermo. This will extend my trip and make my arrival in America some months later than I had expected, probably extending the time into late fall. Of course, going by San Francisco, I shall want to spend at least a month going over old ground with which I was familiar a quarter of a century ago. That quarter of a century does not seem half so long as the one which preceded it, and passed since you and I first received instruction under John D. White and *a long beech switch* cut generally by the boys for their own chastisement.

"Mrs. Grant wants me to say now that she regrets your retirement, because you might [otherwise] accompany us, and she has every confidence in you on your native element. I believe you are a first-class farmer besides.

"I have not yet received your paper on the 'interoceanic canal,' but will read it with great interest when it reaches me.

"I had preserved with great care a letter you wrote me as much as nine months ago, giving the route and places to visit on naval vessels after leaving the Red Sea, until since leaving Gibraltar; but I destroyed it a few days ago. I would be very glad to get a repetition of it now.

"I am very sorry, with Mrs. Grant, that you cannot be the commander on our proposed trip, and that Mrs. Ammen is not to be with us. . . ."

I left that locality in November, 1836, and did not meet my old companion again until June, 1843. He had just graduated at the Military Academy, and, passing through Philadelphia, had kindly arranged a meeting at Jones' Hotel, near Seventh, on Chestnut street, Philadelphia. He was then a stoutly built, round-faced youth, twenty-one years of age on the 27th of the preceding April. Our next meeting was at Culpepper Court House, Virginia, where I went on the 1st of May, 1864, just as he was on the point of crossing the Rapidan. He had been at Hampton Roads some weeks before, and, speaking with Admiral Lee, expressed a desire to see me at head-quarters. I was then at Norfolk on a court of inquiry. Previous to this I had shown the admiral a letter which I had received in reply to one of my own. It has never appeared in print, and will be read with interest:

"NASHVILLE, TENN., *February* 16, 1864.

"DEAR AMMEN:

"Your letter was duly received and advice fully appreciated, particularly as it is the same I would give any friend; *i. e.*, to avoid all political entanglements. I have always thought the most slavish life any man could lead was that of a politician. Besides, I do not believe any man can be successful as a soldier whilst he has an anchor ahead for other advancement. I know of no circumstances likely to arise which could induce me to accept of any political office whatever. My only desire will be, as it has been, to whip out the rebellion in the shortest way possible, and to retain as high a position in the army afterward as the Administration then in power may think me suitable for.

"I was truly glad to hear from you. I was once on leave of absence at the same time you were, and went from Clermont County to Cincinnati more to see you than for any other purpose. When I got there, found you had gone to Ripley by river. I believe the last time we met was in Philadelphia, in 1843. We have both grown older since, though time sets very lightly with me. I am neither gray nor bald, nor do I feel any different from what I did at twenty-five. I have often wished you had been selected to command the Mississippi flotilla. I have no fault to find, however, with the naval officers who have co-operated with me. I think Porter, Phelps, and some of the younger officers, as clever men as I ever fell in with. I cannot complain of them, certainly, for I believe I never made a request of them they did not comply with, no matter what the danger. I know I caused Porter to lose one gunboat against his judgment, and he never found fault.

"Remember me to Mrs. Vandyke's family, and any other friends of mine in Cincinnati. I will be very glad to hear from you again.

"Yours truly,

"U. S. GRANT."

The opportunity to visit General Grant occurred on being detached from the temporary command of a vessel. A note stating

my desire to pay him a visit, if it suited his convenience, was followed by the receipt of the requisite military pass. On my arrival at Culpepper the General received me very kindly, reminded me that it was nearly twenty-one years since we had met at Philadelphia, and turned me over to Colonel Badeau, who was an old acquaintance, and suggested that we should take a ride. We were soon mounted, and, accompanied by several other officers, rode to the summit of Pony Hill, some three miles distant to the southwest, from whence we could see the field-works of the enemy across the Rapidan.

About ten o'clock, the hour the General informed me he would be at leisure, he sent for me. We were alone until some time after midnight. He spoke of our boyhood, of the persons whom we knew in common, and, later, concerning army movements. Not an inconsiderable object of my visit, although not at all official, was to assure an effective co-operation of our naval forces. I had been authorized by Admiral Lee to say to the General that, apart from the force requisite for the maintenance of the blockade on the coast of North Carolina, all other vessels under his command would be subordinated, as far as desired, to support army movements in any manner suggested.

Breakfasting with the General and his staff the following morning, he proposed a ride with me. We were accompanied by one orderly. The course chosen was first to the north-east, and after some miles passed over, turning to the right. The country was an undulating plain, almost denuded of wood and wholly destitute of fences. Here and there were encamped the different army corps that composed a principal part of the force that was about to cross the Rapidan. The General rode the finest horse, as he told me then and afterwards, that he had ever mounted—a large, powerful bay, with a free, easy stride of great scope. This horse was the half-brother of the famous "Lexington," and was named "Cincinnati." The General spoke of his intended movement, that our army in the valley was already on the march, and told me that on the following day, as I returned to Washington, I would meet Burnside's corps. He did not feel at liberty to give the number of troops that would move on Richmond. The force, however, was as large as he thought himself able to command, bearing in mind the difficulties of the country for transportation. Were the troops with their supply trains to be placed along the line of road to Richmond, which I

think he gave as seventy miles, the head of the army would be at Richmond before the rear had crossed the Rapidan. He added humorously that he did not expect to reach Richmond in that order.

In reply to my inquiry, he said that he supposed that he had very reliable information of the forces of General Lee. As I remember, he reckoned them at 120,000 men, including the militia or local forces in Richmond and Petersburg. He did not regard General Lee as the ablest general of the South; he, however, possessed the entire confidence, respect, and indeed affection of every one under his command, and such a man could not be an indifferent commander to meet. He considered General Joseph E. Johnston as a superior and very able commander, and Bragg, if regarded simply in the light of a soldier, he thought very able; he was, however, so thoroughly detested by the people of the South that he would never prove a formidable adversary.

After a ride of some two hours or more, passing over probably twelve or fifteen miles, we approached Culpepper from the general direction of Pony Hill. As we passed another army corps, the General remarked, with something in manner akin to enthusiasm, that there was the most thoroughly equipped army for field-work that he thought could be found on the globe. He would do the best he could with it. Newspapers state that officers have said, Give me this or that number of troops, and they would do this or that; but he could only promise to do his best. He said, further, that some of our officers, after an engagement, thought it impossible to move on until they were again thoroughly prepared, apparently forgetful that the enemy was making the best use of his time also. The result of an engagement was often only a question of relative exhaustion of resources; if the enemy's forces were worse off than his own, as the result of a battle, he saw no reason why the enemy should not be pressed at once, notwithstanding actual deficiencies of his own preparation.

Two or three days after I left the General he crossed the Rapidan, and I had not the pleasure of meeting him again until the evening of the day of the review of General Sherman's army in Washington, after the close of the war. He wrote me from City Point, August 18th, 1864, principally in relation to the explosion of the mine of Petersburg. Shortly after that date I saw a published letter from him to some one else very similar in import, and indeed

in some parts almost identical in words. The following extracts will probably interest the reader :

"Several times we have had decisive victories within our grasp, but let them, through accident or fault, slip through our hands. Our movement from Cold Harbor to the south side of the James was made with such celerity, that before the enemy got a single regiment across the river our forces had carried the fortifications east of Petersburg. There was nothing, not even a military force, to prevent our walking in and taking possession. The officer charged with this work, for some unaccountable reason, stopped at the works he had captured, and gave the enemy time to get in a garrison and to intrench it. On the 30th of July, again by a feint north of the James, we drew most of the enemy to that side of the river, and whilst he was there (with my troops quietly withdrawn during the night) a mine, judiciously prepared, was exploded, burying a battery and some three hundred of the enemy, and making a breach in his works into which our men marched without opposition. The enemy was completely surprised, and commenced running in all directions. There was nothing to prevent our men from marching directly to the high ground in front of them, to which they had been directed to go. Once there, all the enemy's fortifications would have been taken in reverse, and no stand would have been made. It is clear that without a loss of five hundred men we could have had Petersburg with all its artillery and many of the garrison. But our troops stopped in the crater made by the explosion. The enemy was given time to rally and re-occupy his line. Then we found, true enough, that we had the wolf by the ears. He was hard to hold, and more dangerous to let go. This was so outrageous that I have obtained a court of inquiry to sift the matter. We will peg away, however, and end this matter if our people at home will but be true to themselves. If they would but reflect, everything looks favorable. . . .

"The hope of a counter-revolution over the draft or the Presidential election keeps them together. Then, too, they hope for the election of a 'peace candidate,' who would let them go. 'A peace at any price' is fearful to contemplate. It would be but the beginning of war. The demands of the South would know no limits. They would demand indemnity for expenses incurred in carrying on the war. They would demand the return of all their

slaves set free in consequence of war. They would demand a treaty looking to the rendition of all fugitive slaves escaping into the Northern States, and they would keep on demanding until it would be better to be dead than to submit longer. . . ."

During the winter of 1865–66 General Grant was domiciled in Washington. My duties at that time were at that navy-yard, in command of a vessel of war. I saw him there almost daily. We had an idea in common—that the narrow parts of the American continent should be sufficiently examined to ascertain the practicability of a ship canal from sea to sea, or the reverse. Rear-Admiral Davis, then Superintendent of the Naval Observatory, had an old Spanish map of that region enlarged, with coast lines put in with the best geographical determinations. After many examinations of this and such other information as was readily obtainable, General Grant paid a visit to the Secretary of State several times, on one occasion taking me with him. Finally, he told me that he would not go to see Mr. Seward again in relation to this matter; he felt satisfied, should he do so, that he would hate Mr. Seward, and he was not disposed to put himself into a position to make him hate any man.

After taking leave of Washington, in April, I did not see General Grant until the famous "swinging around the circle" of President Johnson, accompanied by himself and Admiral Farragut, passing through York, Pennsylvania, where I then lived. General Grant kindly sent me a telegram to meet him on the car, when he expressed to me very freely his disgust at this tour, which was no less distasteful to Admiral Farragut than to himself.

In the summer and autumn of 1867 my duties again took me to Washington for short periods, at which times I was usually an inmate of General Grant's house. On one of these occasions, not long after the forced resignation or dismissal of Mr. Stanton from the position of Secretary of War, General Grant informed me that, much against his inclination, he had consented to accept the position of Acting Secretary of War, a controlling reason being, that he feared the President might otherwise appoint some unscrupulous person, whose approval, under existing laws, of fraudulent cotton claims, might rob the treasury of $200,000,000, or even more. Perhaps the following morning, certainly within a day or so, General Sherman, then stationed at St. Louis, made his appearance in General Grant's house at a very early hour. As soon as

General Grant dressed he came down-stairs, and in a humorous way said: "Why, Sherman, what on earth are you doing here? You know very well that, under existing laws, you cannot leave St. Louis without my order." "Oh, yes," said Sherman, with a merry twinkle in his eye, "I know that very well; but the President sent me a telegram to come on, and I am here to see you to know what is up. I rely greatly on your clemency in violating the law." I have never made inquiry since then, of General Grant or of General Sherman, of what "was up" at that time.

Later in the season, when from time to time I was in Washington, General Grant kindly invited me to a drive with him in his buggy, and expressed at times great distrust of the intentions or rather designs of Mr. Johnson. In the autumn, on one of these drives, he said he felt sure that nothing but the cowardice of the President stood in the way of very serious events. He had become aware of a secret military organization in Maryland, and had accurate information at that time of its ramifications, through General ——. The Governor of Maryland had made requisitions on the War Department for field artillery to which, under existing laws, the State was entitled; but knowing as he did the intended revolutionary purpose, he had simply pigeon-holed the requisitions. For a time he thought of writing the Governor that he had his eye on him, but on the whole he concluded not to do so. In Virginia, too, there were signs of a support, but so far no organization existed; the intention was inchoate in development. Farther south there were no indications of disturbance.

Early in December my duties brought me again to Washington for a day. Meeting General Grant near the War Department, he invited me to his room. Seeing that he had a careworn look, I asked him how matters were progressing. He said, "Badly enough; I will not be surprised at anything that may occur. Within a few days the President paid me a visit of an hour or more, speaking on indifferent subjects, and, just before leaving, said: 'General, there is one point upon which I feel a deep interest, and that is, in the event of an open rupture between Congress and myself, where will you be found?' The reply was," said the General to me with great earnestness: "'That will depend entirely upon which was the revolutionary party.'"

I dined with the General that day, and he was good enough to drive me to the railroad depot when I was leaving the city. Be-

fore we parted he expressed his regret that thus far he had not been able to forward the examination of the isthmuses, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of a ship canal. I replied, "That makes little difference, General; I feel assured that sooner or later you will be able to bring this about." In a few days I was at sea for the Asiatic station.

I returned to the United States in April, 1869. The General was good enough to request that I should be ordered home, after his election to the Presidency in November, 1868. I find in my package only two letters from him during my absence. One, dated November 23, contains the following:

"DEAR AMMEN:

"Your welcome and very interesting letters up to September have been received. . . . Appearances now are about what they were in '65. I would write you a long letter on public and home affairs but that I hope you will be on your way home soon after the receipt of this, if you are not before. . . ."

Upon my arrival in Washington I was assigned to duty, and remained in that city during the two Presidential terms of General Grant. My residence being in the country, General Grant was good enough to give me a general invitation to dine with him on Sunday when it suited my convenience. This I did monthly, more frequently twice a month, and usually before dinner took a walk with him, at times five or six miles in length, and rarely less than half that distance. He spoke freely on many matters upon which he is supposed to have been silent. In all my intercourse with him I have no recollection of his uttering what seemed an ill-digested expression; he was a man essentially of ideas. With me and with others by whom he would not be misunderstood, or his language repeated and afterwards perverted, he was not at all a "silent man." Although I have no recollection of his ever saying to me that he did not wish publicity to be given to what he had said, yet on many occasions I felt that I would have betrayed an implied confidence, as in the case of what has been stated above in regard to the Governor of Maryland, and of his conversation with President Johnson. In the White House, Johnson was spoken of on one occasion. I expressed some surprise that it had not found its way into the newspapers preceding the Presidential election. He said it did not, simply because he had never mentioned it, except to General Comstock and myself.

Soon after he became President I asked what he thought was the political effect of the assassination of President Lincoln. He replied, with great feeling, that it was the greatest possible calamity to the country, and especially to the people of the South. Had Mr. Lincoln lived, his great ability and tact would, he thought, have very soon reconciled and adjusted all possible differences, and the country would have been spared long years of mismanagement and misunderstanding.

On one of our Sunday walks we met two gentlemen, one of whom introduced the other to the General. The one introduced told the General that he knew him when he kept Knight's Ferry, near Stockton, in California. The General smiled, and replied that he had met a great number of people who told him they knew him when he kept that ferry. We passed on, and our conversation was resumed without any comment in relation to these gentlemen or what had been said. Had any one asked me whether General Grant had kept that ferry, I certainly would have replied affirmatively. On the return of General Grant, after his tour around the world, he visited Stockton in the autumn of 1879, and in a short, humorous address said that he had met hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people who had told him they knew him when he kept the ferry near that city. There must be some mistake about it, nevertheless, he said, as he had never visited that locality but once before, and on that occasion had staid over night only.

The Presidency gave him great annoyance. On one occasion he said to me that if he knew capable, honest men in Louisiana, who would accept office, he would appoint them, whether Republicans or Democrats. Being Democrats did not in his belief make them honest, and therefore he had not gone out of his party. I said that a native of Louisiana, and at that time a resident, had told me that he did not think there was any political honesty in that State in either party.

I feel quite sure that General Grant would have felt greatly relieved had he never been proposed for the Presidency. After his election for a second term he said that he felt gratified at a renomination, as it indicated an approval of his first term. During his army service, nor at any other time, had he ever solicited, directly or indirectly, military or civil preferment. I feel warranted in expressing the belief that at the period when his political friends insisted upon his candidacy for a third term he would have felt

grateful to them had they proposed any other person who would have been generally acceptable.

During his Presidency he took great personal interest in the progress of all of the surveys touching the practicability of an interoceanic canal across this continent, and when these surveys eliminated from commercial consideration the different proposed routes other than Nicaragua and Panama, he directed a close instrumental survey of the latter when informed by the Canal Commission, appointed by him under a Congressional resolution, that this survey was essential to a relative consideration of the merits of the two routes. When these surveys were completed he carefully examined the results, and fully agreed with the Commission that the Nicaragua route so far surpassed the Panama in economic conditions of construction and in other commercial advantages as to settle beyond a doubt the question of where the canal should and ultimately will be, as extracts from letters written by him abroad will show in the pages following.

During all the years of his Presidency I was most kindly, I may say affectionately, received at the White House, and was there at such times as he had his recreations. His table was supplied with the wines usual with persons of position. During the earlier years of his administration he partook, but not at all freely, of what he furnished his guests. The winter preceding the expiration of his last term he was actually abstinent at his own table, and, I have every reason to believe, entirely so. Yet during that period one or more of the Washington Sunday newspapers, and other vile prints, informed the people of the disgrace they were suffering because of their besotted President, who was to be seen daily reeling through the streets! During all of these years I never saw General Grant in a condition that would give rise even to a suspicion that he had indulged too freely in liquors, and only on one occasion have I ever had a glass of liquor in the White House. On one of the many Sundays that General Grant invited me to walk before dinner, the weather was raw and the wind high. On coming into the house the General proposed a glass of liquor, and, going into the dining-room, we were waited on by the steward. Many of the friends and admirers of General Grant will read this statement with gratification, and the more if they know me personally. They will at least feel assured that I would not present even a specious statement, much less an untruth, however much I might feel interested

in the good name of any one. May not the gentlemen of the press well consider whether it would not be far better to do justice to the living than to adulate the dead? Adulation then cannot recompense the wronged, nor can "flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death."

Soon after the expiration of his last term, in April, 1877, General Grant kindly asked me to accompany him to Ohio, to visit the home of our childhood. At Cincinnati we were the guests of Washington McLean, Esq., a gentleman properly known far and wide. From thence the General drove to Georgetown, a distance of forty miles. We were received in the kindest manner by all of the inhabitants, more especially by those who knew us as children. We then took leave, as it were, of the past scenes of childhood—dear as they must be to every honest heart—and of those who knew us as boys, however humble they might be, as well as of those with whom our association had been more intimate.

Before General Grant went abroad, which was one month later, he told me that he had called on the President and urged upon him prompt action looking to the construction of the Nicaragua Canal.

During his absence he was good enough to write me from time to time. Quotations from these letters may interest the reader, even though he has read the charming book of John Russell Young, who accompanied him during the greater part of his travels.

From London, August 26th, 1877, he writes:

"I arrived here from the continent yesterday, after a most pleasant visit of about seven weeks there, most of the time in Switzerland. There is no more beautiful scenery or climate for summer travel than Switzerland presents. The people are industrious and honest, simple and frugal in their habits, and would be very poor for all this if it were not for the travel through their country. I wish their surplus population would emigrate to the United States. . . .

"For the past eight weeks I have seen but few American papers, and am consequently behind the home news. The foreign papers, however, have been full of the great railroad strike, no doubt exaggerated, as bad as it was. The United States should always be prepared to put down such demonstrations promptly, and with severe consequences to the guilty. I hope good may come out of this in pointing out the necessity for having the proper remedy at hand in case of need. 'An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.'"

From Nice, France, December 10th, he writes:

"My dear Admiral:

"On Thursday, day after to-morrow, we go on board the "Vandalia," to

make our excursion of the Mediterranean. How much I wish you were in command, to unfurl for the first time your admiral's flag. . . . "

Writing of meeting the officers on board, he continues:

"Of course I told I owed you an old grudge as being responsible for the many trials and difficulties I had passed through in the last half century, for nearly that length of time ago you had rescued me from a watery grave. I am of a forgiving nature, however, and forgive you—but is the feeling universal? If the Democrats get into full power, may they not hold you responsible! But as you are about retiring, I hope no harm will come to you for any act of kindness done to me. Our trip thus far has been most agreeable. The weather in Paris was most atrocious, but I got to see much of the people. My opinion of their capacity for self-government has materially changed since seeing for myself. Before coming here I did not believe the French people capable of self-government. Now I believe them perfectly capable, and that they will be satisfied with nothing less. They are patient, 'and of long-suffering,' but there will not be entire peace and quiet until a form of government is established in which all the people have a full voice. It will be more republican than anything they have had under the name of a Republic."

DANIEL AMMEN.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

I.

COMPLYING with your request, I submit, in writing, my views upon the questions of Party Discipline and Party Obligations.

It is unnecessary to state that, by reason of the attitude of the President toward the Democratic Party, these questions are exciting a great deal of discussion. Those who differ from him make no unjust claim when they simply demand that they should be considered as equally desirous of securing to the people an honest and efficient administration of the affairs of the government. They know that in the past thoroughly Democratic administrations have administered the government with pre-eminent success, and they view with apprehension this attempted assimilation of the two great parties by confusing the *personnel* of the office-holding classes.

Although they are stigmatized by the Independent press as "machine politicians," and although this sentimental nonsense may not, as it should, offend the ears of some holding high positions in the government, yet they firmly believe that an administration cannot be thoroughly and responsibly Democratic unless the Republicans are turned out of office and honest Democrats put in their places, and that this is the Civil Service Reform for which the Democratic Party voted at the last Presidential election.

This traditional system in American politics, which has existed up to this time and which has been upheld by men whose purity and patriotism could not be questioned, never presented to our former leaders those features of degrading demoralization which seem to shock the lofty sensibilities of this new school of modern reformers.

The Democratic Party, as is shown by their platform, are desirous that all existing abuses should be corrected; but it is certainly not an offense to doubt whether they are prepared to admit

that a revolution in the previous methods of government is necessary in order to gratify a few *doctrinaires* who are engaged in the sensational effort of cutting down imaginary upas trees to protect the Democratic Party against the deadly poison of its own evil tendencies.

Why should the Democratic Party be placed under the tutelage of a *coterie* of self-styled reformers, whose disapproval of Democratic methods and Democratic policies has such a terrorizing influence, and whose secret aim is to rule or ruin the Democratic Party with whose principles they have not the remotest sympathy?

Of course no reference is intended to be made to that large and intelligent class of independent voters who only want good government, and who know that this end can be obtained from an administration thoroughly Democratic.

This humiliating surrender to the insolent demands of this political syndicate is not an edifying spectacle for life-long Democrats to contemplate. Men who have fought the greatest political battles of the age, who have never wavered in their devotion to the party, whose fidelity was stronger when the hope of success was faintest, and who, by their steadfastness in the face of expected defeat, proved that they had no selfish aspirations, are asking themselves whether this is a just compensation for the sacrifices they have so willingly made to secure Democratic success.

Although their counsels have been rejected with suspicion and contumely, still they are willing to manifest the same zealous devotion to their party, hoping that this debt to the Independent press will be speedily liquidated and that the Democratic Party will be released from this expensive alliance, so that it may have its own principles, policies, and methods, without daily apologizing to any one for its existence.

For this anomalous condition of affairs, the explanation is given that a great reform in our political system is being worked out. We are to have a new priesthood, a revised Testament, a clearer faith, and we are to be elevated to an atmosphere where practical politics, party discipline, and partisan reward will perish by the mere purity of the air. Men who have devoted the best energies of their lives, and have labored most zealously for the success of the Democratic Party, are to be denounced as "machine politicians" by the *dilettante* non-partisan press, rendering their recognition by a Democratic President impossible. This is the

reason why the Democratic Party has had to endure so many recent surprises.

These so-called "machine politicians" are only considered fit to make nominations and to carry elections, but are not adjudged worthy to be guests at this feast of Reform, although they may be personally honest men—good Democrats, who would efficiently discharge the duties of public office.

When a Roman slave was manumitted he was struck a blow by his master, and this was called a *felix injuria:* the fact that the blow was necessary to his freedom was a pure fiction, for he could have been made a free man without being struck. Many Democrats believe that this reform, if needed, could have been worked out without giving an unnecessary blow to the Democratic Party, which it is hoped may not prove so serious as the present deep-seated discontent would seem to indicate.

The Democratic Party did not complain that Republicans filled the offices under Republican administrations; their complaint was grounded on the fact that the Republicans grossly abused their official positions, and they promised the people that Republicans would be turned out of office because they had offended as a class, and that Democrats would be appointed in order to reform the Civil Service, and to secure the legitimate rewards of a successful contest. It is an insult to the intelligence of the Democratic Party and a reflection upon its integrity, to assume that it does not possess the moral force to work out any reform which may be desired by the American people. It is offensive to the pride of that great party to see any one of its leaders arrogate to himself the functions of a political *censor morum,* and to treat with haughty disdain the true sentiments and the just aspirations of the masses of the Democratic Party. Those who wish to indulge in unpleasant suspicions might believe that they discover that this equivocal attitude means the creation of a Personal Party at the expense of the Democratic Party; for as yet little has been done to strengthen the cohesion of the Democratic Party. On the contrary, an attempt is being made to re-educate us, and to teach us that the virtues of party obligations, party discipline, and party fealty, which our former leaders taught us to respect as essential to the preservation of the party, are to be discarded as offenses because they are distasteful to the Purists and Reformers who are now dictating to us Democrats rules of good behavior.

It is an error to assume that those who do not accept what they consider an impracticable and un-Democratic method of reforming the Civil Service are opposed to the correction of existing abuses. They want to study this question, and to examine this system which operates to put in office such a small percentage of Democrats under a Republican administration, and to keep in office such a large percentage of Republicans under a Democratic administration. They want also to understand whether this proposed Reform will not introduce into our country an aristocratic institution which is in direct contradiction to the spirit of popular government, and whether this creation of a permanent and exclusive class of office-holders is not subversive of some of the fundamental features of our form of government.

It is a grave mistake for any one to assume the leadership of a Reform movement unless there is a concurrence of the conditions essential to its success. Leaving out the question of local and passing abuses, this country has never produced a great leader of Reform; that is, such men as have been so conspicuous in the modern history of England, France, and Italy. The slavery question is of course outside of this discussion. Why has there been in this country such an utter absence of this transcendental *rôle* now presumptuously assumed by new men? Simply because abuses with us are not existing institutions having had their birth in the middle ages, military conquest, or royal favoritism, as they exist in European countries; but they are evils which have grown into abuses by the mere indulgence of the people, and the people become their own leaders when they discover that it is time to arrest the progress of any existing abuse. The American people are remarkable for their intelligence, education, self-reliant individuality, and are capable of dissipating any abuse by the mere force of public opinion and the obedience which they can command from their Representatives. At present there is no evidence that the people are asking any one to teach them what improvement can be made upon their system of government.

But in the case of a leader undertaking to lead a party into a battle for Reform, one must be ignorant of all the conditions which are necessary for success if he does not first ascertain whether or not there be a strong united sentiment in the party, so that he can advance with unbroken line in his assault upon the opposition, and he must also ascertain that the opposition is outside and not inside

of his own party; otherwise, he will find himself engaged in a difficult and ludicrous task—showing generalship without an army, war fought without a struggle. Such an unsupported attempt at Reform must inevitably encounter resistance and resentment, because it pharisaically implies that this self-constituted leader is purer and wiser than his party, and invites the profound philosophical criticism of Edmund Burke, that "the system which lays its foundations in rare and heroic virtues will be sure to have its superstructure in the basis of profligacy and corruption."

Mr. Gladstone is the greatest and most successful reformer of the age. His efforts were invariably sustained by a combination of favorable conditions. He had first a pre-eminent position as a leader, by virtue of his remarkable intellectual power; he attacked and uprooted abuses which were glaring and morally indefensible; there existed in his party a united and enthusiastic sentiment in favor of every reform he proposed to accomplish; in his line of attack against abuses there was not a single weak point of inconsistency or vacillation, and his Reformatory measures were in the interest of the people against the powerful influence of privileged classes, and thus equipped he led his party to victory on every field that he selected.

How many of these essential elements of success are, from a party point of view, aiding this present Reform movement in American politics? Not one. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be so much friction and irritation within the Democratic Party.

The Independent press that so earnestly advocate this Reform, and applaud what they now call the firmness of the President, are constantly admonishing the public that Democratic leaders and the Democratic Party are not sincerely in sympathy with him upon this question. They jealously caution him that the Democratic Party are not manifesting a willing submission to his policy and to their dictum, and that there is a perilous independence of judgment in the Democratic Party on this question, which must be dominated and suppressed. On the other hand, Democrats deprecate this unearned and baneful influence of a clique outside of the Democratic Party, and refuse to surrender their conviction upon matters which they consider vitally affect their discipline and organization. But, though the future alone can unfold the result of this conflict,

it is to be hoped that those who believe that the *raison d'être* of the Democratic Party is the preservation of free constitutional government in this country, will not realize the apprehensions of evil which this unlooked-for policy would seem to forebode, and that this transient question of Civil Service Reform will not be considered of more paramount importance than the conservation of the beneficent ascendency of the Democratic Party.

J. B. EUSTIS.

II.

IT is only natural that the first Democratic administration at Washington since 1860 should have attracted an unusual amount of public attention and comment. Any critical examination, however, of the course of the administration and of the attitude of the two great national parties toward the President, necessitates at the outset a clear recognition of the functions and duties of the President and his Secretaries. It is Congress, not the President, which determines the great questions of national policy. The President's function is to administer the laws, not to enact them. He may formulate a policy for Congressional action, but it has no intrinsic value other than as a suggestion, and as indicating how the veto power would be used, should the necessity arise. His veto power is neither executive nor legislative. It is a mere power of obstruction, a brake on the machine, but no part of the machine. It is Congress alone which can be held to party responsibility for the inauguration of, or the failure to inaugurate, an executive policy. The President's policy is to carry out the purposes of Congress as representing the nation, whatever these purposes may be, so long as they are not unconstitutional. Congress thus has control of the actual policy of the government, and is the ultimate depositary of executive power; while the principal importance of the President's office, so far as internal affairs are concerned, is as the head of the national administrative machinery.

In electing Congress, the people express their preference on questions of national policy. It is in the division of opinions upon such questions that political parties find the reason and justification of their existence. The result of the election determines to which party the people prefer shall be intrusted the supreme

power. In a word, the idea of party is uppermost, and the voters understand perfectly that, so far as the governmental policy which they seek to secure is concerned, they are relying upon a party, and that in party government there neither is nor can be any individual responsibility.

When the people elect a President, however, they are before all choosing a chief of their civil service, in which the thing that they most regard is precisely the individual judgment and character of the man whom they select, and for which they are unwilling to have anything whatever substituted. It has taken them a long time to learn this, but they have at last learned it, and, consequently, in 1884 they elected a President, with a *view to the things which he could do, and for the non-performance of which he could be held responsible*, and *not with a view to his opinions on other matters*. The issue was squarely presented by the candidates themselves in their records as public men and in their letters of acceptance. Mr. Cleveland, recognizing the nature of the office for which he was a candidate, expressly declined to enter into the discussion of legislative policy, while Mr. Blaine's long letter of acceptance was largely devoted to precisely such an irrelevant discussion. Mr. Cleveland declared that "the laws enacted by the legislative branch of the government, the chief executive is bound faithfully to enforce," and pledged himself to the administration of "the government, in the honest, simple, and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purpose." On this pledge he was elected. His recognition of this pledge, as expressed in his letter to the President of the National Civil Service Reform League, has thus far been the keynote of his administration. Let us recall what he there said.

"That a practical reform in the Civil Service is demanded is abundantly established by the fact that a statute referred to in your communication, to secure such a result, has been passed in Congress, with the assent of both political parties; and by the further fact that a sentiment is generally prevalent among patriotic people calling for the fair and honest enforcement of the law which has been thus enacted. I regard myself pledged to this because *my conception of true Democratic faith and public duty requires that this and all other statutes should be in good faith and without evasion enforced*, and because in many utterances made prior to my election as President, *approved by the party to which I belong, and which I have no disposition to disclaim*, I have in effect promised the people that this should be done." (The italics are my own.)

Now the law with regard to the administration of which par-

ticularly the President was elected, is the Civil Service law, a reform in the Civil Service having been regarded by Congress as so emphatically and imperatively necessary as to justify the enactment of the Pendleton bill. Nor should it be forgotten that this reform emanated neither from Administrations nor Congresses, but from the people. In this it is unlike the reform of the Civil Service in England, where ministers, being responsible themselves, sought the enactment of a law which would insure responsibility and fitness on the part of their subordinates. In this country, members of Congress had practical control of the patronage of the government, but had no corresponding responsibility. To them the fitness and responsibility of the subordinate office-holders was of minor importance. They were willing, consequently, to use the offices as spoils, and in this they were sustained by the traditions of both great parties. The reform, therefore, had to be initiated by the people, and as against parties, politicians, members of Congress, and Cabinet officers. The sentiment in its favor grew to revolutionary proportions, both parties began coquetting with it, and finally failed of the courage to defeat it when the persistent efforts of a few men representing a determined public sentiment brought it squarely before Congress and the President for action. The people thus scored a great victory over those party men who, lacking the courage to defeat the reform before it became a law, seek to defeat it now that it has become a law.

Now, remembering that the control of the Civil Service is the President's chief function; that the method of that control so as to secure honesty and competency is declared by a law of the land; that he is sworn to observe the law; that it was with these conditions particularly in view that he was elected by the people; and that whatever the functions of the President may be apart from those referring to the Civil Service, these latter functions are practically the only ones which he has so far been called upon to exercise to any notable degree, and for the exercise of which he is open to criticism either favorable or adverse, we readily discover the only standard by which the present administration can properly be criticised, to wit: Are President Cleveland and his Cabinet well and truly enforcing the law and living up to the terms of their pledges of reform within the sphere of their power?

Of Republican criticism, according to this standard, there has

been but little, and, as a matter of fact, there is as yet no well-developed and organized Republican criticism whatever of the President and his Secretaries. Here and there irresponsible critics blame the administration for certain acts the failure to do which would have led to much severer criticism from the same sources; for example, the Republican fault-finding with the reappointment of Mr. Pearson to the Postmastership in New York City. Here and there a bitterly partisan organ criticises the President indiscriminately for everything he does. The Republican Party as the party of opposition, relieved of the heavy burden of its own defense, has abundant leisure to attack the administration, but the more intelligent men of the party have no sympathy with such methods. The really prevalent view among Republicans, in support of which many authorities might be quoted from the Republican press—to say nothing of the Independent press, which is growing continuously larger—is that of which the "Burlington Hawkeye," a strong partisan journal, is a fair example. Let us listen to it.

"While Mr. Cleveland is the representative of the people as their chief executive, he is entitled to fair treatment, honest criticism, and due credit for whatever he does that is deserving of approval. As yet he has developed no policy other than an apparent desire bordering on zeal to secure an efficient public service and the faithful execution of the laws. That is commendable, and let it be commended in public estimation. What else he may do, or neglect to do, time alone can develop; but Republican duty obtains in the path of honest, just, vigilant criticism."

So the "Harrisburg Telegraph" (Republican) admits that to the President

"the corruption charged against the Republican administration before the election was very real, and the promise to remove it and purify administration binding."

The fact is, that the administration has as yet nothing to fear from the "honest, just, and vigilant criticism" of the Republicans, for it is as yet not obnoxious to that criticism in any serious measure. It is undeniable that certain of the appointments to office by the President and his Secretaries have attracted, even if they have not deserved, hostile criticism, but this is in no appreciable measure true of the removals from office. Moreover, such occasions for criticism are recognized by even the most thoroughly partisan and biased critics to be the rare exceptions and not the general rule. Republican criticism, however, of the President and

his Cabinet, on the ground that they are not enforcing the Civil Service Reform law or living up to their pledges of reform, has, at least, a logical point of departure.

The few Democratic critics of the administration illogically enough criticise it from exactly the opposite point of view; *i. e.* just because it *is* honestly endeavoring to enforce the law. Thus, the New York "Sun" has recently said:

"What possible significance can be attached to the fact that President Cleveland executes the Pendleton law? It is his duty to do this, and he is doubtless well disposed towards the Civil Service theory. But herein does he represent his party? On the contrary, it is his great point of variance with his party, and it is notorious that the chief discontent which has arisen in the Democracy since Cleveland came into office has been due to this cause and no other."

Now let us see whence within the Democratic Party this discontent emanates.

The Democratic Party of to-day is not the Democratic Party of a quarter of a century ago. It is virtually a new party, with different traditions, different purposes, and a different reason for existence. Between 1860 and 1868 the Democratic Party lost many of its best men—the men who became Republicans for the sake of preserving the Union. Furthermore, it lost many of its worst men, those who became Republicans because thenceforth the Republican Party was to be the distributor of patronage. The Democratic Party for years was held together solely by virtue of the fact that for the time being it was the only possible party of opposition. Many of the men who were its leaders during the war and reconstruction periods were men who had been educated in its older traditions, and who, in case it should ever achieve a victory, hoped to see it reinstated in its old form. They rendered great service to the nation in making as vigorous an opposition as was possible to the Republican Party, which became corrupt early in its history because of the vastness of its majority and the extent of its power. Down to the time when Mr. Tilden was elected President, and when the party became a real party of aggressive reform, many of its leading spirits were not only fighting corruption, but were working to restore to power the old party, with its old traditions and old purposes.

In 1872 the Republican Party through its excesses and corruptions, and in 1876 through the commission of an unspeakable

fraud, drove large numbers of its best men into the Democratic ranks. For many years there was no distinguishable difference of purpose between the Democratic and the Republican machines. Both parties were regarded mistrustfully by patriotic and thoughtful men, by men of a new generation who regarded the war as over, and who looked to taking the offices out of the arbitrary control of all parties whatever; and, while both the party machines were fighting for the spoils, a spirit of reform was growing among the people which ultimated in the enactment of laws which, if honestly carried out, will put an end to the spoils system. Moreover, the public was beginning to believe that the time would come when a party must be held responsible for the declarations of its platform. So in 1884, the law for the reform of the Civil Service having been enacted and the time being ripe, the community, filled with mistrust for the Republican party and its candidates, elected Mr. Cleveland, in the belief that he would be true to his pledges, would enforce the law, and maintain the public interest as against all private interests whatsoever; and to-day it is the President's fortune that he is trusted and believed in by the people of this country as the representative of the merit system of appointment to office.

It is undoubtedly true that a number of men within the Democratic Party, who were perfectly willing that any promises might be made for the purpose of securing victory, are now equally willing that the party once more in power should ignore what they regard as at one time prudent but now very cumbersome pledges, take possession of the offices, and let the future take care of itself. These, however, are the small minority, a surviving remnant of the Democratic Party of 1860, or the selfish and unpatriotic men who have come into the party since that time. They are partisans of the most thorough-going kind, and they recall the fact that the President was elected as a partisan. This is in a measure true, but it was precisely the Independent vote, the vote of the intelligent men, who knew that under the law the President has no duty concerning the Civil Service which springs out of his character as a partisan, that elected Mr. Cleveland. This Democratic minority refers to the necessity for party government, forgetful of the fact that Congress and the President are independent of each other; that party government and party responsibility as they exist in England and France are impossible here. The President and the

representative body do not necessarily belong to the same party. They may even be violently at odds. While the President has control of the Civil Service, and consequently his party is said to be in power, Congress has control of the whole policy of the government, and is actually in power. The two parties between them may thus control the two branches of the government, and party government be a mere empty phrase—a name, and not a fact. The President and the Senate to-day represent opposite parties. In the mean time, however, the President is actually the head of the administrative system. He pledged his administration to purify the Civil Service, and the people elected him upon his pledge. He was asked to turn the rascals out; he is doing what he was asked to do, and has appointed a Cabinet pledged to assist in the work. The difference between himself and some of the other members of his party is as to what is covered by the term "rascals." The administration evidently does not understand that the term applies to all who differ with it in political opinion, but to mean the dishonest and corrupt, and those whose incompetency makes them fraudulent occupants of office. Consequently, its policy is to make removals for cause, to discover the rascals wherever they are, and to turn them out; but to turn out no one but the corrupt, unworthy, and incompetent.

The administration cannot permit the politicians in Congress to inveigle it into the belief that they will be responsible for its acts. It prefers to disappoint the politicians rather than to disappoint a great people whose servant it is. And who, after all, *are* these politicians? They are alike in all countries and at all times. Here is a description of them by a man who has studied them thoroughly and knows them well:

> They are "not recruited among the most independent, the ablest, and the most honest, but among voluble, scheming men and zealous charlatans, who, having failed in private careers for lack of character in situations where one is watched too closely and too nicely weighed in the balance, have fallen back on vicious courses, in which the want of scrupulousness and discretion is a force instead of a weakness. To their indelicacy and impudence the doors of a public career stand wide open." *

Such men hate and mistrust this administration instinctively. They have been too wrongly educated, or they are too shallow, to understand the forces at work in this country as a representative

* Taine's "French Revolution," Durand's translation, Vol. III., p. 99

of which the President was elected, or they are too selfish or unpatriotic to care to understand. They do not know that the President, being of a new generation, represents a new generation; they do not recognize that the country is larger than the party; they do not appreciate that a political pledge possesses any sacredness; they do not realize that the government of the United States is after all only business of a peculiarly difficult and exalted kind; and, above all, they do know how little the country cares for them or their objections. They talk of arraying Congress against the President. They recall the fate of Tyler and Johnson. They do not seem to remember that if by such a course ill come to the party it is their own fault, and not the fault of the President; for the manner in which the President conducts the Civil Service is not a party question, Congress and its members are in no way responsible for it, and a controversy by Congress with the administration upon such a question can have no logical basis whatever. It is difficult for the opposition within the party to understand that "the idea that this administration, pledged to give the people better government and better officers, and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the bad elements of both parties, should be betrayed by those who ought to be worthy of implicit trust, is atrocious." To them, as to the cattlemen, the President might well say that where two interests, public and private, are in conflict, "the former must be considered, though private interests suffer." The Democratic Party is something more than its several leaders and their followings. It is an organic institution representing great ideas and purposes, and existing as a mighty instrument for national good rather than as a mere beneficiary of the offices, with their accompanying emoluments and powers. The administration which sacrifices the purely personal interests of the leaders and professional politicians is creating a powerful popular sentiment favorable to the party, and this is the only true foundation for any party whatever.

It is no just cause of complaint that removals are not made with sufficient rapidity. The danger is that they should be made too rapidly and the public service caused to suffer. To discover where reform is needed takes time. In a business house the balance-sheet is generally admitted to be an essential document for the determination of business questions, whether of retrenchment or expansion; but the balance-sheet of a large and compli-

cated business may be the result of weeks, sometimes of months, of work by expert accountants. Now, up to the present time, the work of the President and the Secretaries has been, and for some time to come must be, just such expert work. They are examining the books and are effecting reforms, not upon hearsay, but as they are actually found to be necessary.

The Secretary of State, acting with the Secretary of the Navy, has quietly, with dignity, and without hurrah or jingoism, protected our rights on the Isthmus of Panama without complicating our relations with other South American powers, or requiring the aid of special or extraordinary embassies. He has urged the appointment, as he should have done, of men of his own party to fill foreign missions, and has retained, as he should do independent of all political considerations, consular officers whose fitness qualifies them exceptionally for their places. The Secretary of the Navy has introduced true business methods into every bureau, has undertaken to eliminate politics from the navy-yards, has made but few removals, and those for proved incompetency or unfitness, and is enforcing the requirements of law with regard to the construction of government vessels. The Secretary of the Treasury is rooting out the irregularities of the Coast Survey Bureau and of the Customs Service. The Secretary of War is putting an end to favoritism in the service. In the Postal Service the removals and appointments are being made in the best interests of the service, and in obedience to both the letter and the spirit of the law; and the President, besides inspiring and acquiescing in every reform, has shown a disposition to compel the enforcement of laws relative to the Indians, and to put an end to the fraudulent practices in the Land Office, a thing which this country has long been looking for in vain.

The administration is thus abreast of the time, understands its spirit, the spirit of the people, the tendency of our institutions, and the necessities of our system. It is, as the President has said, fighting the "bad element in both parties." This element is full of resource, active, alert, and bitterly inimical, with all the concentration of purpose which comes from a determined selfishness, and not overburdened with political conscientiousness or public spirit. It is, consequently, a dangerous enemy to the public good. It is virtually a caste which regards all public-spirited men, in whatever party they may be, as its common enemies. It exists

for the exploitation of the public offices, and it has divided itself up among the parties as its selfishness and evil purposes dictated; but its bond of fraternity and its unity of purpose are stronger than any party lines.

For years both parties have been too largely under the control of this element. At times they may be said to have apparently existed for it, and for it alone, while the offices of the nation have been its spoil. The struggle between the administration and the professional politicians in both parties is thus a phase of the universal struggle between the right and wrong, and the issue is not doubtful.

WILLIAM R. GRACE.

III.

THE administration of President Cleveland has certainly so far agreeably disappointed those people who looked upon the advent of the Democratic Party to power with a dread akin to that with which the New England Federalists at the beginning of this century regarded the election of Jefferson. So far the President has given us in the main a fairly decent and clean administration; a much better one than we had reason to expect from a Simon Pure Democrat. But to admit this does not at all imply admitting that the country acted well or wisely in restoring Democratic rule. We need not accept the Federalist estimate of Jefferson in order to believe that it was a misfortune to have him elected President over Adams. The conduct of the administration hitherto has belied the golden promises of its more enthusiastic supporters to an even greater degree than it has falsified the bitter prophecies of its foes, and indeed some such outcome was the inevitable result of the incongruous political alliance by which the last campaign was won.

Last fall the Democrats were successful because in two or three pivotal States they were supported by a large number of men who had hitherto acted with the Republicans, but who on this occasion refused to accept the Republican nominee. This is not the place to discuss whether these Republicans had or had not just cause to feel outraged at the action of their party associates in forcing upon them a nomination which, it was known beforehand, would be so bitterly distasteful to them; we have only to see if the result

of their action has been satisfactory or the reverse. Parenthetically, I would say that I am far from questioning the propriety of bolting in certain cases ; I merely question the expediency of so doing in this particular instance.

A peculiarity in the Independent movement last fall was that those who went over to the Democratic Party did not do so in consequence of having been converted to the principles for which the latter had contended for a quarter of a century, but, on the contrary, took the ground that it was the Democracy which had changed, and had come over to the position occupied by themselves. It seems to be a necessary corollary of this proposition that a man who has for twenty-five years acted in accordance with Republican principles is in so far better than one who has been a Democrat for the same period ; and that therefore the substitution in any public position of an honest and efficient man who has always been a Democrat for an honest and efficient Republican is distinctly a thing to be regretted. Therefore, when the President has in his choice of Cabinet officers, as of Bayard and Endicott, or of ministers to foreign countries, as to France and Italy, merely replaced upright and capable incumbents by men of as high personal character who, during and since the war, have been consistent Democrats, and who have therefore been lifelong opponents of all but the most recent of the movements in which the Independents have taken part, we do not see how the latter can view the change with satisfaction ; while to any man sincerely believing in the past and present of the Republican Party it can only seem an unmixed evil. Certainly no Independent can claim that any one of these changes is for the better unless there is a distinct superiority either as regards integrity or capacity on the part of the new appointee ; and so far is this from being the case, that as a rule the appointments hitherto made have been of men decidedly inferior to the old incumbents in the respects indicated.

The administration took office so recently that we are obliged to judge it mainly by the appointments made, as there has not been time for it to develop a definite policy, except, perhaps, on the subject of Civil Service Reform. Here the President undoubtedly deserves great credit for having done precisely what his Republican predecessor did ; that is, for having obeyed the laws in reference thereto—which laws, we may remark in passing, were made by a Republican Congress. When, for instance, Higgins and

Chenoweth entered into a conspiracy to defraud a Republican applicant of the place to which he was by law entitled, the President promptly reversed the action of his subordinates, and deserves hearty praise for so doing; but he should be severely blamed for permitting these same conspirators to retain office. Again, it is to his credit that there was no return to the old Democratic system of making an immediate and clean sweep of all offices, so as the law would permit. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the removals have gone on steadily, if quietly, and at a speed which, if continued for the Presidential term at the present constantly accelerating rate, will effect almost as complete a change as if a clean sweep had been made at the beginning. In certain cases, notably in that of the New York postmastership, capable men already in office have been retained; and for this the President has both received and deserved much praise. But these instances have been the exceptions, made for particular purposes, usually to conciliate a particular class of voters. At the same time that the New York postmaster was retained, the surveyor of the port, an almost equally satisfactory public servant, who was quite as little of a partisan, was turned out, and his place filled by a mere second-rate party henchman, an understrapper of County Clerk Keenan's. Any principle on which one of these officers was retained applied equally well to the other, and the reason for the difference in their treatment is plain. The postmaster was a particular favorite with the Independents, to whom Mr. Cleveland owed his election—indeed, he was generally believed to have been in sympathy with their movement—and in plain English his retention in office was simply and solely what politicians would call a "recognition" of the Independent vote. On no other theory can we reconcile the action taken in this instance with the course generally pursued by the administration in regard to the numerous postmasters, who, although perfectly satisfactory, and not "offensive partisans," have been obliged to make way for Democrats in Minnesota, Nebraska, and other States where there is no Independent vote to conciliate. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways; and to offer "offensive partisanship" as the excuse for removing Republicans, while supplanting them all over the country by Democrats of the stamp of Mr. Aquila Jones, can only be set down as a piece of pharisaical cant.

In criticising Mr. Cleveland, it must be remembered that while

in one aspect he is doubtless an entirely independent man, in another he is simply the most important cog in what is familiarly known as the Manning Machine, of which two of his Cabinet officers are also constituent parts, and which in fact derives its name from one of them. The policy of this organization (which is the lineal successor of the long-famed Albany Regency) since Mr. Cleveland became President has been the same as it was during his term as Governor. He and his advisers unquestionably much prefer to do right, other things being equal; but for the last year or two this matter of doing right has been subordinated to a skillful and remarkably successful effort to placate the Independents and more upright Democrats on the one hand, and at the same time to satisfy the politicians and keep them in line and thoroughly enthusiastic. For success in this effort a kind of balance of good and bad appointments and actions has been relied on. Thus Pearson is retained as postmaster, and that obscure and timid protégé of Hubert O. Thompson, Mr. Hedden, is forthwith appointed collector; Messrs. Fairchild and Higgins take office nearly simultaneously; and Judge Endicott is relied upon as an argument wherewith to silence one class of the Administration's New England supporters when they complain of the appointment of that pet idol of another class, the amiable Pillsbury. So it was during the last portion of Mr. Cleveland's gubernatorial career, when, for example, he approved the Reform bills presented by the Special Legislative Investigating Committee, but declined to punish the chief of the offenders whose conduct had made the bills necessary. The most charitable can hardly regard it as merely an unfortunate coincidence that this same chief offender (the head of one of the three rival wings of that peculiar and tripartite fowl, the New York City Democracy) should have been, during the eight months that Mr. Cleveland refrained from taking action on the charges against him, one of the latter's most enthusiastic supporters both for the nomination and the election.

This two-sided policy is due to the make-up of the party. Thanks to its copperhead ancestry, the Democracy can count with certainty upon the support of all the Southern whites, good or bad, no matter how their views differ on public questions; but in the North, until very lately, almost all of its supporters were, and even now the great bulk of them are, drawn from the least intelligent and least virtuous classes of the community. For-

tunately for the country, however, it was found that to insure success it was necessary to do more than merely consult the passions and prejudices of iron-clad Bourbons and ignorant proletaries, and so the leaders very wisely began acting on the advice of that lamented exponent of Democratic principles, the late Fernando Wood, to "pander to the better element." In consequence, there has been for some time, notably last fall, a movement of really excellent voters into the Democracy; and the party leaders have had to bid for the support of these men (who, though most high principled as a class, know little of politics, and are quite easily hoodwinked) by much promise, and a small but still appreciable quantity of performance of good. If, as they stoutly maintain, the Independents have for the last twenty-five years been right, it follows of necessity that their present political bedfellows have up almost to this very moment been wrong; and nothing but the perfection of the machine discipline in the ranks of their old adherents has enabled the Democratic managers to keep the latter in the same line with their new supporters. Of these old adherents, by the way, Mr. Cleveland is, greatly to his credit, far less truly a representative than is his copperhead colleague on the Presidental ticket, a gentleman who seems to be now, as always in the past, most offensively anxious to identify himself with whatever is worst in American politics.

It is impossible here to discuss Mr. Cleveland's appointments at length; I can only briefly refer to the most important, taking the Cabinet first. The cases of Messrs. Bayard and Endicott have already been touched on. No one but an extreme Democratic partisan will rank Mr. Manning with the Republicans who have preceded him in the Treasury Department. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that naval administration has been the weak point in recent Republican rule, and Secretary Whitney will not have to do very well in order to surpass his predecessors—though his course so far seems to have been dictated less by a wish to reform the navy than by a desire to make political capital. The last Republican Postmaster-General did not leave a happy reputation behind him; but none of his acts began to show the brutal and cynical contempt for every principle of Civil Service Reform that crops out in that preposterous document, Mr. Vilas' famous congressional circular on "Patronage Apportionment." One of the chief counts made by the Independents against the Republicans

has been their support of Mahone; and the first act of Secretary Garland, after having become the chief legal officer of the new administration, was to appear in court on behalf of the Virginia repudiators. His other distinguishing feat has been his remarkable opinion to the effect that a Presidential pardon can override a constitutional amendment.

To speak of Mr. Lamar naturally brings up the question of Southern appointments. The mass of the Northern people now feel no bitterness whatever toward the gallant ex-Confederates of the South. We readily acknowledge that they honestly thought their cause just, and we have nothing but praise for their heroic constancy and brilliant courage. Yet we feel sure that history will declare the War of the Rebellion to be both of all modern wars the most important, and also the one in which the dividing lines between right and wrong were sharpest drawn. A Tory of 1776 had far more right on his side than had a Confederate of 1860. Doubtless most Tories firmly believed their cause right, and after the Revolution they should have been treated as soon as possible like their loyal fellow-citizens. But had this been done, exceptions would of course have been made in some cases—as in that of Benedict Arnold, and those of the men who under Johnson and Butler took part in the Cherry Valley and Wyoming massacre. When Mr. Lamar half-masts the flag out of respect to the unsavory memory of ex-Secretary Thompson, we feel quite as indignant as our forefathers would have been at a similar tribute paid to a follower of Butler or Johnson. So with Jefferson Davis, who enjoys the unique distinction of being the only American with whose public character that of Benedict Arnold need not fear comparison. An item appeared recently in the papers to the effect that a certain office-seeker was relying largely upon a letter in his favor from Jefferson Davis, and as Mr. Lamar has long posed as the professional apologist of the latter, the item was very probably correct. Now a revolutionary patriot might have been very liberal-minded indeed, and yet would scarcely have cared to see a Cabinet officer appointed to whose good graces a letter from Benedict Arnold would have proved a passport. Nor, had the aforesaid patriot voiced his objections, would it have been proper to accuse him of performing that operation which was the post-revolutionary equivalent of "waving the bloody shirt." We are heartily glad to welcome back the prodigal son, to put him on a complete equality with ourselves, and to give him his full

share of the fatted calf; but we strongly object to that particular variety of prodigal son who passes his time lamenting that the husks did not hold out longer, and praising the most obnoxious of the companions who led him astray.

Next in importance come the foreign missions. Those to France and Italy have already been spoken of. In England, Lowell's place is filled by a gentleman doubtless most estimable as a lawyer and private citizen, but whose sole record as a public man was his having once made a very foolish and abusive speech against the greatest American of the nineteenth century, Abraham Lincoln. On the principle that among the blind the one-eyed is king, Mr. Pendleton's appointment to Germany was satisfactory, and it was additionally so as being a snub to that most sordid and unlovely body, the Ohio Democracy; but to compare him to his predecessor, Mr. Karson, is to compare a soft-money copperhead, who did excellently as regards Civil Service Reform, with a hard-money Union man who did fairly well on the same question. Finally comes that purely *bouffe* personage, Mr. Keiley—about the most discreditable diplomatic appointment ever made by the United States—a man equally offensive to the countries to which he was sent, and to that from which he came. Rarely, indeed, is one who openly avows his disloyalty to a government immediately made the representative of that government abroad—although in reference to the open avowal it is but just to say that Mr. Keiley apparently unites so fluent a tongue to so addled a brain that none of his remarks can be taken very seriously.

There is space barely to touch on the minor appointments. Higgins, it was at first said by the President's defenders, was merely an ugly exception. As such he would be wholly unimportant; but he is all-important now that he has proved to be but the type of a large clan whom the new administration delights to honor. Thomas, for example, recently appointed Indian agent, was a Baltimore politician of the most pronounced Higgins stripe, and his choice goes far to show that Higgins was no accident. Again, in New England the three most important appointments, after that of Judge Endicott, were those of Pillsbury, Chase, and Troop. These men represent the very vilest forces in New England politics; they stand for disloyalty to the nation in the past, and for political dishonesty in the present, and they are but types of scores of similar cases. The New York and Philadelphia custom houses

afford additional examples. Throughout the Northern States the new appointees are as a whole most distinctly inferior to the Republicans whose places they take. If, as an apology for the President, it is said that these and countless other appointments have been made under bad advice, we can only answer that it is to be regretted that we have a chief executive the number of whose bad advisers is so inordinately large.

That many of the administration's new supporters continue to speak of it in terms of unqualified, and rather hysterical, praise can only be explained by reference to the curious fashion which has obtained among many of these same men, during the last few years, of viewing with indifference deeds when done by a Democrat which if done by a Republican would have been most savagely attacked—a kind of mental and moral strabismus, well illustrated by the way they criticised the forty-seventh and forty-eighth Congresses respectively. The Republican Congress passed an outrageous river and harbor bill, it is true ; but, in their turn, so did the Democrats. During the life of both Congresses the great questions to be solved were those of Civil Service Reform, relief from over-taxation, and finance. The Republicans met all three, at least partially, passing a vitally important Civil Service law, a small tariff reduction law, and an important banking act. The Democrats, on the contrary, defeated a Civil Service Reform law, declined to give any relief from taxation, and refused to take the action pressingly needed on the silver question. These were the salient points in the careers of the two bodies ; yet the very same persons who went into a condition of mind bordering on intellectual epilepsy at the bare mention of Mr. Keifer's Congress viewed with most unruffled calm the even worse proceedings of the Congress of Mr. Carlisle.

We can readily appreciate, though we may not at all agree with, the attitude of those who at the last election wished primarily to rebuke the Republican Party, even at the cost of a four years' Democratic administration, provided the latter was under so comparatively safe a man as Mr. Cleveland ; but most certainly events have wofully falsified the hopes of those who believed that a change from a Republican to a Democratic administration would be in itself a change for the better. It is both comical and pathetic to compare what the much-glorified "Reform Democracy" has really done, with the expectations concerning it apparently entertained by those well-meaning but somewhat vague persons who, after the

last election, spent a large portion of their presumably valuable time in sounding the variations upon the chorus in Shelley's "Hellas:"

> "The world's great age begins anew, the golden years return."

That Mr. Cleveland has done better than most other Democrats would have done, and that he has done as well as his party would let him, is probably true; and his numerous shortcomings and failures simply show that under the most favorable circumstances the Democratic Party, as at present constituted, is not fit to be intrusted with the care of the National Government.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

GENERAL GRANT TO HIS FATHER.

I.

DEAR SIR :—I take pleasure in complying with your suggestion to send you the inclosed letter from my father to my grandfather. It was written two days before he started on the Vicksburg campaign.

Yours truly,

F. D. GRANT.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE, ESQ.

II.

MILLIKEN'S BEND, LA., *April* 21, 1863.

DEAR FATHER :—Your letter of the 7th of April has just this day reached me. I hasten to answer your interrogations. When I left Memphis, with my past experience, I prohibited trade below Helena. Trade at that point had previously been opened by the Treasury Department. I give no permits to buy cotton, and if I find any one engaged in the business I send them out of the Department and seize their cotton for the Government. I have given a few families permission to leave the country and to take with them, as far as Memphis, their cotton. In doing this I have been deceived by unprincipled speculators, who have successfully smuggled themselves along with the army in spite of orders prohibiting them, and have been compelled to suspend this favor to persons anxious to get out of Dixie.

I understand that Government has adopted some plan to regulate getting the cotton out of the country. I do not know what plan they have adopted, but am satisfied that any that can be adopted, except for Government to take the cotton themselves, and rule out speculators altogether, will be a bad one. I feel all army followers who are engaged in speculating off the misfortunes of their country, are really aiding the enemy more than they

could possibly do by open treason, should be drafted at once and put in the first forlorn hope.

I move my head-quarters to New Carthage to-morrow. This whole country is under water, except strips of land behind the levees, along the river and bayous, and makes operations almost impossible.

I struck upon a plan which I thought would give me a foothold on the east bank of the Mississippi before the enemy could offer any great resistance. But the difficulty of the last one and a half miles next to Carthage makes it so tedious that the enemy cannot fail to discover my plans. I am doing my best, and am full of hope for complete success. Time has been consumed, but it was absolutely impossible to avoid it. An attack upon the rebel works at any time since I arrived here must inevitably have resulted in the loss of a large portion of my army, if not in an entire defeat. There were but two points of land, Haines Bluff and Vicksburg itself, out of water at any place from which troops could march. These are thoroughly fortified, and it would be folly to attack them as long as there is a prospect of turning their position. I never expect to have an army under my command whipped unless it is very badly whipped and can't help it; but I have no idea of being driven to do a desperate or foolish act by the howlings of the press. It is painful to me, as a matter of course, to see the course pursued by some of the papers. But there is no one less disturbed by them than myself. I have never sought a large command, and have no ambitious ends to accomplish. Were it not for the very natural desire of proving myself equal to anything expected of me, and the evidence my removal would afford that I was not thought equal to it, I would gladly accept a less responsible position. I have no desire to be an object of envy or jealousy, nor to have this war continue. I want to put down the rebellion in the shortest possible time, and will do my part toward it without expecting or desiring any other recognition than a quiet approval of my course.

I beg that you will destroy this letter; at least, do not show it.

Julia and the children are here, and will go up by the first good boat. I sent for her to come down and get some instructions about some business I want attended to, and see no immediate prospect of attending to myself.

ULYSSES.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

WHILE I was not intimate with General Grant, we were always upon pleasant terms. I held him in high regard. His words on his death-bed, like his deeds upon battle-fields, served his country. They strengthened our Union by promoting good-will between all sections.

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

II.

"GRANT'S Memorial: What shall it be?" I merely add a few suggestions to those already made. A deliberate opinion of what might be best can only be expressed after careful study, and perhaps then only through design.

I state, therefore, only certain personal wishes.

I should wish that Grant's memorial might distinctly recall the pathetic memories of his death, as well as the story of his name.

Perhaps this impression would be made should his tomb be at the front or central approach to the monument. It might mark more strictly then a resting-place for his body, and might be the memorial of his personal life. Around, behind, and above it, but forming one connected whole, should rise the monument to his fame, and what that means to the United States.

Within its inclosure, or at the entrance to its inclosure, might be the statue of Grant, the general of the armies, who gave us peace. Around the walls, or on the great base or bases of the building, for the make of the ground would lead naturally to stages or steps, we might perhaps place reliefs, inscriptions, medallions, and other records giving the story of the war.

Both South and North and the whole Union should be represented, inside or out, of the building.

I should wish that some form of lighting, with splendor of color perhaps, might point out the building by night and make it to be seen from afar.

For any fixed particular form or architectural style of monument I can have to-day no undivided affection, but I should regret very much any form which might suggest a destination or meaning for the building other than that of a memorial—the monument of an idea.

Simple as the problem undoubtedly is, modern architectural art, at least the art of to-day, has not been able to rival any one of the memorials of the past in beauty or conception.

The mere practice of architecture, painting, or sculpture, can only help to guide or instruct the original mind and prevent the misdirection of energy; it will never supply original feeling or imagination.

Perhaps, after all, this failure of the Old World might lead us to hope that the time has come when, among our architects and artists here, some mind or associated minds may be found capable of embodying an idea.

JOHN LAFARGE.

III.

THE question is asked "Ought our present national banking system to be continued?"

I answer unhesitatingly that it should be, and for the sufficient reason that it answers admirably the purpose for which it was established. We have a vast intranational commerce, probably greater than that of any other people on the face of the earth, which requires an adequate medium for exchange. The variety and number of experiments that have been made to supply this would surprise any one not versed in our commercial history. But they all failed, one after another, in greater or less degree, to answer the purpose. Some of them were absolutely pernicious, encumbering, and lessening the very business they were created to facilitate. All, in turn, had their day and their history, until they were finally supplanted by our present system of national banks. When any instrument of civilization proves itself adequate to the purpose for which it was created, and superior to every other which has been tried, it has vindicated its right to existence, and ought to be continued until some new want arises or some changed condition proves it to be inadequate, and that some new system will accomplish the purpose better. The National Bank struck down by Gen. Jackson had serious defects. It was amenable to the charge of favoritism, and it naturally mingled with the politics of the country. The present system is free from those objections; for while it is called a national banking system, and the banks are called national banks, neither the government nor its officers do any banking business through them, nor do they become a factor in politics any more than private banks. Free from these objections, they furnish a uniform medium of exchange throughout the limits of the Republic. Everywhere their bills circulate and are of uniform value. Such a result, in its use to a trade absolutely and happily free among the States, is beyond estimate. The uniform and equal value of the bills of the national banks is obtained by their being firmly grounded on the revenues of the country. Webster has said, "The revenue is the State," so that, as long as the government lasts, the value of its bank-notes is permanent and secure. While the government can do no banking business, properly so-called, through these banks, with the general public, yet it interferes so far as to put restrictions upon them, to prevent abuses which naturally spring up where the issue of paper money is permitted. In this respect its control is absolute, and is exercised uniformly, without partiality, and with no possible motive save that of the public good. It requires the banks to make it secure, and in return it secures absolute safety to the bill-holders. As far as my knowledge extends, no banking system of equal utility has ever been devised. A special evidence

of its adaptation to the wants of our people is that heretofore, in every period of depression, a rank crop of theories in respect to the currency has been produced; while now, at a time of almost unexampled and long-protracted derangement of trade, hardly any one thinks of changing the currency. On the contrary, objections to our banking system and our currency are rapidly dying out. In no other banking system, at least in this country, has the bill-holder had the kind of security which the national banking laws give him, nor security that gave anything like equal confidence. A single danger menaces this system. It lies in the fact that the bonds, which are the security of the bill-holders, are continually being paid off and absorbed by the Government. If the process continues, the bonds must in time become insufficient in volume to supply the necessary increase of banking facilities, and to this question statesmen and economists will do well to turn their attention. RUFUS HATCH.

IV.

MR. EDITOR: Mr. M. J. Savage, in his article on the newspaper, printed in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August last, intimates that he is "not yet ready to write to order or for pay." As one who for the better part of his life has written in newspapers, not infrequently "to order," though always "for pay," I should like to ask if Mr. Savage expects the staff of a newspaper to write without orders and gratuitously. I hope I am not uncivil in saying that he preaches to order and for pay every Sunday. If he should be in the habit of informing his congregation that he did not feel like preaching, or if his congregation should inform him that they did not feel like paying, there would come a speedy end of his preaching in that church. I am not certain that the Editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW did not order, in a certain sense, Mr. Savage's article, and I am sure that it was paid for. He may say that he was permitted to write as he pleased; but suppose he had not pleased the editor? He may say that he did not write for "pay." But suppose the editor had not paid him—would he have been ready to write again on the same terms? Once more, Mr. Savage preaches what a great many of the Christians of Boston do not regard as Christianity at all. They not only think that he is a heretic, but that he has neglected the means of grace. If they should say that he is both doing wrong, and that he is doing it for pay, they would repeat substantially what Mr. Savage intimates of newspaper editors and writers.

To admit that as a newspaper writer I have always regarded myself as an advocate, would be doing myself some injustice; but when an editor has given me certain facts, I have never thought it to be my business to substantiate them. He was responsible for their accuracy; my duty was to present them in as forcible a light as possible, with a natural commentary, such as the editor wanted. If I suspected error, I might mention it to him; if he persisted, I went on with the feeling that he acted on better information than mine. If I thought a newspaper upon which I was employed so dishonestly conducted as to exercise an immoral influence, I should leave it, but the presumption is that I should never have been engaged upon it at all.

It may be true that newspapers cater too assiduously to the morbid appe-

tites of the readers by their publication of the details of crime. The question, though a difficult one, is usually determined by censors like Mr. Savage, who know nothing of the embarrassments of journalism, in a dogmatic way. Does he suppose that it has never been conscientiously considered by journalists? In determining how much or how little to print of criminal intelligence, mistakes may sometimes be made; but these are nothing to the mistake which would be made by its general exclusion. The truth is, newspapers publish criminal intelligence as they do other news. When this chances to be of a kind calculated to awaken unusual public interest, there is a temptation to indulge in overminuteness of detail, because, in anticipation of a judicial investigation, it is impossible to estimate the value of different circumstances. Readers resolve themselves into a great informal jury, and are making up their minds. If this be wrong there is no help for it. If a mysterious murder should be committed in a house next to Mr. Savage's rectory, he would talk about it with everybody for a week. Every house in which a murder is done is next to some other house, and is in the midst of a neighborhood, which in turn is part of a larger neighborhood. Every man is interested for various reasons. He may himself be killed mysteriously. Some of his dearest friends may meet with the same fate. He may conscientiously desire the maintenance of the laws, and the general safety of the community. Even if only his curiosity or his logical functions are awakened, it is but natural. He may read his newspaper, as he might read Mr. De Quincey's "Three Memorable Murders," or some of "The State Trials." Of course he wants the diagrams which give Mr. Savage so much offense. Whether he is the more likely himself to become homicidal on account of this taste, I will not undertake to determine philosophically; but my impression is that he is not.

As to *crim. con.* and divorce cases, I suppose that reports of them may do some harm in particular instances; but the injury they inflict is as nothing to that which would follow their rigid and systematic suppression. Social sinners like nothing so much as secrecy, and dread nothing so much as the newspaper; and no doubt it keeps many cautious people out of scrapes. They would not mind being found out by two or three, but they do not relish being found out by the whole community.

The faults of reporting result from the necessarily hasty nature of the work. Usually I have found distinguished people willing to be somewhat misreported, rather than not reported at all. I have known even clergymen to exhibit this weakness. The whole business of interviewing, except under circumstances of pressing necessity, Mr. Savage cannot like less than I do.

Newspapers will never be much better than they now are. Some of them will be better than others, but all of them will have faults; and in this respect they are like pulpits. CHARLES T. CONGDON.

V.

MR. EDITOR: As Mr. Rossiter Johnson has made my recent article, entitled "Two Years of Civil Service Reform," the occasion for attacking and misrepresenting several gentlemen, some of whom are my personal friends, perhaps I owe them some words of justice. Not Mr. Rossiter Johnson, but only a man

of distinction, even by the use of your influential pages, could characterize with any injurious effect our Minister to England as "a country lawyer," and "a reviler of the government." Mr. Phelps therefore needs no defense against such impotent sneers or baseless insinuations. But when Mr. Phelps is thus assailed, we naturally recall him as not only one of the ablest and best educated of American lawyers, but as one of a half a dozen or less of the most graceful and effective speakers of his profession. We remember that he pursued his profession with distinction in New York City and in the Supreme Court at Washington, and we are glad to learn that the barristers and judges of England have appreciated, as highly as ourselves, those rare personal and professional qualities which made Mr. Phelps President of our National Bar Association and a Professor in the Law School of Yale College, one of the two oldest and most famous of our institutions of learning.

Mr. Rossiter Johnson, doubtless without that intent, is as unjust to Mr. Blaine as he is to Mr. Phelps; for he argues, in effect, that Mr. Blaine had no forecast concerning the last election, and that all the Republicans in New York who voted against him believed the grave charges he was under. The facts are that many persons, who did not believe the charges, voted against Mr. Blaine by reason of his unfriendliness to reform, especially shown years before.

Mr. Blaine comprehended that in New York, where a State Civil Service Reform law approved by Governor Cleveland was being enforced, there must be thousands of voters with whom that issue was paramount. According to a policy formally announced to me of making the Reform issue prominent before the people, I prepared a statement on the subject, at the request of the Republican National Committee, by whom it was fully approved early in the campaign. It was nevertheless not issued according to the original plan, as a campaign document. The enemies of reform, of Mr. Rossiter Johnson's and not of Mr. Blaine's way of thinking, unfortunately had their way for a few weeks, while Mr. Blaine was on his western tour. When he reached New York on his return, he quickly saw the mistake made, and that the suppression of the Reform issue would cost him many votes. His forcible and significant *Reform* speeches at Brooklyn and in the city of New York showed a sagacity and adroitness for retrieving that blunder, which Mr. Rossiter Johnson seems unable to comprehend, if indeed they are not quite beyond the range of his reflections. Mr. Blaine will hardly thank Mr. Rossiter Johnson for a defense at the expense of both his character and his foresight.

Mr. Rossiter Johnson's charges and insinuations against Postmaster Pearson and President Cleveland cannot be excused on the plea of lack of information or of haste. They exhibit a reckless indifference to justice as well as facts.

I will not stop to notice Mr. Rossiter Johnson's absurd inference to the effect that all or nearly all of the 1,200 post-office employés, whose voting he declares Mr. Pearson defeated, would have voted for Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine might not have got half their votes. Perhaps I may know as much as Mr. Rossiter Johnson on this subject. For several years, Democrats, Republicans, and Independents, with equal facility, have secured places in the New York Post Office. The whole charge against Mr. Pearson is a reckless, disgraceful falsehood. I use these words deliberately, because Mr. Rossiter Johnson could

easily have learned the facts at his own door in New York, as was his plain duty, before writing such slanders. The facts absolutely beyond dispute are that Mr. Pearson, following his custom in former years of closing the post-office early on election days in aid of voting, did last year have the usual placards printed and posted announcing that the office would close at 10 A.M. on election day. Having afterwards learned, through the journals, that the Postmaster-General had ordered post-offices to be kept open on that day, Mr. Pearson telegraphed to him for instructions. Upon being informed in reply that the New York office must be kept open, Mr. Pearson was compelled to have the notices taken down. But he promptly gave instructions to all superintendents to arrange the work of their men so that every one should have an opportunity to vote. Mr. Pearson declares he has no reason to think that any one of them was prevented from voting. His character and public services will command credence for his words and faith in his just intentions, whatever Mr. Rossiter Johnson may say.

In part by direct statement and in part by innuendo, Mr. Rossiter Johnson charges that President Cleveland appointed Mr. Pearson postmaster for partisan reasons, and as a reward for securing the President's election through keeping the post-office clerks from the polls. Perhaps Mr. Rossiter Johnson does not appreciate the gravity of his charges. The facts I have stated prove it to be false. Not a fact is stated by Mr. Rossiter Johnson which tends to justify the making of it. So far from acting from partisan or other base motives imputed by that gentleman, I have the best knowledge possible that no such motives influenced the President. When I told the President how much the re-appointment of Mr. Pearson would help the work of reform, instead of being ready or willing to do so, as Mr. Rossiter Johnson charges, the President replied promptly and plumply that he would not appoint Mr. Pearson, even if he were a Democrat. He further stated that there were grave charges in writing against Mr. Pearson.

These charges, I should add, in no way related to anything referred to by Mr. Rossiter Johnson. They had been concocted and kept a secret from Mr. Pearson by the friends of the old spoils system, which, I judge, Mr. Rossiter Johnson admires, for the purpose of crushing Mr. Pearson, one of the most effective enemies of that system. To these charges, utterly false and libelous, I prepared complete answers in writing and under oath, and had submitted to the President, which were so conclusive that the appointment of Mr. Pearson speedily followed. Had Mr. Rossiter Johnson known any of these or other material facts, I will presume he would not now stand before the country as guilty of fabricating and causing to be printed in its foremost political Review, a false, improbable, and outrageous charge against the President of the United States.

DORMAN B. EATON.

In justice to our eminent contributor we publish this Comment, but in future we shall be obliged to request that Comments shall relate to articles published in the REVIEW and not to Comments on articles. No volunteer Note or Comment, also, must exceed five hundred words.

EDITOR.

VI.

EDWARD H. G. CLARK, in the September number of the REVIEW, makes use of these words: "Gold is the money of the world (in spots), only because," etc. As the belief appears to be more or less prevalent that gold is the world's money only "in spots," it may be of interest to give the facts of the matter. The following are the leading countries of the world, with the monetary standards nominally in existence in each, the term "mixed" denoting both gold and silver:

Gold.	*Silver.*	*Mixed.*
Brazil,	Austria,	Belgium.
Canada,	China,	Chili,
Denmark,	Colombia,	Cuba,
Germany,	India,	France,
Great Britain and Ireland,	Japan,	Greece,
Sweden and Norway,	Mexico,	Italy,
Portugal,	Peru,	Netherlands,
Turkey.	Russia.	Spain,
		Switzerland,
		United States.

As a matter of financial fact, however, a country actually has, and can have, but a single monetary standard at any one time. It must be either gold or silver alone. For illustration, the United States theoretically possesses a double standard, but actually it has a single standard, and that one gold. The following shows the actual standard in existence in the countries named, based on the preponderance of gold or of silver in each, with their population at the latest census:

Gold.	
Brazil	11,831,326
Canada	4,506,563
Cuba	1,394,516
Denmark	2,096,400
France	37,672,048
German Empire	45,235,061
Great Britain and Ireland	35,246,562
Italy	28,452,639
Japan	36,700,110
Portugal	4,550,699
Russia	98,223,000
Spain	16,625,860
Sweden and Norway	6,479,168
Switzerland	2,846,102
Turkey	24,987,000
United States	50,155,783
	407,002,837

Silver.	
Austria-Hungary	35,839,428
Belgium	5,585,846
Chili	2,420,500
China	*300,000,000
Colombia	3,000,000
Greece	1,979,423
India	252,541,210
Mexico	9,786,629
Netherlands	4,172,921
Peru	3,050,000
	618,375,957

* Estimated.

Deduct the 552,000,000 inhabitants of the semi-civilized lands, China and India, from the silver total, and there is left but about 66,000,000, which is less than one-sixth of the number of people in the gold standard countries here mentioned. It will thus be seen that the "spots" in which gold is "the money of the world" comprise practically all there is in the world of progress, intelligence, and enlightenment.

C. M. HARVEY.

VII.

MR. STEPHENS, in the note on "Corporations and Monopolies," proposes, as a remedy for the existing evils, that the State shall manage not only public affairs, but public conveniences—railways, telegraphs, and the like. He says the States of Europe control all those things: why should not we also? Long ago a man of deep experience and much practical wisdom emphasized these words, and with some of us they have held their power ever since: "You cannot make a paternal government out of a Democracy." Have we not seen it? We set out with Church and State, and soon gave it up. It would not work at all. There are many who see equal reasons for abandoning School and State, since there seems no limit to the extent to which the State is bound to educate when it once begins. Given the rudiments, let the people manage as they want them. The old cry of "taxation without representation" is rising high among those who do not approve of the system. If the State were something tangible one might see the way out. But our political experience ought to have taught us that the more power the State has, and the more it governs, the more the way is opened for bribery and corruption, and for just that kind of power which the so-called monopolists have exercised. Nor would the revenues of the State be very much increased thereby. If public sentiment is not pure enough to brand these men who "water stock" and steal from the people, it would not any more keep things pure if the State—that is, politicians—should undertake the management. The fault lies not in the system, but in want of honesty—of a sentiment among the people which shall lead us to despise men that steal, and show that we despise them. Are they despised now? Oh, no! they have "the uppermost places at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogues." The fact is, we pretend to govern ourselves, and yet don't do it. The city of New York fell into evil ways, partly because the better men would not take the trouble to do their duty and take their part in the government. We remember it well. It was often regarded as too much trouble even to vote. As there are always men who do not find it any trouble to vote early and often, they have graciously undertaken the whole. We want better men (and women), and not more power in the State. The State has quite enough to do even now. And is it not true that even the governments of Europe always move on well-oiled wheels, if we may credit all that is told, though they may control the railways and telegraphs.

MARY A. PARKER.

VIII.

MR. EDITOR: The members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union feel that their cause has been assailed, and their opinions shown in a false light, by Gail Hamilton, in her article in the REVIEW for July. Being a member of that Union, I ask leave to reply. "Prohibition in Practice" opens with a mistake—"The lull in temperance enthusiasm caused," etc. The W. C. T. U. deny that there is, or has been, a lull in enthusiasm. Our Union numbers from 160,000 to 170,000 women. Never was better work done, never were workers more hopeful. Because the delegates from this great body of women, in their National Convention last October, almost unanimously resolved to use their influence in favor of the third party, instead of for either of the two old parties, the author of "Prohibition in Practice" refers to that action as "the folly of

a few foolish women." The 150,000 men that voted for the third party candidate are "the few bad men." These 160,000 women and 150,000 men, we are told, "prostituted prohibition to the Democratic Party." Gail Hamilton is too much of a politician to view with impartial judgment the acts and opinions of any party to which she is opposed. "Persons," she says, "who profess to be working for humanity, resist the attempt (by high license) to restrain the liquor traffic as strenuously as if it were an attempt to extend." The W. C. T. U. oppose high license, not because it attempts to restrain, but because it only means to restrain partially. In the facts that she produces to show the good results of high license, we see strong reasons for pushing on toward absolute prohibition. We are told that in nineteen cities high license reduced the number of dram-shops from 733 to 468, closing 265. The closing of these 265, she assures us, produced marked beneficial results; arrests fell off, and there was 30 per cent. less of drunkenness. If the closing of 265 diminishes drunkenness by 30 per cent., and it is desirable still further to diminish drunkenness, why not close another 265? Our hope is to make drinking and saloons not respectable; to create a public opinion that will prevent the male youth of the land from beginning to form the habit, just as it now prevents the female youth. Admitting (which we do not) that prohibition in Maine is a failure, we believe that much, if not all of that failure, is due to the persistent outcry against prohibitory law kept up in the other States. This outcry instigates and encourages Maine men to break the law. Gail Hamilton says: "The American idea of personal liberty is a more sacred trust than personal temperance; a man must often be left free to do wrong rather than be forced to do right." The W. C. T. U. have as high an idea of personal liberty as any American, and fully accept the idea that a man must often be left free to do wrong rather than forced to do right, if the wrong be only to himself. The drinking-habit is a wrong to those that do not drink, because it so crazes a man that he is often dangerous to life and limb. We look upon drunkenness as a disease, and society has ever claimed the right to protect citizens from dangerous diseases. The advocates of high license make the loud outcry that personal liberty is violated by prohibition. We see in high license a much more gross violation of the equal rights principle, which is the fundamental principleof a Democratic government. High license creates a monopoly, and puts the traffic in liquor in the hands of a few men rich enough to pay the required $500. If it be right to license and sell liquor, it is not right to put the license so high as to rob poor men of the business. If it be right to exclude women from the ballot because they do not bear arms, would it not be equally right to exclude that large number of men who are exonerated from military duty?

ELIZABETH A. MERIWETHER.

IX.

MR. EDITOR: If there is one thing in the world more astonishing than another, it is the audacity with which the Roman hierarchy and its controversialists presume upon the ignorance and credulity of the American people. The Pastoral of the Baltimore Council is a conspicuous illustration of this, and Bishop Keane's article in your June number is in keeping therewith. It may suffice to call attention to the paragraph beginning at the foot of page 532 as a

specimen. In this, Bishop Keane insinuates that Mr. Gladstone retracted in 1880 his assertion of 1874 concerning the effect of the action of the Vatican Council on the relation of the citizen to the State. This is a clear *suggestio falsi*. Mr. Gladstone did not in 1874 assert the contrary of his statement of 1880. His utterances on these occasions were entirely consistent. He fully and gladly acknowledged in 1874 that Roman Catholics could and would be "loyal subjects," and he avers now, with even less hesitation than when he published his famous pamphlet on the Vatican decrees, that to be loyal subjects to the State they must disregard or explain away the action of the Vatican Council.

HENRY FORRESTER.

X.

MR. EDITOR: Prof. West has overlooked one fact which invalidates his arguments. It seems not to have occurred to him that elective studies may be disciplinary. He bases his arguments on the assumption that discipline is lost because freedom is gained. This has never been shown to be true. Suppose that in the elective system a student chooses Latin and Greek. Are they any the less valuable because they are not prescribed? But Prof. West would probably say that the choice of anything except the classics does not afford discipline. If this is true, Prof. West's position is invincible. But much more reasonable appears to me the belief that the best culture is reached by following the student's natural aptitudes and inclinations—a belief held by educators so different in their studies as Prof. Huxley and Matthew Arnold. Prof. West would doubtless scout the idea that his article is liable to injure the cause of the classics; yet such I believe to be the case. Speaking of the change, he says, "By making Latin and Greek optional for the boy who is to enter, it puts a premium on the avoidance of these studies which the best experience of the world assures us are the very essentials of high preparation." If it is true, as these words indicate, that in comparison with other studies the classics are distasteful to students, the supporters of the classics have lost their strongest argument. If students are so anxious to leave the study of the classics, then the classics are not the best disciplinary study. A knowledge of human nature and experience in higher education will convince one that in distasteful studies the work is most apt to be superficial, and that the best students are those that have a deep interest in their studies. Making the classics optional does not put a premium on their avoidance, but it keeps as students of the classics those that will be most benefited by their study, and gives to other branches those to whom other branches will be more profitable. Such is the working of the elective system in the University of Michigan. There, two of the three studies, Greek, Latin, and mathematics, are required for two years, and the other for one year. Do students avoid Greek and Latin after they have finished their required work? Not at all. New elective courses in the classics are introduced nearly every year, and are well filled with students. Both the classics and other optional studies are more valuable as discipline, for students take them with a desire and determination to be thorough. The new departure is to be praised because it recognizes that different minds have different requirements, and that the common basis of culture exists not in the matter studied, but in the method of study.

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SPECIAL NOTICES.

The December Number of the North American Review will be issued on Thursday, the 25th of November.

On and after the first of January, 1886, the North American Review will appear on the first of the month of which it bears date, instead of on the 15th of the preceding month as hitherto.

In answer to inquiries by mail I now take pleasure in announcing that I have completed arrangements with General G. T. Beauregard for a series of four articles on the war between the States. The first article is a history of the Shiloh campaign. It will appear in the January number. The other articles are on the "Defence of Charleston," "The Drury's Bluff Campaign," and "The Defence of Petersburg."

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXLVIII.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

THE PROGRESS OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE.

CONTINENTS are like nations, as nations are like individuals. They have their own intellectual and moral character as well as their physical idiosyncrasies. To deny the ministry and the end fulfilled in course of time by these great portions of earth's expanse is to shut one's eyes to truth. Asia may be called, from its historic character, the continent of castes and of changeless empires; Africa is the neutral ground between Asiatic and European countries, for which reason its Eygpt is so like Babylonia, India, and Persia, on the one hand, and like Greece and Rome on the other. Europe is the continent in which culture, born of Asia and carried by African propaganda, that is by Egypt and Carthage, concentrated itself, manifesting the spirit of humanity there for many ages and with more terrible turmoil than among any other peoples. No other races in all history had the same advantages, because of not surviving to see the days of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Finally, when history seemed about to be completed and conscience was at last set free, appeared the American continent, which we may truly call the continent of the future, because of its liberty, its democracy, and its republics; and which, perhaps to-morrow, when the new frontiers of civilization, Oceanica and Australia,

have become more intellectually and morally developed, may be for these peoples all that Europe has been for America. None can know what new shapes human societies will take in their progressive development, and what aspect the universal spirit will assume when it has incarnated through laws and institutions all the ideas unmasked by the genius of science, and scattered them broadcast as though by spiritual communion among future peoples.

We must not set aside the historical character superimposed by the ages upon the continents, if we desire to understand the evolution in their midst, of an element like democracy. By democracies we mean those societies in which the members have equal liberties, and equal participation, direct or delegated, in the government. Of course societies so advanced are not apparent, except in the fullness of times greatly enlightened by religion or by science. The ancient world was never fully democratic, because its very democracies rested upon a basis so contrary to all equality as slavery. Yet the relatively republican and democratic peoples of antiquity, in spite of this cancer in the vitals, gave to man in times long past his greatest honors, his brightest radiance of spirit. This is proved by the mere utterance of names like those of the Hellenic republics and the Republic of Rome. Likewise in the Middle Ages. The cities of the League of Lombardy, the Hanseatic cities of Germany, the Hispanian municipalities, the Helvetic cantons, the Dutch Republic, and as a general rule all the relatively free cities of that marvelous period, have brought to humanity its most precious riches, its most glorious titles. The mariner's compass, faithful to one fixed point throughout the long and tempest-tossed voyage of the navigator, was poised between two indefinite deeps. The art of printing which saved from oblivion the works of the intellect and placed its thoughts within reach of the multitude ; the bill of exchange which so prodigiously facilitated commerce and augmented the circulation of products; the historic and artistic Renaissance which resuscitated the perfect Greek statue and brought back a spiritual glory to modern painting, embellishing the diadem which humanity wears, sovereign-like, over all the inferior beings of earth ; the religious, intellectual, and moral education of those pilgrims destined to prepare the New World for the Rebublic and for liberty—all these sublime achievements bring to mind that swarm of republican or municipal towns, Amalfi, Flor-

ence, Strasburg, Pisa, Genoa, Toledo, Geneva, Neufchatel, the remembrance of which is like a star of divine inspiration on our brow, and to be cherished like the sacred fire of science upon our hearthstone.

Three chief elements have gone to constitute modern Europe —ancient Rome, the Catholic Church, the barbaric invasions. Every people owes its primary education in some measure to various institutions which it preserves and perpetuates, even when they embarrass and handicap the further development of this education. This has happened with regard to the three component factors of European civilization, the Roman, the Ecclesiastical, and the Barbarian, which have endured and continued far beyond the necessary and the useful, because they once served to initiate Europe into the modern culture. These three elements will sooner or later prove themselves wholly contrary to true democracy. The Roman element, notwithstanding its splendor, brought us, with the Empire, a terrible and absurd form of monarchy. The Germanic element, notwithstanding its individualism, brought us the iron nobility of feudalism with its castes and strifes. The ecclesiastical element, the most republican and democratic of all, this, with its absolute authority, brought us an intellectual and moral submission irreconcilable with all human rights. It is necessary to measure the grandeur of these three colossal forces: A monarchy which could lift itself up as the natural head of all political organizations in the popular superstition; an ecclesiasticism which—in both its Byzantine and Roman form—believed itself the depository of all the wisdom transmitted from heaven, of all the morality necessary to regulate life, and of all the secrets which exorcise death and dispense immortality; a feudalism sown in the seed by the Germanic races and afterwards definitively brought to fruit by the Norman irruption at the beginning of the ninth century; a feudalism which recognized force as its only law, and gave the palm and the crown always to the strong. We must study these well-nigh incommensurable forces, and estimate their stature and their prestige in order to comprehend the vigor of a democracy which has been able to smite them down and to set upon the enormous ruins of their altars, their shrines, their temples, their palaces, the prodigious growth of its own new edifice.

Truly the development of democracy in our modern Europe may be compared, in the time and forces employed, to a geological

evolution. From the fifth century of the barbarian irruptions, when our whole planet seemed completely unhinged and disordered, until the century that completed the millennium of their tenure of the land, and the Last Judgment seemed at hand, theocracy and feudalism divided our soil. From the Crusades, when the idea of equality among men first began to be practically seen upon the level deserts of Asia, after having been preached with futility by the Christian religion; from the Crusades until the Reformation and the Renaissance, when liberty of conscience and reason awoke from sleep; and from the Reformation and the Renaissance until the revolutions amid which the modern nations were founded and progressive democracy prevailed, what labor and what effort! What a series of sacrifices consummated by the martyrs of thought and by the heroes of progress, for the sake of rooting up those three colossal privileges, guarded by the nobility, the monarchy, and the church! Human right consecrating the freest faculties, opening the infinite for its expansion, organizing human societies so that they could be joined to immortal principles of justice, and calling all citizens to a universal coparticipation in the government! It was necessary for the metaphysical sciences to lay aside their scholastic formula to which the secular religious authority clung; for the physico-mathematical sciences to burst the crystal vault, the pneumatic structure, beneath which, motionless, like a sepulchral stone, lay this earth, to-day launched by the astronomers into the cerulean ether and eternal motion; for the arts to come forth out of the sanctuary and the liturgies which held them enshrouded, like those Byzantine and hieratic figures, rigid as corpses, sepultured by theocracy over its changeless altars—corpses now resuscitated and infused with a living and divine spirit by the inspiration of the great artists and the oracular poets; for the Reformation to deliver the sacred books to the people and to make every man a priest able to receive upon his brow the flames of the Holy Spirit and the ideas of the Divine Word; for industry with her forces to arm our hands with the thunderbolt—all these were necessary for the establishment of these great democracies which sum up and complete the social creation, just as the human species, following after so many inferior species, sums up and completes the whole terrestrial creation.

Democracy has such virtue that it has created not only the individual being called the citizen, but also the collective being

called the nation. Before democracy attained to public life there were states, empires, monarchies, but not nationalities. And so among all peoples the democratic movement is united to the national movement. Switzerland constitutes the republican cantons against Austria and her tyrant dukes; Holland, her Calvinist republic against Philip II. and his formidable generals; England, her first republic and her great antimonarchical revolution against Richelieu and Louis XIV., the natural protectors of the Stuarts; America, her republics in open and decisive combat against the respective mother countries; France, her gigantic and never-to-be-forgotten struggle against the coalition of all the kings; Spain, her war of independence; Greece, her quarrels with the Turks; Italy, her strife with the Austrian; Sweden and Norway, combating at once the Russian and the German influence; Hungary, obtaining by treaty her autonomic government from the enormous empire which enslaved her—indeed, the sum of all individual liberties will bring about sometime and to every place the indispensable national liberty which completes and perfects them. Therefore in Europe the democratic movement cannot be separated from the national movement. And this explains the necessity felt by all democracies for constituting themselves nations first of all, and also the reason of the inconsistency unfortunately committed by some democratic peoples in adopting the form of government denominated monarchy, in itself incompatible with all democracy. When they have obtained their life and their rights after an obstinate struggle, they find themselves obliged, by forces over which they have no control, to adopt a military organization such as the monarchy or the empire; that is to say, having to placate European diplomacy and to ingratiate themselves with the great powers, they accept the political organization best suited to the exigencies or impositions of their protectors. Various recent examples demonstrate the mathematical truth of our observation. If there ever were peoples democratic by nature and tradition, surely they were the Italians and the Greeks. The republic in both has produced—not, as in Spain, or France, or Germany, a great reflex aspiration of superior minds, and a great instinctive aspiration of the liberal multitude, but—the most glorious and most vivid recollection and the brightest page of their history. Wherever we look in time and space we find Italians and Greeks—in the shades of their heroes, in the

ruins of their monuments, in the chants of their literatures, and in the genius of their republics. And yet Italy has adopted the monarchical form, and, among its representatives, a union indispensable for sustaining itself on the field of battle; and Greece has found herself constrained, much against her will, to ask a monarch of the boreal regions of Europe, because without the monarchical form she could never have placated European diplomacy. Here we have the reason of the incredible inconsistency of which some democracies are guilty in submitting to or adopting the monarchical government.

It cannot be denied that, for temporal and spacial realization, any ideal must be reduced to narrow limits, like all things else that are to be molded to the living and imperfect reality. For this chief reason the European democracies are divided into pure and mixed. Pure democracies are those which obey the three prime democratic principles, viz.: 1st, the principle of individual rights; 2d, the principle of popular sovereignty; 3d, the principle of universal suffrage—incorporated in their most natural and appropriate form, the republican. In the light of this true and concise definition it will be observed that there are only two pure democracies in Europe, the Swiss and the French. In other nations democracy has had to accommodate itself to the last remnants of ancient societies, personified by the respective monarchies, and with the last political privileges entailed upon either the decadent aristocracy or the preponderating middle classes. England, Spain, Portugal, and Italy are mixed democracies, and so are all the other monarchico-parliamentary nations where democracy has to adjust itself to the conditions offered by the nobility and the middle classes, as in the English monarchy, or by the middle classes alone, as in the Latin monarchies. Sometimes democracy adopts the imperial form, or, rather, submits itself to a dictatorship more or less apt to be lifelong and hereditary, such as France adopted yesterday under the Bonapartes, and to-day Germany under the Brandenburgs. By the complications of their parties the French made it impossible to govern themselves like a republic; and so they preferred to establish an empire which maintained universal suffrage and assumed a certain popular aspect pleasing to a people of democratic tendencies, rather than to retrocede to a monarchy which represented only the privileges of the middle classes. Almost the same thing is happening to-day

in Germany. The German democracy made a supreme effort in 1848 to found, on its own principles, that unity which is the soul of a nation. But more lately, convinced, like Italy, that it was necessary to confide this work to a monarchical power strong enough to cope with the intrigues of diplomatists and to win the victory in a contest of war, she elected the King of Prussia, that most intrinsically German of all the German territories, on the throne of which the Reformation was represented by the Elector of Brandenburg, and philosophy by Frederick the Great. But as the Germanic races, though more individual, are less democratic than the Latin races, the national party of Germany unfortunately adopted the imperial form of government, the reverse of the national party of Italy, which adopted a progressive parliamentary form. Such is the condition of democracy in Europe—the democracy that rules in all our states, more or less pure, or mixed with this or that institution alien to its nature and traditions, except in two only, Russia and Turkey.

In less than a century we have progressed from absolutism which denied the sovereignty of the nation, to mixed democracies which allow a certain degree of national right to men, and a more or less extensive or restricted participation by the citizens in the government. If in less than a century our political forms have been evolved from pure monarchies to mixed democracies, then in less than another century we shall pass from mixed democracies to pure democracies. A series of revolutions, linked together as though planned by a single mind and wrought out by a single will, explains this gradual emancipation, which has had to depose feudalism, theocracy, and monarchy in order to found over their portentous *débris* the perfect fullness of its rights.

Each great cycle of history traversed by civilization has emancipated some one human faculty or power. The discoveries of the pilots and navigators in America and Asia emancipated nature, so to speak, burst the narrow limits which bound the ancient institutions, and provided unknown lands for the sowing of the new ideas. As exploration widened the horizon and transformed nature, which is the spirit's organism, even so the Renaissance gave new life to the sensibilities and the imagination; that is to say, the purely æsthetic faculties of our spirit. The Reformation, in its turn, emancipated man's moral faculties, especially the conscience. Following the emancipation of the conscience, which

converted every soul into a temple, came the triumph of philosophy, which banished scholastic formula and unshackled reason, of all man's faculties the chief, and, in truth, superhuman or divine. Sensibilities, conscience, reason, and all the powers of the intellect at last unfettered, one more faculty remained to be set free, that which completes and realizes all the rest, that which most strongly urges them to action, that which we call the will. To accomplish the emancipation of the will of the people, all Christendom was overwhelmed with revolutions. Many of these were frustrated, like the revolution of the peasants in Germany, of the Comuneros in Spain, of the Fronde in France; but many others triumphed and prevailed, creating the popular will, that organ indispensable to democracy. The first modern revolution was the Dutch, which expelled the traditional Burgundian dynasty from their narrow but wonderful little district. The second revolution was the British, which overthrew the Stuarts and laid the foundations of parliamentary regimen in Europe. The third was the great American Revolution, which startled the Old World with the remarkable spectacle of its trilogy of personal liberty, a pacific democracy, and a stable republic. The revolution which condensed all these ideas, and which may be called the motor of universal democracy in Europe, was the French Revolution, whose crests rose to the heights of Sinai and Calvary, the typical mounts of revelation.

With all these antecedents, with all these efforts, it would be strange indeed if democracy failed to succeed in Europe. Our old continent is not by nature so prepared for the evolution of progressive democracy as the new continent. The ancient institutions, many of them crumbling, others almost destroyed, have vitality enough still to hinder and sometimes to check its progress. But let us note the fact that all reactions have a transitory character, and that all revolutions begin by establishing themselves uneasily, and end by taking vigorous root. Europe has seen three reactions during the nineteenth century: the Brumaire, or the first Napoleonic reaction; the reaction of 1815, or the Holy Alliance; and lastly, that of 1850. And yet, though each appeared so strong and prevailed for so long a time, they could not stop the movement of democracy toward its emancipation. Bonaparte dragged the body of the republic, hung, as it were, to the tail of his apocalyptic horse, and endeavored to revive the Empire and the Pontificate *à*

la Charlemagne; but he only revived the revolution of Mirabeau and of Robespierre, and carried, on the points of his bayonets, throughout all Europe, the very ideas he sought to destroy. Out of the Napoleonic wars were born the constitutions of Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, natural consequences of the revolution which was thought to be extinguished. So in 1815, the Holy Alliance in its pride again sealed the sepulcher of the people, and again set up the dominion of despots. But within five years the Spanish Revolution of 1820, then the Hellenic uprisings, and the repeated proclamation of our code of 1812 away over in Sardinia and Sicily, disconcerted the Bourbon reaction in France and again brought forth the development of democracy in Europe. When the restored Bourbons thought they had finally settled their peace with the hated intervention of European powers, assured their own perpetuity by the birth of an unexpected heir, and magnified their glory by the seizure of Algiers, then the revolution of 1830 overwhelmed them, emancipated France anew, and brought Belgium into the concert of free nationalities. This revived and consolidated constitutional institutions in the whole of Western Europe. The result of this movement was to bring about the rather premature democratic revolution of 1848, which, having anticipated its proper season, and the ripeness of the times, was nipped in the bud by the cold of the new Napoleonic reaction of 1850 and others which accompanied it. Yet it finally sprang up again, ten years later, in Italy. The republican restoration then and there begun was stimulated and established by the great Spanish movement just after the year 1868. It was a saving movement in every sense, and was crowned with victory, all the way from the nationalization of Hungary and some other peoples even to the triumph of the republic in France, the liberal rule in Austria, and unity in Rome and Germany.

The wind of revolution which sprang up on the banks of the Seine at the beginning of the century tore from the heads of European kings their crowns of divine right, as the wind of revolution which sprang up shortly before on the sacred shores of the Potomac scattered the American republics over an entire continent. And so the revolution of 1848, unrecognized in its beginnings, founded mixed monarchies in place of pure ones, and converted mixed democracies into pure democracies, repelling the factors of reaction and impelling the factors of progress.

A revelation of the human spirit had flashed like the lightning out of heaven without having been able to attain unto the perennial light of day in history. The bewildering rapidity of the change, and the sudden reverses succeeding to that change, served to fix the belief that the former had been a sterile and fleeting storm rather than a regenerating and fecundating shower. The deliberately and openly achieved death of the second French Republic, in which we all had placed such hope; the rupture of the advanced parties of Madrid, staining its streets once more with liberal blood; the exodus of German democrats to the four quarters of the earth, to wander in bitterness of spirit on the shores of strange rivers; the disappearance of those glorious visions of Mazzini in Rome, Guerazzi in Florence, Manini in Venice, Poerio in Sicily, and Garibaldi in all Italy; the predomination of the Cossacks over the but newly emancipated cities of the Danube, and of the Croatians over the cities newborn on the lagunes of St. Mark; the dark and terrible day of Novara, the sharp reports of the musketry at Vienna; the re-establishment of theocratic power in the Rome of the tribunes—all these partial eclipses of the progressive ideas seemed, in the world's eyes, to presage the eternal and lugubrious night of universal reaction. But before one decade of this reaction had passed, the problems put forth by the vanquished revolution began to awaken in every conscience. Italy initiates the movement in 1859—Italy, the sybil of poetry and history. The victory over the Austrians on the plains of Lombardy, and Garibaldi's triumph on Sicilian waters, roused a national activity sufficiently powerful to redeem the whole peninsula, short of Venice, walled in by diplomatic superstitions, and Rome equally walled in by religious superstitions. The protest of Prussia, it is said, checked the French and Italian armies, or, rather, the revolutionary armies on the fields of Solferino, thus leaving the work of redemption incomplete—undoubtedly because Prussia did not know that Providence had assigned to her the great destiny of completing it. So it happened that as the sword and scepter of Savoy were the instrument of the revolution and of the unity of Italy, the sword and the scepter of the Brandenburgs were the instrument of the revolution and of the unity of Germany. The policy of Metternich, outliving that great abettor of European revolution, was overthrown on the field of Sadowa. The Christian peoples of the Balkans, living under a hated oppression, were filled with hope. Hungary, so long

martyred by the Hapsburgs, those jailers of the people, and by the Romanoffs, those miserable executioners of Austria's revenge —Hungary constituted herself a free nationality. The sergeants of the German reaction, the Kings of Hanover, Wurtemburg, Saxony, and Bavaria, like the Grand-Dukes of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, were violently dethroned or attached with their broken armies to the triumphal car of Prussia. And as the German movement followed after that of Italy, it in turn was followed by that of Spain, which was like the former in fighting to achieve the great aims of 1848, viz.: the dethronement of the Bourbons. Yet it differed from them in proceeding from the people spontaneously, moved by its own will and conscience, instead of from powers and governments already organized. The Spanish Revolution gave such sovereign impetus to European opinion that Napoleon III. in France endeavored to check it by an extension of liberty, and by acceding to the presence of Emile Ollivier in his parliament of usurpation. Seeing that liberty grew and turned against him, he sallied forth to a war where he lost the crown which, as the nail of servitude, he had fastened upon France, thus leaving place and opportunity for the third republic to be definitely founded. This providential appearance of a pure democracy coincided with the rupture and overthrow of theocratic power in Rome. The extravagancies of demagogic communists, and the reactionary confederation of monarchs, have tried in vain to dishonor or to overwhelm the republic; but the prudence of the republicans has saved it. Not so in Spain, where the first republic was frustrated; but the restoration everywhere demonstrates, as it did in those already frustrated, that the x in our political problem will be determined in the final triumph of democracy and the speedy establishment of a living republic. Meanwhile from one end to the other of this new Europe blows the air of hope. Serfdom in Russia is no more. The great aspirations of Poland are not extinguished, though tyrants have buried her body alive and set her spirit like an extinct star in the Pantheon of a dead epoch. Greece has grown strong and democratic in proportion to the growth of her fundamental institutions. Servia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Roumelia, have become nations. The Turkish Empire and the Russian Empire will shortly dissappear, one by force of internal revolutions, the other by force of European war. Germany will become parliamentary and liberal as soon as the

imperial and Cæsar-like prestige dissappears with those who now wear it. Belgium and Holland approach daily nearer to pure democracies. The Helvetic republics, on their Alpine heights, will grow in vigor as a lesson and an example to all. Italy, constituted a progressive nation, and France a democratic republic, will prove to be necessary organs of universal progress. In virtue of the electoral reforms lately promulgated, a great democracy will take the place of the English aristocracy. A confederation of free peoples will advantageously supplant the monstrous Austrian Empire. And before our century is ended, the great revolutions of America and France will have given all their fruits to Christianity, founding glorious amphictyons of free peoples and nations in the Old World as well as in the New.

My calm faith in universal progress inspires these well-founded hopes. It matters not that monarchies still survive on the shores of our revolutions. These monstrosities came forth from the thick, dread, lower atmosphere, and cannot breathe long in another, purer, more bracing air. They resemble, as they pass from the ancient superstitions to modern rationalism, from an absolute to a parliamentary character, those monsters of the deep so terrible and devastating in the waters, which, raised to an atmosphere that they cannot respire, lose first their strength and then life itself. Monarchical faith still shines, but only like those distant stars which the astronomers tell us are apparent to our retina long after they have become extinct and all trace of them in the heavens is lost. The final triumph of universal democracy is already as fully assured as if its blazing track in the pathway of history had already swept into full possession of the hopes, sympathies, and institutions of the nations.

EMILIO CASTELAR.

RECOLLECTIONS AND LETTERS OF GRANT.

PART II.

From Rome, Italy, March 25, 1878 I received from General Grant a letter of eight pages, from which the following extracts are taken:

"My Dear Admiral:

"I have received three interesting letters from you since my last to you. You must excuse this, and continue to write, because I am always glad to receive your letters, as are all our family, and they all read them; and then, too, I am writing to so many persons that I cannot be prompt in my replies. The winter's trip has been the most pleasant of my life. It has been entirely outside the usual course of travelers abroad, and has opened a new field. . . . The officers without exception were agreeable, and did all they could to make us feel at home. Captain Robeson, the commander, was most attentive both to his guests and to his duties. I judge a more safe commander of a ship could not be found. The second officer, Lieutenant Caldwell, is a very superior man in education and acquirements, and especially so in all scientific subjects, and professional ones too. He is very much such a man as General Comstock who served on my staff, and whom you remember! If you don't remember him, you do his horse, at least. . . ."

The reader will be able to appreciate the sly humor of the General when informed that I knew General Comstock for years, both before and when he was with General Grant. During the winter of 1866 I rode a very powerful gray horse of his to Silver Springs, to pay a visit to F. P. Blair. The horse was very restive, and, going out, his perspiration so softened the reins that they would slip through my fingers. Coming into the city, he ran away with me three times, and would have broken my neck had I not been a good rider. The story of this ride, as told by me to Mr. Blair and General Grant, afforded them great amusement; indeed, I have no recollection of seeing General Grant laugh so heartily as when the story of the ride was recounted, which he called for from time to time. To resume, the General writes:

"But my impressions of peoples are, that in the East they have a form of

government and a civilization that will always repress progress and development. Syria and Asia Minor are as rich of soil as the great North-west in our own country, and are blessed with a climate far more suitable to production. The people would be industrious if they had encouragement, but they are treated as slaves, and all they produce is taken from them for the benefit of the governing classes, and to maintain them in a luxurious and licentious life. Women are degraded even beneath a slave. They have no more rights than the brute; in fact, the donkey is their superior in privileges.

"I was in Constantinople at a very interesting time historically. The Russian army was but a few miles outside, and there was no barrier to their entrance. But the stolidity of the people is such that in the five days I spent in Constantinople I should never have discovered of the people—outside of the Sultan and a few of the high officials—that anything unusual had happened."

He spent some days at Athens, and expresses great sympathy for the Greeks. Writing of Athens, he says:

"Considering that there was not a house where the present city stands forty-five years ago, and that the opposition of the Turks has kept them from communication with the balance of Europe except by sea, they have certainly made wonderful progress. I hope they may have their territory increased as one of the effects of the present war, so as to give them more Greek population, more area, and a full chance to develop. It seems to me England and the balance of Europe, except Russia, is interested in seeing such a consummation. . . ."

From St. Petersburg, Russia, he writes six pages, mostly in regard to his own private matters, and of something that had been published respecting them. Although, of course, entirely proper to publish, those parts are passed over. He writes:

"I do not remember where my last letter to you was from. Since leaving Paris, however, I have traveled through Holland, North Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and a portion of Russia. The 'New York Herald,' which comes by the same mail as your letter, gives an account of a portion of my visit to Germany. The statement is given very correctly, though, from comments I see in other papers, the correspondent has fallen into some errors in regard to what I said about military matters. I never said, for instance, that my loss from the Rapidan to the James River, including killed, wounded, and missing, was less than 40,000—that 39,000 would cover the whole. What I did say was, that, since Taylor's and Welles' letters, the public seem to have fallen into the idea that I had lost 100,000 men in getting to the south side of the James, where I could have gone by boat without loss, and ignore the fact that Lee sustained any loss. . . . But it is only just to the 'Herald' correspondent to say that I have not seen his letter, but only the criticism of the 'New York World.' Probably he has been correct in his statement. I have seen his Berlin letter, sent I think from Hamburg, giving an account of the receptions, dinners, review, Bismarck conference, etc., and they are correctly stated. There might be some question about the propriety of some things stated, but

they are nevertheless correct as far as my memory could verify them. I hope I will find the other letter equally correct.

"I have been very much pleased with the people in Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland. They are a free, intelligent, honest, and industrious people. My reception among them was most cordial, as indeed it has been everywhere. Here in Russia I have been surprised at the cordiality, though there has always existed a traditional friendship between the two countries. To-morrow we start for Warsaw; from thence to Vienna. We will rest in Austria until about the right season for visiting Spain and Portugal. Then I will have been in every country in Europe, in Egypt and Africa, and a little bit of Syria and Asia Minor; not much for an 'old tar,' but a good deal for a landsman. . . ."

From Gibraltar, November 15, 1878, the General writes:

"On my arrival here, three days ago, I found your letter of the 21st of October, and the very kind letter of the Secretary of the Navy, tendering to me the use of the 'Richmond' for an eastern tour. I wrote to the Secretary at once, and said that I should have cabled, only that I had previously sent a message to you saying that I had determined on not going home by way of China and Japan, at least for this winter, and that no doubt you had communicated the message. I received your previous letter of the 15th of October also. It seems a long journey to go from here to San Francisco by water for so little as there is to see along the coasts. If I were alone, or with a party of gentlemen that could penetrate the interior of countries passed through, I would not hesitate.

"We came here, making our first stop in Spain at Victoria. The young King, hearing that I was on my way to Madrid, invited me to stop there, where he was inspecting and reviewing some 26,000 troops. I stopped two days. The Spanish troops make a splendid appearance. The next stop was at Madrid, for a week. Madrid is improving rapidly, and has evidently improved much in the past few years. It is now a beautiful city, with horse-cars running to every part. I saw but little evidence of improvement, however, elsewhere than in Madrid. It is hard to fortell the future of Spain. The people are good enough, if, as you say, they could get any return for their labor. But as it is, there seems to be no integrity among the ruling class. Those who do work receive but the barest subsistence. If a man raises a pig he cannot kill and eat it without paying equivalent to five dollars of our money. The revenue officers are so abundant that there is no chance of escaping any tax except by bribery, which is resorted to to the extent of depriving the government of a very large percentage of its revenues. There is the greatest discontent, and the least thing would start a revolution."

From Peking, China, June 6, 1879, the General writes:

"My Dear Admiral:

"I have now been in Peking three days, and have seen all there is of this forsaken city. Since our arrival we have received an American mail, and with it your two letters of the 6th and 17th of April. I am delighted that you consented to be our representative at the Congress [in Paris] to discuss the ques-

tion of the Interoceanic Canal, because I do not believe there is another American who understands the relative advantages of the one feasible route over all others, nor who can state the advantages and obstacles in the way of other routes as clearly as you can. . . .

"I have found China and the Chinese much as you have often described it and them. It is not a country nor a people calculated to invite the traveler to make a second visit. But they are a people of wonderful shrewdness and industry, and are rapidly monopolizing the trade, as carriers, merchants, mechanics, market gardeners, and servants, from Bombay eastward. Then, too, their leading men seem to have a thorough appreciation of the necessity for internal improvement, such as railroads, etc., but have a horror of introducing them with foreign capital and under foreign control. Their idea seems to be rather to educate a sufficient number of their own young men abroad to fit them as engineers, machinists, soldiers, sailors, etc., and then to make their improvements with their own men and means. My belief is, that, in less time from now, than the half century since you and I first went to J. D. White's school in Georgetown, elapses, Europe will be complaining of the too rapid advance of China. . . ."

From Tokio, Japan, the General wrote very interesting letters, the first dated July 16, the last August 7, from which I quote:

"Your letter of the 2d of July reached me a few days since. After two days' reflection on your suggestion of the part I should take, or consent to take, if offered, in the matter of the Interoceanic Canal *via* Nicaragua, I telegraphed to the Secretary of the Navy, Washington: 'Tell Ammen approve —Grant.' I hope you received the dispatch. On the 27th, two weeks after this leaves Yokohama, we sail for San Francisco.

"I do not feel half as anxious to get home as I did eighteen months ago. There is no country that I have visited, however, this side of Europe, except Japan, where I would care to stay longer than to see the points of greatest interest. But Japan is a most interesting country, and the people are quite as much so. The changes that have taken place here are more like a dream than a reality. They have a public school system extending over the entire empire, affording facilities for a common school education to every child, male and female. They have a military and a naval academy that compare well with ours in course taught, discipline, and attainment of the students. They have colleges at several places in the empire on the same basis of instruction as our best institutions. They have a school of science which I do not believe can be beat in any country. Already the great majority of their professors—even in teaching European languages—are natives, most of them educated in the very institutions where they are now teaching. But I hope soon to see you, and then I will say more than I care to write in the limit of a letter. . . ."

From San Francisco, California, September 28, 1879, the General writes:

"We arrived here on the 20th, after a most pleasant and smooth sail of

nineteen days from Yokohama. . . . I do not know the present prospects of the Interoceanic Canal. I approve, however, what you have done in the matter, and if the people of the United States will take hold of the Nicaragua route in earnest, the only practicable route comparatively, I will give all the aid in my power. . . . I shall not start east before about the 27th of November. Even then I do not expect to go east of Chicago before the holidays, but if I could do any good for the canal enterprise by doing so, I would go earlier. . . ."

There was a change, however. General Grant reached Philadelphia early in December, and was good enough to write one of our friends in common, and myself, to meet him. Never have I seen such an extraordinary demonstration as his reception on that occasion. Arriving an hour or so after it commenced, several hours passed before we could reach the hotel, by reason of a procession miles in length. Were it possible for such things to have "turned his head," he would have been bereft of reason. Although we sat when we dined at the hotel at a private table with the General, it was quite impossible to have any intelligent conversation on the important matter of a ship canal. The discussion was adjourned until he could come to Washington some time thereafter. At the latter place, meeting a Senator in the confidence of General Grant, the Senator inquired why we were interfering with General Grant in favor of the Nicaragua Canal. They wanted him for the Presidency, and we should let him alone. I said:

"Senator, there are a great many who would make good Presidents, you among the number; I will be glad to vote for you if nominated, but General Grant only, in my belief, can speedily bring about the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, so important to our National interests. Why do you not let him alone to do it?"

General Grant had in the mean time been prevailed upon to go to Mexico to forward the inception of railroads, no doubt greatly to the conjoint interests of the two peoples, nationally and otherwise; but this was the merest pigmy in result, beyond a doubt, if compared with opening the Nicaragua Canal, and securing on the Isthmus a moral and material control of American interests, in lieu of European interests, so clearly expressed in the closing sentence of his published article on the canal question, hereinafter quoted.

I am aware that when in Washington about the 1st of January, 1880, General Grant received discouragement at the State Depart-

ment. This I know from a conversation with him immediately after a two hours' visit to the Secretary of State. Thereafter, we found General Grant well disposed towards the Nicaragua Canal, but, so far as I know, he was in no degree active to bring about its construction. After a little sojourn in Florida and on the Island of Cuba, he went to Mexico, no doubt paving the way to the promotion of mutual national interests, and brought about, as he has done wherever he has gone, a more kindly feeling, and one of more intimacy and confidence between those in power.

Indifferent in a great degree as to parties and their dominancy, and ignorant of other than what seems to me national interests in the broad sense of the term, I trust that gentlemen who are learned in such matters, and the well-meaning public of whatever party, will pardon a few remarks on questions which I frankly admit have not seriously engaged my attention.

Had not circumstances, partly apparent to all, served as a prevention, there are substantial reasons for believing that General Grant would have taken positive action looking to the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, and that a fair statement, laid before the American people, would have brought superabundant capital to execute a work that, even with very low rates of tolls, would be remunerative to a degree; and, by reason of its relative economy of construction, actually freed from any possible rivalry. How glorious might have been the final days of General Grant had he not swerved from his intended purpose, as expressed in his telegram from Japan, and explicitly reiterated in his letters from San Francisco and Chicago. Even now, the water-way for the traffic of the world across this continent might be an accomplished fact —a grand work and fitting monument would it have been, through all ages; a proper culminant for the life of this man of grand ideas and unsullied purpose.

What is known now as to final location would have been established in 1880, had the work been taken in hand at that time. Bounteous Nature has extended Lake Nicaragua to within twelve miles of the Pacific coast. From the lake, following a line of seventeen and one-quarter miles in length, admirably located to effect surface drainage, with only one cut of forty-one feet in depth, the rudimentary harbor of Brito is reached. Looking to the eastward, over the magnificent sheet of water known as Lake Nicaragua, its surface lying only one hundred and ten feet

above the level of the sea, we find the outlet of the superfluous waters, known as the river San Juan. In strong and steady volume it flows onward towards the Atlantic, its waters clear as crystal, unvexed at all times by floods. Should Nature have brought it as an estuary to within less than twenty miles of Graytown and yet interposed no cuts of great depths, leaving to man to complete the water-ways from sea to sea, where is the dolt who could not see that these water-ways would be made, and soon too, whether by us or by others ? This eastern extension of summit level exists as an actuality only in part, but can be made practically a reality by the expenditure of a sum certainly not exceeding eight millions of dollars.

The connection by canalization of this magnificent summit level, extending so nearly from sea to sea, has not an opposing obstacle or difficulty, in the engineering sense of the word. Labor only, and that almost wholly mechanical, is requisite, and that too in as healthy an intertropical country as is known, possessing, in addition, exceptional advantages to ensure satisfactory sanitary conditions throughout, from sea to sea. Of no value whatever would it be to endeavor to trace the influences and the pitfalls by which General Grant was beset and diverted from a cherished purpose, indicated in what has been presented and ably stated in his article on the Nicaragua Canal published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of February, 1881. The closing paragraph is as follows :

"I have formed the opinions expressed in this article, not from a hasty consideration of the subject, and not without personal observation. While commanding the army of the United States, my attention was drawn to the importance of the water communication I have here discussed. During my administration of the government, I endeavored to impress upon the country the views I then formed; and I shall feel that I have added one more act of my life to those I have already recorded, if I shall succeed in impressing upon Congress and the people the high value, as a commercial and industrial enterprise, of this great work, which, if not accomplished by Americans, will undoubtedly be accomplished by some of our rivals in power and influence."

Throughout the entire article from which the above is taken the intelligent reader will find a wealth of wisdom and of suggestion, closing with the special warning of the consequences which will arise from neglect. Will the legislators of the American people heed it ?

The reader may well suppose that the package of letters, ex-

tracts from which have now been made public for the first time, was put away with an indescribable feeling of sadness. Persons who knew General Grant slightly, and others who never met him, may form from these papers a more definite idea of some of his thoughts and his life, without disguises or concealment. Personally, his wants were of the simplest. Even before his voyage around the world, the ordinary use of liquors, or even of the lightest wines, had been laid aside. To him personally, the plainest house, with abundant light and air, and furnished in the plainest manner, would have been as acceptable as a palace.

I have only seen in other persons a rudimentary development of what has seemed to me for years his most remarkable trait: an apparent absence of a feeling of resentment toward those who had maligned and injured him, either through a blind prejudice, or maliciously, to promote their own ends. Let the reader consider whether he knows a single human being, high in position, strong in will, clear in object, and honest in purpose, who has risen to this perfection.

Personal recollections, given in a magazine, should not be diverted into other eulogiums to swell the countless number that meet the eye at home and from abroad. Grant's travels had made him akin to all peoples, as the reader may see even in the brief extracts from letters hastily written by him as he journeyed. His trials of his last fifteen months, which came upon him as suddenly as a clap of thunder, have justly excited the compassion of the whole world; the surrounding facts are so astounding that they actually seem incredible. No one who was ever near General Grant would conceive for a moment that he would have intentionally wronged a human being. His sorrows became the sorrows of humanity around the wide world. Glorious instinct of the human heart that makes all men akin!

No former associate of General Grant would be so unjust to his memory as not to recognize the fact that he had an ambition far above all suspicion. His ambition, above all, was to do what was right. It was engraven on his soul; it was evidenced in every act of his life, from the cradle to the grave.

No more baseless, senseless cries ever vexed the land, and the ears of those who knew General Grant well, than "the danger of the third term;" that "if he ever got into the White House he would never leave it alive." Nor were these senseless cries believed

save by a certain number who seem to believe everything that is uttered vehemently. In the Southern States those who had fought against him, and, on previous elections, either voted against him or had refrained from voting, which was largely the case, had laid aside life-long prejudices, and were more than any others inwardly longing for his nomination. They had, in fact, firmly resolved to support him. A gentleman of high position in the South, who had fought against General Grant, and had refrained from voting when he was a candidate, wrote me confidentially, desiring to know whether he would be a candidate before the convention at Chicago. He asserted most earnestly that, if a candidate, many thousands of men of influence and position would break away from the support of any candidate the Democratic party might name.

It is well known to the public that General Grant had no admirer more ardent than Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, and it will be admitted that he was a power in himself throughout the South. Shortly after the termination of the proceedings that placed Mr. Hayes in the Presidential chair, Mr. Stephens told me that many excited Southerners came to him demanding to know what Grant meant by bringing troops to Washington. Was it his purpose to seat Mr. Hayes? "Not at all," said Mr. Stephens; "General Grant intends to prevent disorder, and to suppress anarchy, if in his power, should it be necessary." Already it seems forgotten that we owe the memory of General Grant great reverence for his unheralded acts on that occasion. It was a very painful and critical condition. Had a civil war once begun on the right of succession to the Presidency, no human being can say when it would have terminated and what would have been the resulting consequences. It is not at all unlikely that it would have been more bloody and more deplorable than the one lately passed through; for, in the Middle, Western and Northern States, at least, it would have been neighbor against neighbor. The strife would have unloosed the worst elements of society. Thankful we may be that General Grant was equal to the occasion, as Chief Magistrate, in what we may well regard as a fearful crisis.

When it was a question of the nomination for a third term, we may believe without a doubt that, had his political friends been willing to take up any other candidate that would have been generally acceptable, General Grant would have been grateful for this action, even though he might be possessed of a thorough con-

viction that, if nominated, his election would be a foregone conclusion. He must have known that a very large number of his former political enemies in the Southern States were actually longing for his nomination, to enable them to give him an immense spontaneous support.

Early in the fall of 1884, a gentleman of Washington received an invitation from General Grant, then in New York, to accompany him up the Hudson River. On the return of this gentleman, he informed me confidentially of the supposed gravity of the ailment of the general. Some months later, the daily papers contained contradictory notices of his condition, and even when the inexorable hand of death was upon him there were cheery reports of his recovery; then for months messages of grief and pain flew to the four quarters of the globe, and when the sands of life were almost run, as did the brave Manrique of Spanish fame, the dying general may well have said:

> "O Death, no more, no more delay;
> My spirit longs to fly away,
> And be at rest;
> The will of Heaven my will shall be—
> I bow to the divine decree,
> To God's behest."

Death came at last, and the weary body was at rest. Then were heard solemn requiems throughout this broad land, and far beyond, around the wide world, wherever were the habitations of civilized men, again were heard the solemn anthems; beneath the venerable roofs of ages, through the long dark aisles of saintly places, among the tombs of the great and long-departed, the echoes lingered long in their solemn reverberations. Now they have died away, and their memory is joined to the long procession of the venerated past.

DANIEL AMMEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 10, 1885.

SLANG IN AMERICA.

VIEWED freely, the English language is the accretion and growth of every dialect, race, and range of time, and is the culling and composition of all. From this point of view, it stands for Language in the largest sense, and is really the greatest of studies. It involves so much; is indeed a sort of universal absorber, combiner, and conqueror. The scope of its etymologies is the scope not only of man and civilization, but the history of Nature in all departments, and of the organic Universe, brought up to date; for all are comprehended in words, and their backgrounds. This is when words become vitalized, and stand for things, as they unerringly and very soon come to do, in the mind that enters on their study with fitting spirit, grasp, and appreciation.

Slang, profoundly considered is the lawless germinal element, below all words and sentences, and behind all poetry, and proves a certain freedom and perennial rankness and protestantism in speech. As the United States inherit by far their most precious possession—the language they talk and write—from the Old World, under and out of its feudal institutes, I will allow myself to borrow a simile even of those forms farthest removed from American Democracy. Considering Language then as some mighty potentate, into the majestic audience-hall of the monarch ever enters a personage like one of Shakspere's clowns, and takes position there, and plays a part even in the stateliest ceremonies. Such is Slang, or indirection, an attempt of common humanity to escape from bald literalism, and express itself illimitably, which in highest walks produces poets and poems, and doubtless in pre-historic times gave the start to, and perfected, the whole immense tangle of the old mythologies. For, curious as it may appear, it is strictly the same impulse-source, the same thing. Slang, too, is the wholesome fermentation or eructation of those processes eternally

active in language, by which froth and specks are thrown up, mostly to pass away; though occasionally to settle and permanently crystallize.

To make it plainer, it is certain that many of the oldest and solidest words we use, were originally generated from the daring and license of slang. In the processes of word-formation, myriads die, but here and there the attempt attracts superior meanings, becomes valuable and indispensable, and lives forever. Thus the term *right* means literally only straight. *Wrong* primarily meant twisted, distorted. *Integrity* meant, oneness. *Spirit* meant breath, or flame. A *supercilious* person was one who raised his eyebrows. To *insult* was to leap against. If you *influenced* a man, you but flowed into him. The Hebrew word which is translated prophesy meant to bubble up and pour forth as a fountain. The enthusiast bubbles up with the Spirit of God within him, and it pours forth from him like a fountain. The word prophecy is misunderstood. Many suppose that it is limited to mere prediction; that is but the lesser portion of prophecy. The greater work is to reveal God. Every true religious enthusiast is a prophet.

Language, be it remembered, is not an abstract construction of the learned, or of dictionary-makers, but is something arising out of the work, needs, ties, joys, affections, tastes, of long generations of humanity, and has its bases broad and low, close to the ground. Its final decisions are made by the masses, people nearest the concrete, having most to do with actual land and sea. It impermeates all, the Past as well as the present, and is the grandest triumph of the human intellect. "Those mighty works of art," says Addington Symonds, "which we call languages, in the construction of which whole peoples unconsciously co-operated, the forms of which were determined not by individual genius, but by the instincts of successive generations, acting to one end, inherent in the nature of the race—those poems of pure thought and fancy, cadenced not in words, but in living imagery, fountain-heads of inspiration, mirrors of the mind of nascent nations, which we call Mythologies—these surely are more marvellous in their infantine spontaneity than any more mature production of the races which evolved them. Yet we are utterly ignorant of their embryology; the true science of Origins is yet in its cradle."

Daring as it is to say so, in the growth of Language it is certain that the retrospect of slang from the start would be the re-

calling from their nebulous conditions of all that is poetical in the stores of human utterance. Moreover, the honest delving, as of late years, by the German and British workers in comparative philology has pierced and dispersed many of the falsest bubbles of centuries; and will disperse many more. It was long recorded that in Scandinavian mythology the heroes in the Norse Paradise drank out of the skulls of their slain enemies. Later investigation proves the word taken for skulls to mean *horns* of beasts slain in the hunt. And what reader had not been exercised over the traces of that feudal custom, by which *seigneurs* warmed their feet in the bowels of serfs, the abdomen being opened for the purpose? It now is made to appear that the serf was only required to submit his unharmed abdomen as a foot cushion while his lord supped, and was required to chafe the legs of the seigneur with his hands.

It is in embryons and childhood, and among the illiterate, we always find the groundwork and start, of this great science, and its noblest products. What a relief most people have in speaking of a man not by his true and formal name, with a "Mister" to it, but by some odd or homely appellative. The propensity to approach a meaning not directly and squarely, but by circuitous styles of expression seems indeed a born quality of the common people every where, evidenced by nick-names and the inveterate determination of the masses to bestow sub-titles, sometimes ridiculous, sometimes very apt. Always among the soldiers during the Secession War, one heard of "Little Mac" (Gen. McClellan), or of "Uncle Billy" (Gen. Sherman). "The old man" was, of course, very common. Among the rank and file, both armies, it was very general to speak of the different States they came from by their slang names. Those from Maine were called Foxes; New Hampshire, Granite Boys; Massachusetts, Bay Staters; Vermont, Green Mountain Boys; Rhode Island, Gun Flints; Connecticut, Wooden Nutmegs; New York, Knickerbockers; New Jersey, Clam Catchers; Pennsylvania, Logher Heads; Delaware, Muskrats; Maryland, Claw Thumpers; Virginia, Beagles; North Carolina, Tar Boilers; South Carolina, Weasels; Georgia, Buzzards; Louisiana, Creoles; Alabama, Lizzards; Kentucky, Corn Crackers; Ohio, Buckeyes; Michigan, Wolverines; Indiana, Hoosiers; Illinois, Suckers; Missouri, Pukes; Mississippi, Tad Poles; Florida, Fly up the Creeks; Wisconsin, Badgers; Iowa, Hawkeyes; Oregon, Hard Cases. Indeed I am not sure but slang

names have more than once made Presidents. "Old Hickory," (Gen. Jackson) is one case in point. "Tippecanoe, and Tyler too," another.

I find the same rule in the people's conversations everywhere. I heard this among the men of the city horse-cars, where the conductor is often called a "snatcher" (i. e. because his characteristic duty is to constantly pull or snatch the bell-strap, to stop or go on.) Two young fellows are having a friendly talk, amid which, says 1st Conductor, "What did you do before you was a snatcher?" Answer of 2d Conductor, "Nailed." (Translation of answer: "I worked as carpenter.") What is a "boom"? says one editor to another. "Esteemed contemporary," says the other, "a boom is a bulge." "Barefoot whiskey" is the Tennessee name for the undiluted stimulant. In the slang of the New York common restaurant waiters a plate of ham and beans is known as "stars and stripes," codfish balls as "sleeve-buttons," and hash as "mystery."

The Western States of the Union are, however, as may be supposed the special areas of slang, not only in conversation, but in names of localities, towns, rivers, &c. A late Oregon traveler says:

"On your way to Olympia by rail, you cross a river called the Shookum-Chuck; your train stops at places named Newaukum, Tumwater, and Toutle; and if you seek further you will hear of whole counties labelled Wahkiakum, or Snohomish, or Kitsar, or Klikatat; and Cowlitz, Hookium, and Nenolelops greet and offend you. They complain in Olympia that Washington Territory gets but little immigration; but what wonder? What man, having the whole American continent to choose from, would willingly date his letters from the county of Snohomish or bring up his children in the city of Nenolelops? The village of Tumwater is, as I am ready to bear witness, very pretty indeed; but surely an emigrant would think twice before he established himself either there or at Toutle. Seattle is sufficiently barbarous; Stelicoom is no better; and I suspect that the Northern Pacific Railroad terminus has been fixed at Tacoma because it is one of the few places on Puget Sound whose name does not inspire horror."

Then a Nevada paper chronicles the departure of a mining party from Reno: "The toughest set of roosters that ever shook the dust of any town left Reno yesterday for the new mining district of Cornucopia. They came here from Virginia. Among the crowd were four New-York cock-fighters, two Chicago murderers, three Baltimore bruisers, one Philadelphia prize-fighter, four San Francisco hoodlums, three Virginia beats, two Union Pacific

roughs, and two check guerrillas." Among the far-west newspapers, have been, or are, *The Fairplay* (Colorado) *Flume, The Solid Muldoon,* of Ouray, *The Tombstone Epitaph,* of Nevada, *The Jimplecute,* of Texas, and *The Bazoo,* of Missouri. Shirttail Bend, Whiskey Flat, Puppytown, Wild Yankee Ranch, Squaw Flat, Rawhide Ranch, Loafer's Ravine, Squitch Gulch, Toenail Lake are a few of the names of places in Butte county, Cal.

Perhaps indeed no place or term gives more luxuriant illustrations of the fermentation processes I have mentioned, and their froth and specks than our Mississippi and Pacific coast regions, at the present day. Hasty and grotesque as are some of the names, others are of an appropriateness and originality unsurpassable. This applies to the Indian words, which are often perfect. Oklahoma is proposed in Congress for the name of one of our new Territories. Hog-eye, Lick-skillet, Rake-pocket and Steal-easy are the names of some Texan towns. Miss Bremer found among the aborigines the following names: *Men's,* Horn-point; Round-Wind; Stand-and-look-out; The-Cloud-that-goes-aside; Iron-toe; Seek-the sun; Iron-flash; Red-bottle; White-spindle; Black-dog; Two-feathers-of-honor; Gray-grass; Bushy-tail; Thunder-face; Go-on-the-burning-sod; Spirits-of-the-dead. *Women's,* Keep-the-fire; Spiritual-woman; Second-daughter-of-the-house; Blue-bird.

Certainly philologists have not given enough attention to this element and its results, which, I repeat, can probably be found working every where to-day, amid modern conditions, with as much life and activity as in far-back Greece or India, under pre-historic ones. Then the wit—the rich flashes of humor and genius and poetry—darting out often from a gang of laborers, railroad-men, miners, drivers or boatmen! How often have I hovered at the edge of a crowd of them, to hear their repartees and impromptus! You get more real fun from half an hour with them than from the books of all "the American humorists."

The science of language has large and close analogies in geological science, with its ceaseless evolution, its fossils, and its numberless submerged layers and hidden strata, the infinite go-before of the present. Or, perhaps Language is more like some vast living body, or perennial body of bodies. And slang not only brings the first feeders of it, but is afterward the start of fancy, imagination and humor, breathing into its nostrils the breath of life.

WALT WHITMAN.

STATECRAFT AND PRIESTCRAFT.

WHEN the Pharisees, who were opposed to the rule of the heathen Romans over the people of God, and the Herodians, who acknowledged the rule as legitimate, proposed the embarrassing question to Christ: "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not?" he answered them with that unerring wisdom which characterizes all his sayings: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and to God the things that are God's." By this answer he refused to identify himself with either of the political parties, and cut off the suspicion of disloyalty either to the theocracy or to the Roman Government. He neither evaded nor answered the question, but he disposed of it so that nothing more could be said, and the defeated partisans "marveled, and went their way." He drew a clear line of distinction between the secular and the spiritual power, and enjoined loyalty and obedience to both in their proper sphere. He suggests in one single sentence the solution of one of the greatest problems of history. If men had always acted upon this view there would have been little or no conflict between church and state, and the history of Christianity would not be stained with the blood of heretics and dissenters.

As man consists of body and soul, and is made both for time and for eternity, God, the absolute Sovereign of the world, established two kinds of government, through which, as his organs, he exercises his sovereignty and rules the nations of the earth. The spiritual government is vested in the church and intrusted with the religious and moral interests of men; the secular government is represented by the state and has charge over the political and material affairs of men. The one looks to their eternal, the other to their temporal welfare. The one is intended to make men good Christians and to prepare them for heaven, the other to make them good citizens and to protect them in all their earthly rela-

tions. Without civil government there can be no security for life and property; even a bad government is better than no government or anarchy. Without religious and moral training we would be no more than rational animals. The state represents the law and uses forcible means, if necessary, to secure obedience; it knows only justice, no mercy except in the exercise of pardon. The church represents the Gospel, and, agreeably to its constitution and design, employs the moral means of instruction, persuasion, and example in the ruling and training of its members.

Church and state are both of divine origin. They proceed from the same God, and are the two arms of his power. The civil magistrate and judge in his official capacity is clothed with divine majesty, and acts by divine right as much as the clergyman in the pulpit and at the altar. The state belongs to the dispensation of God the Father, the church to the dispensation of God the Son. The Father draws to the Son; political events prepare the way for religion. The whole history of the ancient world was a preparation for the coming of Christ. The church, though not of this world, is yet in this world, and consequently also in the state; while the state, on the other hand, is indispensable for the peaceable existence and successful operation of the church. The law was and is still a schoolmaster to lead men to the Gospel, and the life on earth is intended as a preparation for heaven. Good Christians will always be also good citizens, and religion is the best foundation for public and private virtue. Church and state, then, are distinct, like soul and body, but not antagonistic. They supplement each other, and, together, comprehend the totality of human interests. They act and react upon each other, they support and benefit each other, and are indispensable to each other's existence and prosperity in the present order of things. They should therefore live together in peace on the basis of a recognition of their mutual rights, duties and interests. Both flourish best in freedom and friendly independence. We have here, in brief, anticipated the American theory, but it can only be properly understood and vindicated as the result of a long historical progress.

Church and state may either be separated or united. In the former case, the separation may be either hostile or friendly; in the latter case, the church or the state may be the controlling power. In the history of Christianity these four relations have gradually unfolded themselves in the successive ages and among

different nations: first hostile separation with persecution, then the rule of the church over the state, next the rule of the state over the church, and last peaceful independence and co-operation. The first relation was that of antagonism and persecution. It prevailed during the first three centuries till the reign of Constantine the Great. There was no hostility on the part of the church against the state; on the contrary, even under the tyrannical rule of Nero, Paul exhorted the Christians in Rome to obey the powers that be as the ordinance of God. In the first written prayer that has come down to us, in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, there is a touching petition for the safety and prosperity of the Roman Government at a time when Domitian persecuted the Christians and practised all manner of cruelty. The Apologists of the second and third centuries point to the fact that the Christians pray for their rulers, pay their taxes, and are in all respects dutiful and orderly citizens, except that they could not share in the idolatrous rites connected with public offices and military spectacles. The hostility proceeded from the state, or rather from the pagan religion that controlled the state, and was interwoven with all the laws, institutions, traditions, and habits of the people.

The old Roman Empire was very tolerant of individual, even atheistic opinions, and of old national forms of worship in the conquered provinces, as far as these did not interfere with the safety and interests of the state religion. But this toleration was not applicable to Christianity, because it claimed to be the only true religion for the whole human race, gathered its followers from Jews and gentiles, civilized and barbarians, and threatened all other religions with ultimate absorption. Hence the Christians, as soon as the distinctive character of their creed came to be understood, were not allowed to build churches, to hold property, to assemble in public, and efforts were made from time to time to exterminate their religion from the empire. It is a remarkable fact that the persecuting emperors (except Nero and Domitian) were among the best emperors—Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, Diocletian—because they were most concerned to maintain the state on the basis of the ancestral religion. They persecuted in ignorance rather than in malice. It was good for Christianity to be exposed to this fiery trial, for it furnished the best opportunity of developing the passive virtues, of returning good for evil, of showing love

to the enemy, and of proving its divine origin and indestructible character. This unnatural antagonism ceased with the conversion of Constantine, the downfall of paganism, and the elevation of Christianity to the throne of the Cæsars. It was one of the grandest triumphs ever accomplished, after a conflict of three hundred years, and a triumph accomplished by purely moral means without shedding a drop of blood, except the blood of "the noble army of martyrs," which was the seed of the church.

The second relation is the hierarchical principle, or the rule of the church over the state. It reached its perfection in the Latin Church during the middle ages. It is embodied in the canon law and the Decretals. Gregory VII. marks the beginning, Innocent III. the height, and Boniface VIII. the decline of the papal hierarchy. It was a reproduction of the Jewish theocracy on a larger scale, and a carnal anticipation of the millennial reign of Christ. It maintains the superiority of the sacerdotal over the royal office, of priestcraft over kingcraft. The popes compared the church to the sun, the state to the moon, which borrows her light from the sun. They claimed the two swords, the spiritual and the secular, and the right to make and unmake kings and to absolve subjects from the oath of obedience. At a period when the clergy possessed all the learning, intelligence, and moral power, the hierarchy was a wholesome check upon the military despotism of savage or semi-barbarous rulers. The church was the chief light in the dark ages, and the mother of modern civilization. She produced the Christian state and brought the influence of justice and humanity to bear upon legislation. She abolished cruel laws and institutions, and secured protection to literary, benevolent, and charitable institutions. But when the different states and nationalities of Europe were sufficiently civilized to govern themselves, the rule of priestcraft had accomplished its mission, and became tyrannical and oppressive.

The third relation is the government of the church by the civil power. It is called the Cæsaro-papal or Erastian theory. It dates from the Byzantine empire. Constantine the Great changed his religion, but not his views of absolute power. The head of the empire was also the Pontifex Maximus of the religion of the empire. He called the first œcumenical council, which decided the fundamental dogmatic question of the eternal divinity of Christ, and he considered himself a bishop of bishops in the external affairs

of the church. But it was difficult to draw the line of distinction between the external and internal affairs. His successors on the throne of Constantinople freely, and often arbitrarily, interfered with the internal as well as external affairs of the church during the doctrinal controversies of the Nicene, post-Nicene, and subsequent ages, and made their influence powerfully felt in the synodical definitions of the dogmas of the Trinity, the Person of Christ, and the worship of images. The imperial headship of the church passed from the Byzantine rulers to the Russian czars, who consider themselves the successors of the former. But their power is checked by the stationary character of the Eastern church, which adheres with unswerving tenacity to the seven œcumenical councils of old.

The Erastian principle was asserted by the Protestant princes of the Reformation period, who assumed the rights of supreme bishops (*sumnis episcopi*), and claimed the right of reformation (*jus reformationis*) in doctrine as well as in discipline. They acted on the maxim that the owner of the region is the owner of its religion (*cujus regio, ejus religio*). This is the territorial system of church government. It was reluctantly conceded by the reformers, especially in those countries, as Germany and Switzerland, where the bishops opposed the Reformation; but they seriously regretted the abuses and the rapacity of the princes and civil magistrates in secularizing ecclesiastical property, often for their personal benefit. The system is an invasion of the sacred domain of conscience, which belongs exclusively to God, and not to any earthly sovereign. It restricts religious liberty, and justifies persecution of dissenters and non-conformists. It reduces the church to the humiliating condition of being the servant of the state or a department of civil government. In Prussia the Minister of Public Worship is also Minister of Public Education and of Medical Affairs. He is the agent of the king, and has in his hands all clerical and academic appointments. This system breeds hypocrisy or infidelity. It becomes an anomaly in the same proportion as the civil magistrate looses its confessional character, or exchanges one creed for another. Thus Elector Augustus of Saxony sold his Lutheran faith for the crown of Poland (1697), but still remained the head of the Lutheran Church. The Queen of England is supreme governor of the Episcopal Church of England, but she is also, nominally at least, the head of the established Presbyterian

Church of Scotland, and as Empress of India she is the protector of the Hindoo religion as well as of the various Christian missions. The state-church system assumes that all citizens belong to the state church, except the Jews, who must be tolerated because they cannot be exterminated. But this assumption is more and more destroyed by the growing number of those who in any modern state profess other creeds or reject all creeds. Thus the bond of union in Europe is loosened with every concession made to dissenters, and the tendency of things is toward separation of church and state. Disestablishment has taken place in Ireland (1869), and will follow before long in Scotland, and at a more distant future also in England. On the Continent, free churches are multiplying to escape the control of a civil government which has become neutral or hostile to evangelical and orthodox religion, as is the case especially in Switzerland and Holland. In the new German empire no religious tests are required, and the imperial diet has nothing to do with religion. In this respect Europe is becoming Americanized.

North America was destined to become a hospitable asylum for all fugitives from religious or political oppression in the Old World. In several colonies, especially in Massachusetts and Virginia, church and state were originally united as in Europe, and continued to be as long as the population was homogeneous. In other colonies other creeds prevailed. The Quakers in Pennsylvania and the Baptists of Rhode Island favored religious liberty from the beginning, and never persecuted. When the colonies united in the War of Independence, and succeeded in establishing a national government, they excluded religious tests, and forbade Congress, by the first amendment to the Constitution, from ever making a law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. This enactment puts all churches on a par before the law, and equally under the protection of the general Government. The separation of the two powers therefore differs widely from the ante-Nicene relation when the state was hostile to Christianity. The American Government of its own free motion not only grants toleration, but, what is far better, secures full liberty to the exercise of religion in any form at all compatible with public order and peace. The liberty of one church is the liberty of all. State and church are equally self-supporting and self-governing, equally independent, each in its own sphere, and equally helpful to each other—the state by protecting the church in her property

and rights, the church by strengthening the moral foundations of the state, and training the citizens to private and public virtue. This is the American theory and practice. It may not be the ultimate settlement of all the vexed questions involved in the relation, and we shall probably have a good deal of trouble yet with the Mormons, with marriage legislation, and with the public schools, where the civil and the ecclesiastical interests come in contact. But it is the only possible relation with us, and has so far worked very well. We will only point in conclusion to the advantages of the separation of church and state over the other systems which have prevailed or still prevail in Europe. The American system secures full religious liberty; that is, not only liberty of conscience, which even despots cannot forbid, but liberty of public worship and organized action according to the dictates of conscience. Such liberty is either forbidden or entailed wherever the two forms of government are united. But it has become an essential element in modern civilization, and is making irresistible progress in Europe. It develops liberality for the support and spread of religion at home and abroad, while state-churchism makes men rely on the help of the government. In this country, the multiplication of churches, colleges, and benevolent institutions keeps pace with the immense progress of the country; but in the rapidly increasing capitals of Europe it is next to impossible to build new churches by individual effort, and the nominally Christian magistrates become more and more indifferent to their duty toward the religion that they profess and are pledged to support. In Germany the government gives the people no chance to govern themselves; the governing is all done by the king, the *Cultusminister*, the consistories, and the superintendents; and where synods are allowed, their best decisions may be set aside by royal authority. The church has no voice in the election of a pastor, or of the professors of theology in the universities. The continental clergy are well educated and learned, but far behind the American clergy in organizing power, and in legislative and administrative ability. Freedom and independence are the best conditions for growth and prosperity, both to church and state. History is a progress of liberty and self-government.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

STYLE AND THE MONUMENT.

AMONG the many suggestions for a Grant Monument, and the rather confused gropings of public opinion as to where and what it should be, there has been a dangerous silence as to those large underlying considerations which ought to govern and guide the choice.

One sees often and hears daily the demand that the tomb shall be "strictly American." "Give us," they say "something characteristically American." Now, the only "strictly American" monuments are Indian earth mounds and Central American buildings. The latter are impressive and elaborate enough for a great memorial purpose, but their primitive design and archaic embellishments render them as unfit for nineteenth-century American uses as a Japanese temple or a Cambodian pagoda. We are an unartistic people, with neither an indigenous nor an adopted art language in which to render grand thoughts. We are ignorant of the meaning and use of *style*—that spontaneous but concurrent mode which races of men have devised and accepted as the fittest expression of their *race* ideals. Till there is an American race there cannot be an American style. So and so many millions of English, Germans, Irish, Africans, Italians, and Chinamen, getting prosperous and fat on a rich new continent, may, for the purposes of popular expression, be called a people ; bound loosely together by a system of government they become a nation, but they do not make a *race,* and until they do, all talk of an American style is empty and idle. To demand a strictly American monument is about equivalent to inviting the eulogist of General Grant to deliver his oration in a strictly American language. Not only have we no American style of architectural art, but there is not the smallest sign of the birth of a style or even of the desire for one. In later periods, when the composite elements of American populations are melted down into one race alloy, when there are no

more Irish or Germans, Negroes and English, but only Americans, belonging to one defined American race, that race will become conscious of its own ideals and aspirations, its own sentiments and emotions, and, as all other great races have done before it, will find its own fit means of expression. Just now we are as far from possessing style as the Germans; rather farther than the Digger Indians. Artists we have whose work shows much personal originality, but there it all ends, and ends far short of a style.

Not only are we innocent of all style of our own, but we are phenomenally ignorant and obtuse as to the requirements of the styles of other races and ages. We use them only to abuse them; we adopt them only to mutilate and burlesque them. Our all but universal ignorance and misuse of art has its origin in the absence of that delicate sentiment of what is fit and appropriate which lies at the very roots of style. There must be a sensitive consciousness of the significance and relation of leading lines, in short, for composition, and an instinct for the harmony or inharmony of details, before an artist or a people can rightly use style. From Bangor to San Diego we seem never weary of contriving for ourselves belongings which are artistically discordant and customs which are wholly inappropriate.

Perhaps a few instances may serve to make the writer's meaning a little clearer.

The first great achievement of the American people was the Declaration of Independence, and this solemn, momentous act of national manhood has been celebrated for more than a century. There were a hundred ways, graceful and grave, in which Independence Day might have been commemorated and rendered sacred in the minds of our rather pert and unrespecting youth. Did we devise a manner of celebration noble and appropriate? Did we even invent something "strictly American?" No! We went to the terrestrial and intellectual antipodes and imported *a Chinese jollification by fire-crackers*, deliberately choosing to offer as our tribute to Independence a senseless pandemonium of petty snappings, and the incense of evil smell.

Then we took a hundred years to build a monument for the great soldier and statesman whom we delight to call the Father of his Country. And at last, produced—what? Something whose inmost significance is essentially *appropriate?* On the contrary, we have dedicated to Washington an obelisk—that symbol which

pious worshipers of "bulls and tomcats" upon the Nile had consecrated as the special emblem of Generation, and the particular privilege of certain erotic potentates. It is idle to say that the obelisk has been habilitated and purged by its association with respectable graveyards, for its misuse there does not in the least save it from what Mr. Gladstone calls the "flagrant symbolism" made perpetual by its dedication to Osiris.

For style in music alone we inherit from our Teutonic forebears a certain appreciation, in all other modes of artistic expression we are deaf, dumb, and blind. We are not quite like the Shah of Persia, who was profoundly touched by the tuning up of the great orchestra in Albert Hall, and bored to extinction by the rich poetry of the fifth symphony; yet in the other arts we seem positively to enjoy the most egregious discord and to be unconscious of real harmonies.

For instance, so universal a thing as a drawing-room is, with the rarest exception, a mere wreck of styles, a maelstrom into which all sorts of works of decorative and pure art are drawn and sucked down together into mutual ruin. Our rooms are like the tuning of the Shah's orchestra—a noisy discord of notes, each one perhaps tolerable in itself, but wretched when sounded together in violation of the fixed laws of harmony.

There may be a dozen good drawing-rooms in America. Into one of these—in a Fifth Avenue palace—the writer stepped with astonishment a few months ago. A white, Louis XIV. oak room, with a *boiserie* of the most chaste and exquisite carving; a true, authentic example of the very acme of French decorative skill; as fine a piece of the elegant wealth of ornament, with lively lightness, as the epoch of the *Grand Monarque* ever produced, and actually here in New York! The ceiling is perfectly in keeping; each *dessus de porte* the charming work of a good painter; the movables and stuffs strictly *de style*. Here was the symphony, and not the tum-tum of the tuning-up jargon, and it occurred to the writer to see what society in general thought of it. One group of bediamonded women were unanimous that "it wasn't a patch on Mrs. ——'s boudoir." Now, Mrs. ——'s boudoir is nothing but the *disjecta membra* of a once important bank account; it reeks money, it exudes costliness—very likely the chairs are stuffed with curled coupons—but to an art-loving mind it is a dreary, poverty-smitten waste. Another fair creature said the Louis XIV.

room was "cold as a palace." The verdict was unanimous. No one cared for the real poem in decoration; every one preferred the glories of the neo-Pullmanic boudoir.

What are you going to do with such a people?

In loftier matters, too, than decoration, we are hopelessly obtuse to the appropriate.

Lately a statue of the "Puritan" was unveiled in Central Park with the ordinary amount of eloquence and ceremony which from time to time marks the conversion of that sylvan retreat into a sort of Madame Toussaud's. This particular work seems to the writer to be well up to Mr. Ward's high mark of excellence, even to possess some very unusual merits; but the ceremony of unveiling would have thrown the whole "Mayflower" into fits. The solemn Puritan quenched within his English home-loving heart that fire of local attachment which is aflame in every true Briton, and came a sad and weary pilgrim to the inhospitable shore of a howling wilderness. To free himself from the English Church on one hand, and the freethinkers of his day on the other, he turned his back on all the charm of England, and accepted what even now can hardly be called gay, a life in Massachusetts. At last, here in the very capital of our dear *bourgeois* civilization, we erect a statue of this austere personage of two hundred years ago. We are not given to self-denials ourselves—we don't particularly care to make even small sacrifices for religion—we have changed all that; but one fine day we find ourselves ready with a fine work of art, appropriately swathed in its so-called veil, and then what do we do? We commit the ceremonies to an EPISCOPAL BISHOP and an AGNOSTIC!—the very two characters the poor Puritan went into banishment to get rid of.

If we were to set up a statue of St. Thomas Aquinas to-morrow, ten to one we should ask Bob Ingersoll to make the oration, and invite Aimée to sing "*Un mari sage.*"

It has been said of us by transatlantic critics that Americans have talent, but never genius. This is most unfair; if for nothing else, we have a positive and unrivaled genius for the inappropriate. There is something wrong about the brain and nerve of a people who so signally lack all idea of the fitness of things, of what goes with what harmoniously, of what should and what should not be brought together. We show this failing in every department of life, in morals, in matter of the intellect, and in

every possible phase of the pure or practical arts, in society, in dress, in taste, in everything. And for just this reason the proposal to make a great work of art gives to all artistic Americans the cold shudders. We know that we are in danger of a monster of conglomerate nature, something to cause years of mortification until public opinion shall wake up and demolish it.

Let us for once approach the subject of a public monument with a little modesty. It might be most becoming to us. We don't know—we never tried it.

Here we are about to build a great work, which, two thousand years hence, will be held to express the tribute of a people already rich and numerous, to the first soldier of a great war. It will reflect our place in civilization, our material status, our artistic judgment; in short, it will stamp us as the monuments of other lands and civilization, mark the power and beauty or weak ugliness of their national spirit. Our choice lies between architecture and sculpture, or a union of both arts. Sculpture alone, even at colossal dimensions, is incapable of the solidity and breadth of mass desirable for the tribute of fifty millions of people. Architecture only can achieve the grand and stately proportions, the large tranquillity and permanence of a truly great monument. The writer assumes, therefore, that those who are to choose for us will make the memorial a work of architecture, however much they may leave of the subordinate embellishments to sculpture or painting, or glass-making, wood-carving, or mosaic. And it is ardently to be desired that the deciding authorities should reflect most seriously on the various architectural styles, and the social life of which they were the just and fit expressions, in order that they shall choose that mode which most nearly harmonizes with our American history and ideals.

First of all, let us hope that they will select a style among those which have culminated since the Christian era. This is Anno Domini, not the period of Thotmes II. We do not live in the soft Nilotic air and the dark voluptuous gloom of the sensual Egyptian religion. Nor is there in our type of mind and life the least affinity with the classic Greeks. They were a subtle, metaphysical people, satirical but poetic, full of doubt and fuller of belief; yet, above all, positively inspired with a love and comprehension of art, with the most delicate and sublimated sense of its unities and its sacred requirements.

If the average Greek gentleman of the time of, say Praxiteles, should land at the Battery and make his way up Broadway, we can fancy his sufferings.

It should seem that we had frozen our fingers too often in experimenting with the cold beauty of the Greek in New England villages to care to try it again. Behold a colorless little Massachusetts hamlet; the bare boughs of its elms traced against a stone-gray winter sky, which has been carded into long, horizontal lines by the teeth of the East wind. A prim little Puritan maiden, sharp as a stock-broker, and with an unabridged dictionary of a mind, trips along between parallel banks of snow, and briskly mounts the steps of a *white-pine* Parthenon, the residence of her father, the leading deacon in the Second Congregational Church over the way. This family have lived in its classic structure for two generations, utterly unconscious of the pitiless humor of their situation. People with the smallest shred of sense of appropriateness would have torn down their Greek temple, or, being Yankees, sold it piecemeal for reputable kindling-wood.

Let us have no Greek temple on the Riverside Drive. When we sit in white *kitons* in the cool of the day, within the classic shade of Jones' Wood, to discuss and speculate on the essence of tragic love, and, if baffled, adjourn to consult the oracle in Hoboken, it will be time to construct a temple of Niké Apteros over our warrior dead.

The Renaissance certainly is better suited to sumptuous civic and domestic uses than to a great memorial; it lends itself to the town-hall and the chateau, but it lacks the unity and grandeur, the deep-rooted power needful for a great tomb. The ornament is forever calling the eye away from the mass, and even the ornament is inferior to that of other styles. Such a splendid example as the palace in Seville, where the rich, freely drawn *plateresco* ornaments are massed on a building which inherits something of the solidity of Roman Spain, fails to hold a permanent place in one's heart.

Of modern architects only the French can be said to have devised style, and their charming creations are too gay and bright with Gallic levity to be applicable to mortuary purposes. It is the style in which to house a pretty and witty woman, not to cover in the ashes of a hero.

The choice would seem to lie between Gothic and Romanesque. It seems to the writer that this is neither the age nor people to meddle with Gothic art. To do Gothic work requires a Gothic heart, a Gothic head, and a Gothic hand. We are sophisticated, *blasé*, indifferent to nature, and conventional to the last degree. The men who awoke from the sleep of the dark ages and suddenly broke loose from the monastic authority, prerogative, and precedent, and within fifty years created a style and carried it to the consummate flower of its whole life, were simple, direct, and religious. They made a passionate appeal direct to nature to help them in their new ideal of ornamentation, and she showered her favors upon them. Of Gothic architecture we have done little more than to cobble up some unsuccessful plagiarisms in the way of churches, and to nail a few rather thin boards together into sad little suburban villas, having a certain sanctimony of English perpendicular windows.

It has remained for England to demonstrate the inability of the modern mind to grasp the Gothic. Witness the vain repetition (as bad in art as in prayer) and long-drawn monotony of Westminster Palace, with its un-Gothic sameness of façade after façade. However, let us speak tenderly and humanely of poor Britain, for her crimes against the Gothic have met with the fullness of retribution in the Albert Memorial, a pretentious work only valuable as a warning to teach how a large idea can be belittled in execution. The colossal fire-gilt statue of the late Prince Consort sits under a lofty pinnacled canopy of iron. The figure, like most British sculpture, is graceless, inanimate, and devoid of all character save a certain well-nourished, after-dinnerish, Philistine placidity. Overhead the architectural design is crude as to its general mass, and loaded with coarsely designed, mechanical-looking ornamentation. Not only are the details wanting in all that nervous vim and sharp autographic character which is the joy of real Gothic, but they are unnecessarily vulgarized by a "swell" ostentation of gilt and a blunder of ignorant color. Fairly good work may be seen in certain portions of the relief frieze which surrounds the platform, but its merits are obscured by four allegorical groups which travesty respectively the four continents and resemble nothing so much as the triumphal entry of Barnum's circus into a provincial town.

Ah, happy England! As elsewhere the ivy hides under its

green compassion the multitude of your sins against art, so in London the blessed fog, a mercy in gray, as Mr. Whistler might truly call it, wraps its soft mystery around the great monument of *Uxor*.

There is no particular reason given why miracles are never encored, nor is there any valid reason why a true Gothic artist might not appear on earth again suddenly, say in Harlem, only so far he has not. Even if he did, it is very questionable whether his style would be truly appropriate for the tomb of an American general of the nineteenth century.

The phase of national life and art to which we must nearly approach, the intellectual bent most akin to ours, is that of the middle period of the Roman Empire. We are far more Roman than English; indeed, the most extraordinary feature of the American is his un-Englishness. The chief experiences of the Roman people were what ours have been—war, trade, and sudden expansion into national greatness, an expansion so rapid and immense as to overshadow and mar the serenity and order of social life. Material prosperity and political administration were the leading pursuits. Rome and America have loved luxury and pomp. Each civilization might be called a political success: both must be judged social failures. Rome loved the big; it seemed in harmony with the prodigious growth of Roman populations and the gigantic spread of the imperial system. Size, brute mass, the big figures of the census are our pride. Like the Romans, we adore quantity.

The splendid expansion of the Roman Empire gave an impetus to the production of architectural monuments in which bigness was realized at the occasional cost of greatness. In that they showed their inferior art perception to the Greeks, who only asked of their craftsmen greatness, rarely exacting bigness.

American civilization and taste, American life and problems, are singularly Roman. Discussions in Roman history as to the ratios of the precious metals, and the endless assertions that the disturbance of the stability of those ratios was due to the appreciation of gold on the one hand or to the decline in value of silver on the other, sound tiresomely like the struggle of western Congressmen and "the Scholar in Politics" here and to-day. Monopoly and administrative reform brought about party changes then as now. In short, to no people or art, to no system of public monuments, to no canons of taste or crystallization of styles, can we turn and find ourselves less strangers than among Roman works. There alone

are monuments adequate to express our thoughts, splendid enough to reach our ideals.

Grant himself was not far removed from the type of the great Roman captain. Simple and direct, uncomplicated by the high-strung self-consciousness of the present age, of a singularly objective mind, free from the versatile intellectuality of the men who are governing and controlling Europe to-day, he went to his battles and conquests with the absorbed directness of a soldier of the second century.

What, then, could be more fitting for the plain, material, American people to erect to this large-minded, but simple-minded hero, than the sort of monument which the Romans reared to their great dead?

The designer of the Memorial, if he be a true architect, will find himself confronted with a sufficiently noble task, and he will derive additional inspiration from the chosen site on Riverside Drive. He will be building for thousands of years on a great spot. Soon the rising tide of houses will pour in a broad advancing wave over the whole island, and the Drive will be one of the finest civic displays in the world.

The monument will have the good fortune of being visible and approachable from all sides, and no design will be fitting which does not oppose to all views fronts of equal value. This would seem to exclude a triumphal arch, either colossal like the Arc de l'Etoile, or in the more modest but equally effective proportions of that of Constantine, which, if placed with the axis of its opening to the drive, would be fine and noble from the north or south, but poor and meaningless from the east and from the river.

A column like that of Trajan offers a certain probable artistic safety, as the scope for degrading and disgracing design is reduced almost to the minimum; but no column possesses a shadow of the grandeur of a great round building.

Perfect unity and the equal grandeur from all axes of view is only attainable by a round structure, for even a pyramid, otherwise symmetrical, is singularly changed in its perspective as the light and shadow follow one another from face to face.

The present Castle of San Angelo, which is the tomb of Hadrian, and was designed by that imperial architect for his own mausoleum, is an instance of the air of power and indestructibleness which

a broad, low, cylindrical structure possesses. Instances of similar round Roman tombs, though usually in hopeless ruin, are abundant enough. Whenever one sees these great stone drums, whether projected against a lighted sky, or with the dark girdling graduation of a day-time shadow, or burning in the east under attack of the level spears of the setting sun, they are eloquent of strength, sublime simplicity, and all but eternal permanence.

Hadrian's tomb was once splendid with incrusting marble, rich with circling column and statue, and graceful with its great bronze fir-cone, towering aloft against the purple darkness of the Roman sky; yet after sixteen hundred years of fierce vicissitudes, with its statues trampled under Gothic feet, its marbles flung down and broken, it stands a mere naked drum of masonry, yet one of the grand structures of the world.

Round Roman forms have the unique merit of concentrating all their effects in one single idea: the eye and the memory hold but one impression. Within the limits of the circular plan is room for abundant choice of style. Classic temples like that of Hercules (the so-called Vesta) in Rome, or the richer fragment at Tivoli, offer a type of the Greco-Roman structure capable of the acme of marble beauty, but unfit, by reason of the extinction of the classic spirit, for present use.

The great solid cylinders, like Hadrian's tomb, make attainable the highest expression of dignity and permanence, and are adapted to abundant sculptural adornment. Yet even this type, with all its grandeur, is associated with a mode of structure which has been outgrown by the mechanical advances of modern civilization. This is still the age of bricks, but is also the day of Bessemer beams and of glass. So, while the ideas and forms of imperial monuments seem most fitting and available for us, the technical advantages of modern architectural engineering ought not to be sacrificed to any archæological servility of treatment.

Fortunately there exists the Romanesque style of architecture, which is not only a lineal descendant of the pure Roman style, but admirably adapted to the modernization of the great Roman forms. There is nothing in the round Roman motive which is not directly and readily expressible by the Romanesque, nor is their any wealth of decoration beyond its resources. It welcomes iron and glass, it is capable of large, massive surfaces of unbroken masonry, and permits the abundant admission of window openings.

It covers at once the antique and the modern. It possesses all that is grandest in the Roman combination of wall and arch and pier, and inherits an abundant wealth of ornament which came down the full, yet turbid stream of oriental imagination and was filtered through the clarifying intelligence of the Byzantine Greeks.

What therefore seems to the writer the most fitting tribute of the American people, and the grandest possible monument for General Grant, is a round Roman tomb of noble dimensions treated as to its details in Romanesque style.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS.

PART II.

THE second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress convened on the first Monday of December, 1861. The Senators and Representatives of the rebellious States were no longer with us. The rumblings of treason, deep and significant, were everywhere heard. What was to be the outcome no one could tell. Anxiety and sadness sat enthroned in both Houses, but there was faith unshaken and courage unsubdued. A state of things existed well calculated to shake the stoutest hearts. The loyal members of both Senate and House were closely organized to concert measures to meet the appalling emergencies that confronted them. It was determined that each House should appoint one of its members to form a committee to watch the current of events and discover as far as possible the intentions and acts of the rebels. This committee of "Public Safety," as it might be called, was a small one —only two members, Governor Grimes, the Senator from Iowa, on the part of the Senate, and myself on the part of the House. Clothed with full powers, we at once put ourselves in communication with General Scott, the head of the army, with head-quarters at Washington, and Chief-of-Police Kennedy, of New York City, a loyal and true man, with a skill unsurpassed by a Fouché or a Vidocque. He at once sent us some of his most skillful and trusted detectives; and earnestly, loyally, and courageously they went to work to unravel the plots and schemes set on foot to destroy us. And never was detective work more skillfully and faithfully done, not only in Washington, but in Baltimore and Richmond and Alexandria. They were all good rebels; they had long beards, and wore slouched hats and seedy coats; they chewed tobacco and smoked cheap cigars; damned the Yankees and drank bad whiskey; and they obtained a great deal of valuable information in respect to hostile plans and schemes.

As the 4th of March drew near, what occupied our most anxious thought was, how Mr. Lincoln could get to Washington and be inaugurated. Another committee was formed, one from each House, to look after that matter. Governor Seward was the Senate member, and I was put on on the part of the House, for the reason, perhaps, that I was from Illinois, a known personal friend of the President, who had been in close correspondence with him all winter. Associating ourselves together, we came to the conclusion that everything must be done with the most profound secrecy. Governor Seward, his son Frederic W. Seward, subsequently his Assistant Secretary of State, and myself were the only persons in Washington who had any knowledge whatever of Mr. Lincoln's proposed movements. That there was a conspiracy in Baltimore to assassinate him as he should pass through, there can be no reasonable doubt. We hoped he might be able to come through in the day-time from Philadelphia, taking a train secretly and cutting the wires, so that his departure could not be known. But General Scott's detectives in Baltimore had developed such a condition of things, that Governor Seward thought that the President-elect and his friends in Philadelphia should be advised in regard thereto, and on the night of the 22d of February he sent his son Frederic W. over to Philadelphia to consult with them. Till now we had believed the President would come over from Philadelphia on the train leaving there at noon of the 23d. In the mean time the President had promised to run up to Harrisburg to attend a reception of the Pennsylvania Legislature at twelve o'clock on that day. Up to this time the situation had been fully discussed by the friends of Mr. Lincoln, in the light of all the information received, but no particular programme agreed upon. It was not until the party started for Harrisburg the next morning that the best method of getting to Washington was finally talked over. Mr. Lincoln had previously had a conversation with the detective, Pinkerton, and Mr. Frederic W. Seward in regard to the condition of things at Baltimore. The Hon. Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, one of the most conspicuous and trusted friends of Mr. Lincoln, who had accompanied the party from Springfield, suggested a plan which, after full discussion by Mr. Lincoln and all his friends present, was agreed upon and successfully carried out. This plan, as is generally known, was that after the dinner which Governor Curtin had tendered to him had been finished, at six o'clock in the

afternoon, he should take a special car and train from Harrisburg for Philadelphia to intercept the night train from New York to Washington. The telegraph wires from Harrisburg were all cut, so there could be no possible telegraphic connection with the outside world. The connection was made at Philadelphia. Mr. Lincoln was transferred to the Washington train without observation, to arrive at his destination on time the next morning without the least miscarriage, as will be stated hereafter. On the afternoon of the 23d, Mr. Seward came to my seat in the House of Representatives and told me he had no information from his son nor any one else in respect of Mr. Lincoln's movements, and that he could have none, as the wires were all cut; but he thought it very probable he would arrive in the regular train from Philadelphia, and he suggested that we should meet at the depot to receive him. We were promptly on hand; the train arrived in time, and with strained eyes we watched the descent of the passengers. But there was no Mr. Lincoln among them; though his arrival was by no means certain, yet we were much disappointed. But as there was no telegraphic connection, it was impossible for us to have any information. It was no use to speculate—sad, disappointed, and under the empire of conflicting emotions we separated to go to our respective homes, but agreeing to be at the depot on the arrival of the New York train the next morning before daylight, hoping either to meet the President or get some information as to his movements. I was on hand in season, but to my great disappointment Governor Seward did not appear. I planted myself behind one of the great pillars in the old Washington and Baltimore depot where I could see and not be observed. Presently the train came rumbling in on time. It was a moment of great anxiety to me. There has been a great deal printed in the newspapers about Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Washington, and about the "Scotch cap" and "big shawl" he wore through Baltimore, etc., etc., most of which is mere stuff. I propose now to tell about his arrival at Washington, from my own personal knowledge—what I saw with my own eyes and what I heard with my own ears, not the eyes and ears of some one else. As I have stated, I stood behind the pillar awaiting the arrival of the train. When it came to a stop I watched with fear and trembling to see the passengers descend. I saw every car emptied, and there was no Mr. Lincoln. I was well-nigh in despair, and when about to leave I saw slowly emerge from the

last sleeping-car three persons. I could not mistake the long, lank form of Mr. Lincoln, and my heart bounded with joy and gratitude. He had on a soft low-crowned hat, a muffler around his neck, and a short bob-tailed overcoat. Any one who knew him at that time could not have failed to recognize him at once, but I must confess he looked more like a well-to-do farmer from one of the back towns of Jo Davies's county coming to Washington to see the city, take out his land warrant and get the patent for his farm, than the President of the United States. The only persons that accompanied Mr. Lincoln were Pinkerton, the well-known detective, recently deceased, and Ward H. Lamon. When they were fairly on the platform, and a short distance from the car, I stepped forward and accosted the President: "How are you, Lincoln?" At this unexpected and rather familiar salutation the gentlemen were apparently somewhat startled, but Mr. Lincoln, who had recognized me, relieved them at once by remarking in his peculiar voice: "This is only Washburne!" Then we all exchanged congratulations, and walked out to the front of the depot, where I had a carriage in waiting. Entering the carriage (all four of us), we drove rapidly to Willard's Hotel, entering on Fourteenth Street, before it was fairly daylight. The porter showed us into the little receiving-room at the head of the stairs, and at my direction went to the office to have Mr. Lincoln assigned a room. We had not been in the hotel more than two minutes before Governor Seward hurriedly entered, much out of breath, and somewhat chagrined to think he had not been up in season to be at the depot on the arrival of the train. The meeting of those two great men under the extraordinary circumstances which surrounded them was full of emotion and thankfulness. I soon took my leave, but not before promising Governor Seward that I would take breakfast with him at eight o'clock; and as I passed out the outside door the Irish porter said to me, with a smiling face: "And by faith it is you who have brought us a Prisidint."

At eight the governor and I sat down to a simple and relishing breakfast. We had been relieved of a load of anxiety almost too great to bear. The President had reached Washington safely, and our spirits were exalted; and with a sense of great satisfaction we sipped our delicious coffee and loaded our plates with the first run of Potomac shad.

Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," has been led

into an error in speaking of the manner in which Lincoln reached Washington. He says: "He reached Washington by a night journey taken secretly, much against his own will and to his subsequent chagrin and mortification, but urged upon him by the advice of those in whose advice and wisdom he was forced to confide." The only truth in the statement is that he "reached Washington by a night journey taken secretly." I was the first man to see him after his arrival in Washington and talk with him of the incidents of his journey, and I know he was neither "mortified" nor "chagrined" at the manner in which he reached Washington. He expressed to me in the warmest terms his satisfaction at the complete success of his journey; and I have it from persons who were about him in Philadelphia and Harrisburg that the plan agreed upon met his hearty approval, and he expressed a cheerful willingness to adapt himself to the novel circumstances. I do not believe that Mr. Lincoln ever expressed a regret that he had not, "according to his own desire, gone through Baltimore in open day," etc. It is safe to say he never had any such "desire." His own detective, Pinkerton, a man who had his entire confidence, had been some time in Baltimore, with several members of his force, in unraveling rebel plots, produced to him the most conclusive evidence of a conspiracy to assassinate him. General Scott's detectives had discovered the same thing, and there was a great deal of individual testimony tending to establish the same fact. While Mr. Lincoln would have confronted any danger in the performance of duty, he was not a man given to bravado and quixotic schemes, and what he subsequently stated touching this matter comprises really all there is in it. He declared: "I did not believe then, nor do I now believe, I should have been assassinated had I gone through Baltimore as first contemplated, but *I thought it wise to run no risk where no risk was necessary.*" ("Lossing's Pictorial History of the Rebellion," vol. i., p. 279.) In the same paragraph Mr. Blaine says that "it must be creditable to the administration of Mr. Buchanan that ample provision had been made for the protection of the rightful ruler of the nation" (p. 240). If Mr. Blaine means by this that Mr. Buchanan, driven by public indignation, had ordered a few straggling companies of regular infantry to Washington, that is one thing; but if he referred to the protection of the "rightful ruler" of the nation in getting to Washington, his good faith was imposed upon. I was in a position

to know all that was going on in relation to Mr. Lincoln's journey to Washington, and I never heard it suggested or hinted that Mr. Buchanan occupied himself with that matter. I am satisfied he had no more knowledge of Mr. Lincoln's movements than those of "the man in the moon."

Mr. Lincoln remained quietly at his own home in Springfield during the Presidential canvass of 1860, but he watched narrowly all the incidents of the campaign. On the 26th of May he wrote me as follows:

". . . I have your letters written since the nominations, but till now I have found no moment to say a word by way of answer. Of course I am glad that the nomination is well received by our friends, and I sincerely thank you for so informing me. So far as I can learn, the nominations take well everywhere, and if we get no back-set, it would seem as if they were going through.

"I hope you will write often; and as you write more rapidly than I do, don't make your letters so short as mine. Yours, very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Mr. Lincoln had his periods of anxiety and deep concern during the canvass. As chairman of the House Congressional (Republican) Committee, I was engaged at Washington during the campaign. On the 9th of September Mr. Lincoln wrote me as follows from Springfield:

"Yours of the 5th was received last evening. I was right glad to get it. It contains the latest 'posting' which I now have. It relieves me some from a little anxiety I had about Maine. Jo Medill, on August 30, wrote me that Colfax had a letter from Mr. Hamlin, saying we were in great danger of losing two members of Congress in Maine, and that your brother would not have exceeding six thousand majority for Governor. I addressed you at once, at Galena, asking for your latest information. As you are at Washington, that letter you will receive some time after the Maine election. Yours, very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

Though the election was over there came gloomy days for Mr. Lincoln, but he pondered well on the great problems before him. He had weighed well all the important questions which had arisen, and in him there was neither change nor shadow of turning. On the 13th day of December he wrote to me as follows:

"HON. E. B. WASHBURNE:

"*My Dear Sir:*—Your long letter received. Prevent as far as possible any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and our cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on slavery extension. There is no possible

compromise upon it but which puts us under again, and all our work to do over again. Whether it be a Missouri line or Eli Thayer's Popular Sovereignty, it is all the same. Let either be done, and immediately filibustering and extending slavery recommences. On that point hold firm as a chain of steel. Yours, as ever, A. LINCOLN."

As the time of the inauguration drew near there was an intense anxiety not unmingled with trepidation all over the loyal North as to how Mr. Lincoln might meet the approaching crisis. Many and varied were the speculations as to what course he would take. Looking at his character and life, many feared he had not fully comprehended the gravity of the situation. On the contrary, Mr. Lincoln had weighed the whole matter, and fully determined in his own mind what course he would pursue. In December, 1860, he wrote me the following letter :

"*Confidential.*

"SPRINGFIELD, *Dec.* 21, 1860.

"HON. E. B. WASHBURNE :

"*My Dear Sir :*—Last night I received your letter, giving an account of your interview with General Scott, and for which I thank you. Please present my respects to the General, and tell him confidentially I shall be obliged to him to be as well prepared as he can to either *hold* or retake the forts, as the case may require, at and after the inauguration. Yours, as ever,

"A. LINCOLN."

I cannot here recount all Mr. Lincoln's acts of kindness to me while President. He always seemed anxious to gratify me, and I can recollect of no single favor that I asked of him that he did not cheerfully accord. I will mention a simple incident. In the fall of 1863, my brother, General Washburne, of Wisconsin, was stationed at a most unhealthy camp at Helena, Arkansas. He was taken dangerously sick with malarial dysentery, and there was little prospect of his recovery unless he could be removed to some healthier location. I wrote to Mr. Lincoln, briefly, asking for a leave of absence for him for cause of health, and in due time I received the following reply :

"*Private and confidential.*

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, *Oct.* 26 1863.

"HON. E. B. WASHBURNE:

"*My Dear Sir:*—Yours of the 12th has been in my hands several days. Enclosed I send a leave of absence for your brother, in as good form as I think I

can safely put it. Without knowing whether he would accept it, I have tendered the Collectorship of Portland, Maine, to your other brother, the Governor.

"Thanks to both you and our friend Campbell for your kind words and intentions. A second term would be a great honor, and a great labor, which together, perhaps, I would not decline, if tendered. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

This last paragraph refers to a letter of the Honorable Thompson Campbell, whom I have before referred to in this paper, and in which we asked permission to bring him forward as a candidate for a re-election.

On the 13th of February, 1861, the two Houses of Congress met in joint session to count and declare the electoral vote. As in all times of great excitement, the air was filled with numberless and absurd rumors, and few were in fear that in some unforeseen way the ceremony of the count might be interrupted and the result not declared. And hence all Washington was on the *qui vive.* The joint meeting was to take place in the Hall of the House of Representatives at high noon. An immense throng filled the House end of the Capitol. All the gilded corridors leading to the Hall of the House were crowded, and the galleries packed. Beautiful and gorgeously dressed ladies entered the Hall, found their way into the cloak-rooms, and many of them occupied the seats of the members, who gallantly surrendered them for the occasion.

At twenty minutes after twelve the doorkeeper announced the Senate of the United States. The Senators entered, headed by their President, Honorable John C. Breckinridge, the members of the House rising to receive them. The Vice-President took his seat on the right of the Speaker of the House of Representatives (the Honorable William Pennington, of New Jersey). The joint convention of the two Houses was presided over by Mr. Breckinridge, who served out his term of Vice-President till March 4, 1861. The Honorable Lyman Trumbull was appointed teller on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Phelps, of Missouri, and Washburne, of Illinois, on the part of the House. The count proceeded without incident, and the Vice-President announced the election of Lincoln and Hamlin. Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, then offered the ordinary resolution of notification to the President-elect, by a committee of two members from the House to be joined by one member from the Senate. Mr. Hindman, of Arkansas, one of the most violent and vindictive secessionists, insisted that the same com-

mittee "inform General Scott that there was no more use for his janizaries about the Capitol, the votes being counted and the result proclaimed." Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, responded that gentlemen seemed to trouble themselves a good deal about General Scott on all occasions.

There was a certain feeling of relief among the loyal people of the country that Mr. Lincoln had been declared to be duly elected President, without the least pretense of illegality or irregularity.

But I must bring this paper to a close. The rebellion, in April, 1865, was fast approaching an end. Having expressed a desire to be at the front, wherever that might be, when the hour of its final collapse might come finally to strike, General Grant had given me a pass of the broadest character, to go anywhere in the Union lines. The news of the fall of Richmond reached Galena at eleven o'clock Monday morning, April 3, 1865. I took the train "for the front" at five P.M., and arrived in Washington, Thursday morning, April 6th. I found that the President, Mrs. Lincoln, and a party of friends had left on an excursion for Fortress Monroe, City Point, and Richmond. Mr. Blaine joined me, and we made the trip together to City Point. On arriving there, late Friday afternoon, we found the President and party had returned from Richmond, and were on their steamer, the "River Queen," which was to remain at City Point over-night. In the evening Mr. Blaine and myself went on board the steamer to pay our respects to the President. I never passed a more delightful evening. Mr. Lincoln was in perfect health and in exuberant spirits. His relation of his experiences and of all he saw at Richmond had all of that quaintness and originality for which he was distinguished. Full of anecdote and reminiscence, he never flagged during the whole evening. His son Robert was in the military service and with the advancing army, and knowing that I was bound for the "front" the next morning, he said to me: "I believe I will drop Robert a line if you will take it. I will hand it to you in the morning before you start." I went to the wharf the next morning, and soon Mr. Lincoln came ashore from his steamer, with the letter in his hand. He was erect and buoyant, and it seemed to me that I had never seen him look so great and grand. After a few words of conversation, he handed me the letter, and I bid him what proved to be, alas! a *final adieu*. I made my way with all diligence and through much tribulation to the "front," and arrived at Appomattox in season

to see the final surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, and General Lee and his associate generals prisoners of war. Returning to City Point, I found awaiting me there a small government steamer which was to take me to Washington. On arriving there I met the most terrible news that had ever shocked the civilized world: *Mr. Lincoln had been assassinated.* That was Saturday night, April 15, 1865. I gave directions to have the steamer proceed directly to Washington, where I arrived early Monday morning, April 17, and in season to participate in the stupendous preparations to do honor to the memory of the dead President. I was on the Congressional Committee to escort his remains to Springfield, Illinois, where I followed his colossal hearse to the grave.

E. B. WASHBURNE.

UNITED BULGARIA.

In the spring of 1876 there was a feeble attempt at insurrection in two or three Bulgarian villages, which, as every one will remember, was put down by the Turks with massacres and burnings such as had not been known for nearly forty years.* Owing to the remoteness of this region, it was some time before any knowledge of these events reached Western Europe. Detailed information had, however, been received by the American missionaries, and by other Americans engaged in educational work at Constantinople. They endeavored to represent the state of affairs in Bulgaria to the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliott, who declined to listen to their statements or to report the facts to his government. Finally, after the London "Times" had refused to publish a cautious report on the subject from its correspondent, Mr. Gallenga, a letter from Constantinople embodying the main facts was published in the "Daily News."† As the truth of these statements was denied by the English embassy at Constantinople, the American gentlemen in question were in danger of losing credit, and, what was more serious, of having Robert College—the most praiseworthy American institution in the East—shut up by the Turkish authorities on the ground of their dissemination of false reports against the government. Under these circumstances the American Minister, Mr. Maynard, deputed me, although I had arrived in Constantinople only a few days before, to proceed to the interior of Bulgaria, and to ascertain, if possible, the exact truth of the case. Meanwhile, such was the excitement which even the first publication had caused in England, that the British Ambassador was instructed to send some one to Philippopolis for the same

* In 1841, M. Blanqui was sent by M. Guizot to study the results of a similar massacre in Bulgaria.

† Written by Mr. Edwin Pears, an eminent English lawyer.

purpose. Mr. Walter Baring, one of the Secretaries of Legation, who was appointed to that duty, reached Philippopolis at about the same time as myself, and although our lines of investigation were in the main independent, we arrived at substantially the same result as to facts. Mr. J. A. MacGahan, then correspondent of the London "Daily News," was going to the Serbian frontier to write about the Serbian war with Turkey. He happened to go on the same railway train with me as far as Philippopolis, and, remaining there a day, became so interested in what he heard that he decided to put off his journey for a while and write of what he saw. It is chiefly through his letters that the English and the American public became aware of the manner in which the Turks had suppressed the disorders. As there was every reason for conducting my inquiries openly, Mr. MacGahan, Mr. Carl Schneider, the correspondent of the "Cologne Gazette," and, indeed, all who chose were allowed to be present. Two interpreters, of different nationalities, each speaking several languages, secured us against possible deceit. My preliminary report was given out for publication from the Legation during my absence and without my knowledge.

It is unnecessary to recite now the story of what had already taken place or to tell of the horrors which still remained visible. Suffice it to say that the truth of the statements made by the American clergymen was abundantly proven. The state of the country, however, was then so unsettled—there was such abject fear on the part of the Christian population and such organized terrorism on the part of the Mussulmans, with so great carelessness and inefficiency on the part of the officials—that it was impossible to resist the desire to do what we could to bring about a better state of things. The prisons were filled with persons accused of political offenses, who were being tried in batches before a commission composed of Mussulmans without regard to the ordinary forms of procedure ; sentences of the most severe nature were given daily, and frequent executions were taking place. The Christian inhabitants were afraid to appear outside of their villages or to continue their agricultural labors ; their cattle and horses had been stolen by their Mussulman neighbors, and their crops were not infrequently destroyed. What we could do in the way of representation to the local authorities or to the pashas was done, and in nearly all cases this produced an effect. The English

commissioner could indeed threaten in extreme cases with the displeasure of his government, but all that it was possible for me to do was to represent that the Porte was sincerely desirous of restoring order, and that by maintaining things in their actual position the officials were rendering a disservice to their own Government. In extreme cases it became necessary to obtain the good offices of the American Minister, as well as of the Russian Ambassador, with the authorities at Constantinople. I judged it better to communicate with my Minister by sending him open telegrams, stating exactly the facts, and what was best to do, in order that the Turkish authorities, who read every telegram before it was delivered, might have the advantage of complying with any request before it was actually made. I have every reason to believe that it was owing to the representations made by British and Russian Embassies and by the American Legation to the Porte that the greater number of the untried political prisoners were released, that a new judicial commission was formed, and that about two hundred people already sentenced to death had their sentences commuted. Horses and oxen as well as agricultural implements were restored, and at the end of our six weeks' work the condition of the population was vastly superior to that in which we found it.

I fully admit that, so far as I was concerned, I was, in so acting, going beyond and outside of my instructions; but it was a case where it was impossible for any man with human feelings to have done differently, and I had the satisfaction of knowing that my conduct was approved and supported both by the Minister at Constantinople and the government at home. I was even afterward thanked by Turkish officials for preventing them from acting so as to lose their places.

The result of the official reports of Mr. Baring, of Prince Tserebelef, the Russian consul-general at Philippopolis, who accompanied me during a portion of my investigation, and of the other consuls, was that a conference of European powers finally met in Constantinople in the autumn in order to consider some scheme for the better government of the Bulgarian provinces.

Before the meeting of the Conference, however, General Ignatief came to see me, and said that he was convinced that the Conference could do nothing unless some plan or scheme was placed before them at the beginning for their consideration; that they

would be too much hurried to work out any measure for the organization of Bulgaria. He suggested, therefore, that, as a person tolerably well acquainted with the present situation of the Bulgarian people, I should co-operate with Prince Tserebelef and another of his secretaries in preparing some scheme of government which could be submitted to the Conference for the approbation of the powers. As Mr. Maynard, the American Minister, saw no objection to my giving my advice and co-operation, we prepared first a plan of a constitution in general terms, which was submitted to Prince Gortchakoff before the Conference met. This having been approved by the prince, we then proceeded to draft a constitution in detail. The work was divided pretty equally between us, although we consulted together on every article. Others who had special knowledge were called in to assist us, including two *attachés* of the Russian consulate-general at Constantinople, who had lived for some time in various parts of Bulgaria and Macedonia, and Mr. MacGahan, who had won the confidence of all who knew him. Mr. Baring, the English secretary, was also invited to assist, but Sir Henry Elliott refused to allow him to give any aid, and kept him at Philippopolis. It was of course impossible for foreigners, even had they known the country much better than we did, to have drawn up a constitution thoroughly suited to the needs of the inhabitants; but we were enabled in the end to draft a scheme which we thought would be acceptable to the powers and at the same time be capable of working fairly well. In some respects I was even less liberal than my Russian colleagues, for, taking into consideration the relative civilization of the country, I laid great stress on the introduction of local self-government, while diminishing the power of the general legislature. The chief officials still had to be appointed or confirmed by the Sultan. But we believed that the country could only learn to govern itself by beginning at the bottom and practicing self-government in the communes on the basis that had always existed, leaving to the future the possibility of giving more extended powers to the provincial assembly.

A question at once arose about the boundaries of the new State; and here it was necessary to obtain assistance from Turkish official documents, especially from those which we considered the most accurate—the reports to the Minister of Finance—so far as they could be obtained. Kiepert's map and the reports of travelers

were taken for what they were worth. Before coming to any decision, an ethnological map of each district was made by Mr. Ternoff of the Russian consulate, together with a carefully prepared collection of vital statistics. There were several questions to be considered. In certain parts of what was evidently Bulgaria were large bodies of Mussulmans, some of them Turks, others Circassians, transplanted there after the Crimean war on the advice of the English embassy; and in some districts people called Pomaks, of Bulgarian origin, and speaking almost solely the Bulgarian language, but who had adopted the Mussulman religion at the time of the Turkish conquest for the sake of preserving their lands and personal freedom. It was of course impossible, in drawing the boundaries of a province, to leave small *enclaves*, no matter what their population might be. It was known, for instance, that the village of Peristera was purely Greek, as was also that of Stenimakho, with its surroundings, which was even mentioned as a purely Greek town by Villehardouin after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. In the towns on the Black Sea there was a numerical preponderance of Greeks, and there was also a Greek population extending for some miles inland on the sea-coast of the Ægean. It was considered necessary to give the future Bulgarian seaports both on the Black Sea and on the Ægean; otherwise the same mistake would have been committed which was made by giving the Dalmatian sea-coast to Austria, while Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a similar population, were thus cut off from their natural outlets.

Expecting that the Conference, and especially its English members, would be exceedingly critical, the boundaries were made rather too large than too small in order to allow room for cutting down. The question then came up, Shall Bulgaria constitute a single province? General Ignatief believed that the English would be unwilling to agree to a single province of the size suggested, and therefore proposed dividing it into two by the line of the Balkans. To this I replied that, if the English objected to a single province, it would be better to allow them the privilege of dividing the country into two, as thus there might be more yielding with regard to other parts of the constitution. My suggestion was accepted, and the constitution was presented to the Conference, giving one great Bulgaria with the constitution which we had agreed upon. Naturally the Conference objected, as we had

foreseen, to many of the articles, and referred the whole back to the Russian delegates for revision. It was evident that, with all the subjects before the Conference for consideration, no great attention could be given to details, and the constitution was sent back arranged in a different order, written in somewhat different language, but with almost every detail substantially the same. This was accepted by the majority. The only serious change was in the boundaries. Here, as we had thought, the English insisted on two provinces instead of one; but, strangely enough, instead of dividing by the natural lines of the mountain range, the provinces were separated by a purely artificial north and south meridian line, which left nearly all the intelligence, culture, and business elements in the eastern province, and the wilder and less civilized part in the western half. It was evident that such a state of things could not have lasted long; and two provinces, while imposing greater burdens upon the population than one, would give far more opportunity for intrigue to any foreign power that chose to adopt such means. Everything, however, was cut short by the refusal of Turkey to accept the results of the Conference. In this she was assisted by an intrigue of the English embassy. Lord Salisbury sustained the side of the Bulgarians, but his colleague, the English Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliott, was jealous of him, and succeeded, owing to his influence and long residence at Constantinople, in persuading the Turks that the real England would support them in any opposition they might make to Russia. Had the proposition of the Conference been accepted by Turkey, the state of affairs would have greatly differed from what it is now. Bulgaria, whether in two provinces or one, would have been immediately subject to the Porte, although with local autonomy; *i. e.*, would have been in the same position in which Eastern Rumelia has been up to the present time. Both Roumania and Serbia would have remained tributary states, and not have become independent kingdoms.

But the Conference, as we have seen, proved abortive, and the result was war, in which the Turks came to such straits that they were willing to accept almost any terms that Russia proposed. Among these was the creation of a great Bulgaria as one single tributary state, with boundaries somewhat enlarged beyond those proposed by the Conference. It was a great grief to those of us who are not Russians, but who are interested in the Christian peo-

ples of the East, and it was, it seems to me, a great mistake on the part of the Russian negotiators that provision was not made for giving Thessaly and Epirus, if not the town of Salonica, to Greece. But as Greece had been led by English promises to keep quiet, and as, more than that, the short-sighted policy of the Greek patriarchate at Constantinople had been, first, to hinder the formation of the Bulgarian exarchate and the separation of the Bulgarian church from the Greek, and then to claim the whole of Bulgaria, which they called by the ancient name Thrace, as Greek on account of its religion, the Russian negotiators were not inclined to interfere in favor of the Greeks.

It may be allowable to say here, parenthetically, that the signature of the peace of San Stefano was first publicly announced at my house to General Grant, who was then in Constantinople, by Count Cortis, the Italian Ambassador, who had just received a telegram to that effect from General Ignatief. The English embassy did not receive the intelligence until the next morning, when it was already published in the newspapers. General Grant was very much interested in the Eastern question in all its details. He had acquired his knowledge with wonderful rapidity during his journey in the East, and, in spite of his taciturnity, had entertained us for an hour the day previous by telling us what he would have done had he arrived before Constantinople at the head of a victorious army. Without entering into details I may say that he would have occupied Constantinople with his troops, and, while making every provision for the safety of private and of governmental property, would have issued a proclamation leaving the ultimate arrangements to the European powers on one sole condition—"that the rule of the Turk in Europe was to be forever abolished."

While the treaty of San Stefano kept very closely to the boundaries of Bulgaria as laid down by the Conference, there was one change of great importance; for, instead of being a self-governing Turkish province, Bulgaria was constituted into an autonomous tributary principality with a Christian government and a national militia.

As is well known, this diminution of the territory of European Turkey was distasteful to the English Government as well as to Austria, and a congress of the European powers which had signed the treaty of Paris was called at Berlin for the purpose of revising

the treaty of San Stefano. The result of this revision was to reduce very greatly the limits of Bulgaria, by cutting off the whole of Macedonia, by limiting the boundaries on the south-eastern side, and, further, by dividing the country into two parts by the line of the Balkans. The north-western portion was formed into an autonomous tributary principality under the name of Bulgaria, while the south-eastern part was made a province under a Christian governor, with a constitutional government, and placed back under the control of the Porte. Lest there should even seem to be a connection between these two regions, this province was given not the name of Southern Bulgaria, but the misnomer of Eastern Rumelia. In this way that part of the country which had suffered least from the Turks, where the population was sparser and rougher, was given a practical independence, while Eastern Rumelia with a denser, more intelligent, more educated, and richer population, which had been the scene of nearly all the massacres of 1876, was made again a Turkish province. The country was thus burdened with a double government, and the tribute from Eastern Rumelia was fixed at a high rate.*

In accordance with the terms of the treaty of Berlin, a constitutional assembly met at Tirnovo in the spring of 1879, formed a constitution, and elected as prince, Alexander of Battenberg, the son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, and therefore a cousin of the present Emperor of Russia. The draft of the constitution proposed by Prince Tcherkosky, the Russian governor, was by no means adopted in its entirety. The Bulgarian delegates showed themselves more independent than had been expected, and, partly under the influence of an American gentleman, the late Mr. E. M. Grant, introduced many exceedingly democratic features, in part to the advantage and in part also to the detriment of the country. The constitution as adopted was, as events proved, too liberal for a people not yet accustomed to self-government. Still, as a whole, it worked much better than even the most sanguine friends of Bulgaria had a right to expect. But its defects led the prince to accept the advice of the foreigners who surrounded him, among whom the German consul was especially active, and in 1881 he was induced to issue a proclamation suspending the constitution for seven years, and assuming extraordinary powers for that time.

* The revenue of the province was estimated at $3,680,000 (it is really about $2,760,000), and the tribute was fixed at $1,104,000.

His action was indeed ratified by a vote of a special assembly elected for that purpose, but the chief political men of the country declared at that time and afterwards that the elections to this assembly had not been free. However that may be, the prince before long saw his mistake, and being loyal to the best interests of the country, gave up the extraordinary powers that had been conferred upon him, and in 1883 restored the constitution with some very slight changes. Since that time, in spite of some checks, the condition of Bulgaria has been uniformly prosperous. Public order has been generally maintained everywhere, agriculture and commerce have prospered, the schools have increased, and the people lead a free and independent life. One sure evidence of the general good government is that the peasantry are constantly adding to their landed property, and that the area of cultivation has been greatly extended.

In accordance also with the provisions of the treaty of Berlin, a European commission met at Philippopolis (the British members were Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and Lord Donoughmore) and a constitution or "organic statute" for Eastern Rumelia was adopted and put into force. The first governor-general appointed by the Porte, with the approval of the powers, was Prince Alexander Vogorides, by origin a Bulgarian, though of Greek education, who had been for many years in the Turkish diplomatic service under the name of Alako Pasha. On the expiration of his term of office in May, 1884, as some of the great powers objected to his renomination, he was succeeded by Gabriel Pasha Chrestovitch, also a Bulgarian by birth. The Rumelians had advantages over the Bulgarians—that their constitution had been more carefully elaborated with a view to the actual conditions and needs of the country, and that they had a more educated class of men willing to serve as functionaries without having recourse to foreigners, as was the case in Bulgaria.

It would seem that constitutional government in Rumelia worked better than in Bulgaria; but there has always been great discontent, arising partly from the interference of the Porte, the non-approval of certain laws passed by the assembly, and the heavy tribute, and partly from a natural sympathy which led the inhabitants to desire union with their brothers across the line. It was felt that a double government imposed heavier burdens on the two provinces taken as a whole than would have been caused by a

single government, and the custom's frontier prevented free trade between the members of what was practically a single people. The custom-houses were all the more disagreeable because they had not existed when both provinces were directly subject to Turkey. These in themselves were grievances, and every one at all acquainted with the situation of affairs saw that sooner or later the two provinces must become united, whether the Turks and the European powers were willing or not.

But in addition to this there was a feeling of sympathy for the Bulgarian inhabitants of Macedonia. It had been promised that liberal institutions should be introduced into Macedonia by the Porte, and the bases of them were even agreed upon with the European powers. These institutions, however, have never been applied by the Porte. Not only has the old system of Turkish government been continued in Macedonia, but rumored intrigues of Austria, if not of other powers, have led the Bulgarians to believe that the fate of their compatriots in Macedonia might be permanently dissevered from their own. It is impossible to consider Macedonia as a single ethnical region. The population of the northern part is Serbian, that of the extreme west Albanian, while the Greek element extends to some distance from the seaboard. The remainder, with the exception of the Turks, who are scattered here and there, is purely Bulgarian. So long as Bulgaria and Rumelia remained separated it was felt that if Austria should advance, as had been frequently rumored, to Salonica, the Bulgarians of Macedonia would be permanently separated from those of Bulgaria and Rumelia. The claims of Greece to a certain portion of this region are clear and well worthy of consideration, but their discussion does not enter into the present subject.

Owing then to the pressure of all these considerations, the inhabitants of Rumelia peaceably arose on the 18th of September, but deposed the chief officials, and proclaimed their union with Bulgaria.

This union is a manifest infraction of the treaty of Berlin, but it is not an infraction of the same kind as though one of the signatory powers of that treaty did some act contrary to its stipulations. Before that treaty was signed Rumania and Serbia had, *de facto*, obtained their independence, and that independence had been acknowledged by Turkey in the treaty of San Stefano, which had been duly ratified. The Porte had even sent ministers to Bucharest

and Belgrade previously to the signature of the treaty of Berlin. As neither Rumelia nor Serbia were allowed to be represented at Berlin and did not sign the treaty, the servitudes imposed upon them by the powers had no moral binding effect upon those countries, but were imposed only by the law of the strongest, and could be made effectual only by force or a threat of force. Such servitudes—and the treaty of Berlin abounds in them—were the provisions by which Serbia was compelled to make a commercial treaty with Austria-Hungary, and by which it was obliged to build a railway to connect the Austrian lines with Constantinople and Salonica. Similar servitudes were imposed upon Roumania with regard to the navigation of the Danube and the treatment of Jews. In like way Rumelia had been recognized by Turkey as part of the autonomous principality of Bulgaria, and its subsequent *status* as a Turkish province was only brought about by the will of the great powers of Europe, contrary to the desire of the population. In uniting itself, therefore, to Bulgaria, Rumelia cannot be accused of a breach of any treaty stipulations, for it signed no treaty; but only of an offense against a rule laid down by the Great Powers, who thought that the situation which they created was absolutely necessary for their essentially selfish interests. It remains therefore to be seen how far the great powers will insist upon the continuance of a situation which they created in view of the supposed necessities of the year 1878. A similar state of things was enacted by the treaty of Paris of 1856, by which, or rather by a conference of the powers in 1858, under the terms of this treaty, Wallachia and Waldavia were made separate principalities, and their request for union was denied. Subsequently, indeed the very next year, 1859, they practically united themselves by electing the same man, Prince Cuzo, as hospodar. In view of the accomplished fact, the powers refused to interfere, as the Porte had requested, sanctioned the double election, and subsequently permitted the union of the two principalities into the single principality of Roumania.

EUGENE SCHUYLER.

RACE PREJUDICE.

It is marvelous to see the bland and benign unconsciousness with which high religious culture contradicts itself. "We think," says the Atalanta "Christian Index," "that the race line is providential, and that Providence intended that it should be perpetuated."

"Should be perpetuated!" cries the New York "Independent." "But it has not been perpetuated. It has been broken down."

When? Where? How?

In another paragraph in the self-same column, arguing very fairly against a law prohibiting the intermarriage of the two races, the "Independent" says, "If left to themselves without law on the subject, they will very seldom intermarry. The occasional and very rare exception to this remark would do the body-politic no harm."

How can a race line be considered broken down so long as two races living in one community, in political unity and Christian fellowship, will, if left to themselves, very seldom intermarry—so seldom that intermarriage is the "very rare exception?" What prevents intermarriage but the color line; race prejudice?

The Rev. W. Hayne Leavell, who was born and reared in the South, who is a Congregationalist, and eager to see Congregational institutions wax strong in the South, is discontented with the policy adopted by the Home Missionary Society and the American Missionary Association. They, it would seem, have decided that they will not recognize the existence of so unchristian a thing as caste, race prejudice; therefore, all the churches which they will aid at the South must be open to black and white, without distinction. They will have mixed churches or none. They accept the "Independent's" statement that the race line has not been perpet-

uated; that it has been broken down. Like Sam Weller, they cast their eyes as far heavenward as to the ceiling and see no such line.

Very well, says Mr. Leavell, then we must not hope for a successful propagation of our denominational principles among the ruling classes of the South, for they will not enter into church relations with the colored people. After churches are separately organized, and while they are separately maintained, they will recognize each other as Christian churches, and will affiliate in associations and conventions; but they draw the line at church relations. However unrighteous, says Mr. Leavell, this is a stubborn fact, and any one who has good knowledge of the Southern character will know that it is to remain as stubborn for all time to come.

But what becomes of the statement that the race line is broken down? Mr. Leavell evidently does not think that race prejudice has ceased to exist because the missionary societies refuse to recognize it, or that the color line has faded out because the Christian statesman affirms that it is not there. Things are—entirely apart from our recognition of them.

The Rev. B. W. Pond, of Falls Church, Virginia, confirms Mr. Leavell's view, from the indications in his vicinity. He predicts that the proposed mixed Congregational churches will fail—not more from caste spirit than from legitimate social instincts. The Congregational church in his vicinity was organized of Northern elements of the most thorough-going Northern antislavery sentiments. It has always held open doors to all, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. It has repeatedly extended cordial invitations to the colored people. Its members, in their private relations and standing with the colored population, are held in the highest esteem, and there is the least in the world of any airs or invidious discriminations against the colored or the poor. All is as free and gracious as spring water. Do they come? asks Mr. Pond. *Not one,* so long as there are colored churches in the town.

Black men of large means and first-rate business talents, he affirms, are not wanting, but all the temptations of gain do not bring them and white men into *partnership* relations. If Congregationalism, with all the other problems on its hands, has this also of joining together that which apparently God hath separated, then indeed he thinks it has its hands full.

So then it seems the race prejudice is not all on one side. The color line is as distinct for the blacks as it is for the whites. The colored people have as strong an objection to mingling with their Caucasian brethren as the Caucasians have to mingling with the Africans. Yet the eyes of the religious editor are so little trained to seeing, that, having drawn from his own breast the inference that race lines ought to be broken down, he refuses to see that his feet are entangled in them on every side, but lifts his eyes to heaven and affirms that race lines have ceased to be.

Mr. Pond, with his "legitimate social instincts" is nearer the scientific truth than Mr. Leavell, with his possibly "unrighteous fact." It is not an unrighteous fact. It is an ethnological fact, utterly without moral quality. The old question, put in abolition days, "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" was impertinent, irrelevant, ignorant. A "nigger's" marriage had nothing whatever to do with a "nigger's" freedom. The question was of political and personal liberty, not of social status. But when we come to this question of mixed churches, we come plumply and squarely upon the question of "marrying a nigger," and that, with all due respect be it said, is not a question with which the missionary societies have anything to do. It is for the missionary societies to help the Caucasian and the Ethiopian on and up to the highest character possible to each. It is no part of the business of the missionary societies to make the Ethiopian and the Caucasian one. It is wicked for the white man to enslave the black man, but it is not wicked for him to prefer a church composed chiefly of white people to a church composed chiefly of black people. It is wicked for the black man to cheat and murder the white man, but it is not wicked for him to choose teachers and preachers of his own color. The North may maintain that it is. The missionary societies may insist that it shall be, but the fact is not altered by our refusing to recognize it. The mission societies can just as easily change the Southern blacks into Southern whites as they can change the heart of the Southern white into an acceptance of social unity with the Southern black, or the Southern black with the Southern white. It is not a question of superiority or of inferiority, of right or wrong, of Christianity or paganism. The negro is superior to the white in some respects. In all respects much of his inferiority is doubtless due to his longer apprenticeship at barbarism, his longer ser-

vitude to degradation. If he is ever to be raised it is to be by education of himself; not by a crusade at the North against race prejudice at the South. It is just as Christian to gather the blacks in one church and the whites in another as it is to gather the blacks in one family and the whites in another.

If the races are providential, the race line is providential. If it is God who made the white man white and the black man black, it is God who made each choose to consort with his own. To say that Providence intended the race line to be perpetuated is not to lay to Providence the bondage, injustice, and anguish which have attended its perpetuation. It is abundantly worth while to throw life and treasure and national existence into the resolution that no human being shall be enslaved. It is better to die a thousand deaths than to do this great wrong against man and sin against God. But it is not worth while to put even the contents of one contribution box into an attempt to secure by external pressure what is much better left to the working of natural cause, the adjustment of social relations. It is kicking against the pricks where there is no occasion to kick at all.

No one man or one age can see the outcome of the large movement of all the ages. Whether, or how long, the race line is to be perpetuated we do not know. We do know that it exists. Thus far, it is not the separation of the races, but the intermingling of the races that has brought disaster. Greed, violence, cruelty forced the African and the American race into close contiguity, and such vials of wrath have been poured upon this nation in consequence that we might well have learned the lesson not only that God hath made all the races of one blood, but also that he had determined the bounds of their habitations, and that we cannot break those bounds with impunity. What is to be the final result, no man knows. We hope that God will yet make the wickedness of man to praise him; that this rapacious and bloody crashing and crushing together of the two races will yet be a blessing to both, after the woe and the curse have done their work. But while the great drama moves on with its long pain and its short, rapturous pæans, hardly affected by any single human effort, the chief help that each individual can lend is to preserve, clear and clean and tonic, his own little atmosphere of sound reason, just judgment, true sight. God alone sees the end from the beginning. We can hardly see an inch ahead; but if we see that inch, it is as good as a mile to

prevent us from hitting our heads. The religious authorities may be wise or foolish. They are just as likely to be foolish as wise, but God has often chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise. The missionary societies may act with or against the Divine purposes, but the Divine purposes are not baffled. Mr. Leavell is right and calm ; right most of all in his calmness. It is not indispensable to found Congregational churches among the ruling classes of the South. I believe in the Congregational Church myself, because it comes the nearest to being no church at all, and therefore interposes the least obstructive machinery between man and his Maker. It recognizes Christ as the all in all, and thus most resembles the church which he founded. But if the Congregational societies think they must preach ethnological empiricism as religious duty, why—still, God is great. The colored race will assimilate some Gospel. The white race will reject the empiricism ; but Presbyterianism and Episcopacy and Methodism and even Roman Catholicism are vital with Christian truth—good half-way houses to Congregationalism and the true Greek orthodoxy of the original Christian Church. Nor will it be bad discipline for the Congregationalists to tarry in Jericho until their beards be grown, and they have learned that while we have the right and are under obligation to demand in the South absolute political equality and civil rights for all, we have no right whatever to meddle with the social relations or the ecclesiastical affinities in the South ; that we might just as reasonably refuse to help educate their ignorant mass unless the white will wear a three-cornered hat instead of a Derby, as refuse it unless the white and black will go to the same church ; that, in short, the pigments of Providence are not obliterated because we stubbornly prove ourselves to be color-blind.

GAIL HAMILTON.

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE

OF THE UNITED STATES UPON THEIR CONDUCT AS AN EMPLOYER.

DEAR PEOPLE: You are the largest employer of human labor in the United States. You are also the richest and the most conspicuous. I wish to remind you, therefore, that your behavior in the character of employer, besides affecting the happiness and stability of tens of thousands of American homes, has even still greater importance as an example to other employers. The list of your servants is so long, dear People, that I will not attempt to give even a summary of its contents in this place. Think only for a moment how many soldiers and sailors, how many clerks and bookkeepers, how many mechanics, teachers, lawyers, clergymen, contractors, agents, engineers, experts, men of science, men of business, look to you for the money that rewards their labor and gives them their standing in the community. Including the noble army of teachers, among the most important of all your servants, you are now paying monthly wages to more than a million men and women. Dear People, this is a heavy weight of responsibility, which should cause you to consider with seriousness and patience whether you have been doing your duty of late years to so vast a number of dependent families. Whether those families are stable, virtuous, and happy, or whether they are unsafe, over-anxious, and demoralized, depends considerably upon you.

How you act, dear People, in your character as the employed, particularly when you deem yourselves unworthily or unjustly treated, all the world knows. You are, if I may be allowed to say so, a troublesome customer. If your wages are insufficient you make known your opinion on the subject in emphatic language, and sometimes in still more decided conduct. You frequently give utterance to remarks, and even emblazon them upon silken banners, so unreasonable and ridiculous, that nothing can excuse them

except the hardness of your lot, the bitterness of your feelings, and the difficulty of grasping all the facts involved. You sometimes go out on strike at the precise moment when it gives the greatest amount of inconvenience. You have been known to leave trains full of women and children on the track in the woods miles from their homes. You obstruct the streets with your processions, and make night hideous with noise and smoke. You stun the passer-by with thundering oratory. You buy and sustain newspapers conducted by professional workingmen of such inane stupidity and such savage temper as to excite in reflecting persons almost as much wrath for the conductors as compassion for you. There have been times, too, O People, when, under the sting of real or fancied wrong, you have committed outrages; your conduct has been cruel and monstrous.

This I now say boldly to your face, because privately I have never had a word of censure for you. My sympathies have always been with you, even when my understanding has obliged me to conclude that you were in error. I know the universal hardness of the human lot. I concede, also, that if you had never protested with vehemence and resolution against the exactions of the employing class, your case to-day would be more deplorable than it was in the worst days of your fathers. People, I know what you have suffered in these and in former times in your character as the employed. Let me now ask you how you have behaved in your new character of employer. If I understand you aright, you desire from *your* employers these three things: Steady employment, just compensation, and human treatment. The question I propose to you is, Do you try to render these three when you are the master?

First, as to reasonable steadiness of employment. I mean as steady and continuous as the nature of the work permits. You have probably not attentively considered what you do in holding over so many thousands of your employed the terror of the yellow envelope. Among the wrongs of which you complain you seldom experience just that particular kind of cruelty. It seldom happens to you to open a letter at breakfast-time from your foreman, informing you that, during the twenty-five years of service under his direction, you have performed your duties in the most exquisite and faultless manner, and that you are respectfully requested to resign your employment on the first of next month. Not many of

you, I say, know by experience what it is to be deprived suddenly and without cause of your whole revenue. Not many of you know what it is to live for months and years in daily dread of such a catastrophe. Not many of you know what it is to get up in the morning possessed of a modest income, upon which by long practice and habitual self-control you have learned how to support your family in decency and comfort, and to discover before the sun sets that that income has totally ceased. Ordinarily your employers know how to temper and soften such a stroke, and usually you yourselves know enough of the business in which you assist to foresee and parry it. Let me therefore tell you, as a mere piece of information, that when you suddenly and causelessly turn out of his place an elderly man fitted to it by long service, you are doing as cruel an action as an employer can do without violating the law. You are doing what an Irish landlord does when he evicts a good tenant because his crop has failed—an act which Mr. Gladstone assures us is nearly equivalent to a sentence of death. You are doing what you would do if you were to suddenly deprive Mr. Vanderbilt or Mr. Astor of all his property, and all his income from every source, with a notice to leave his domicile within thirty days. Perhaps you do not remember the fine saying of your friend, Benjamin Franklin, on this point, to the effect, that the All of one man is just as much to *him* as the All of any other man.

You will tell me, perhaps, that the office-holders knew this liability when they stooped to accept service from you on such sad and degrading conditions. Allow me to reply, dear People, that it is this very fact which heightens their torment and strengthens my case against you. A moment's reflection will show you that no honest man will accept an office on such a precarious condition unless compelled by bitter and stern necessity, which is another way of saying, unless he is a person of a certain incompetency. This system adopted in your name tends (observe, I only say, *tends*) to exclude from your service all but two classes, unprincipled men, and persons left out of the other callings. Of necessity, dear People, your service as now constituted must be chiefly composed of men who either have failed or would fail in business of their own. The people who serve you, if they are honest, would abandon your service to-morrow if they dared confront an independent career, and compete on equal terms for the

prizes of life. On fair conditions you might have in your employment the very pick of the whole population. You need them, for in many branches of your service there is required the best science, tried ability, and incorruptible character. You not only need men who can construct fleets and command armies, but men who can control the Mississippi system of rivers, manage cities, and administer an estate the most varied, productive, and magnificent upon which the sun looks down. You need the *élite* of the human race. You choose to take up with a class tending below the average, and then torment them with the subtle, all-pervading anguish of uncertainty as to their means of living—a kind of misery to which they of all men are most susceptible. If you had drawn into your service the admirable men of business and men of thought who abound in this country beyond all previous example, your treatment of them would be a matter of less importance. Take any of our legitimately successful men, not yet past their prime, put them down penniless and unknown in any part of the United States, and in thirty days he will have got himself into some path, the following of which will give him a desirable lot. You prefer, as it seems, to fill your offices with men and women who seek them and stay in them because they know they cannot make a desirable place for themselves, and these you keep in terror of dismissal.

What is the price, dear People, which alone will procure men of genuine ability? What is that prize which nearly all good men desire, which most good men seek, and which a considerable number of good men attain? My answer to this question, if I had to answer it in a phrase, would be, a career leading to honor and stable domestic happiness—a safe footing in the world, won by the fair exertion of our powers. You remember what Lamb said of the millionaire, that he was not content to escape poverty, but to place poverty at a sublime distance from him. We all want security as well as abundance, and this is the fundamental need of well-disposed men. It is the ceaseless quest of honorable security which keeps the world in motion. I have had the pleasure of knowing several persons eminently successful in the competitions of life, and I have often asked myself, "What are they after? Now that they have far more than enough, why do they still toil early and late, often putting all that they have gained to hazard?" Lamb has hit it in his happy, humorous way. They have built

the citadel of safety, but they wish now to buttress that citadel about with strengthening masses, and still to extend the defensive works, until Want, the gaunt enemy of human peace, cannot get within sight or sound of its occupant. If I may quote a living witness, I will repeat the remark of a New York capitalist when an interviewer congratulated him on the completion of the huge edifice in which he had invested sundry superfluous millions. He betrayed at once the real and only rational motive of such an enterprise by saying, as he looked at its vast proportions, "This is not a bad thing for a man to leave his children." One of the ablest capitalists that ever lived on this island, after accumulating six millons to be divided among his three children, employed several weeks, and all the resources of an acute mind, in framing a document, the object of which was to secure to his children in any conceivable contingency, and in spite of any possible mismanagement, a small but sufficient annual income. He left them all his other millions unconditionally to squander as they might, but this small portion, this citadel of safety in the midst of his estate, he defended with such elaborate ingenuity that no lawyer, no creditor, no son, has ever been able to break into it or get out of it. Such is the passion to compass the preliminary condition of human happiness—safety.

But, my dear People, all reasonable and sufficient safety you can bestow upon your faithful servants without putting them to the trouble of accumulation. The clerks, book-keepers, postmasters and lighthouse-keepers whom President Washington appointed, and whom President Jefferson continued in office, enjoyed this fundamental condition of peaceful and virtuous living as completely as if they had possessed a competent estate. Being reasonably secure, they could give themselves wholly up to the performance of their duty, and the rational enjoyment of their existence.

The strength of this passion for security is shown, dear People, by the very conduct of the unhappy men who are nominally your servants. The book-keeper of a private firm seeks security by rendering good service to his employers. He strives and expects to keep his place by making himself useful and agreeable, and we may lay it down as a rule, that a man will serve and obey the power that can remove him from his post. Do you possess that power over your servants, dear People? You ought to have it. It is your money that pays the office-holders. Do they then serve

you? You cannot be ignorant that the smartest of them most assiduously serve, obey, and court the power, the party, the senator, the boss, the clique, the gang, the caucus, which gave and can take away their places. I will not say they are right in doing so. I merely remark that they *will* do so, in every instance. It is the law and inevitable tendency of things.

Were those swarms of men whom Tweed appointed your servants or his? Dear People, you had the infamy of paying them. They plundered you, and obeyed him. They gave him millions, and made your chief city, with a site formed by nature to be the most attractive and pleasant capital of the earth, to be such a place that few live in it who can safely get away. On earth there is elsewhere no such combination of land and water, of river, inlet, and sea, of low land and high land; nowhere else such an opportunity for every kind of charm, convenience, and grandeur, as that of which Manhattan Island is the center. It was the business of your servants there to rise to the unequaled chance, and make New York peerless among cities. What have they done to it? Let the report of Mr. Wingate's tenement-house commission answer the question.

Permit me, dear People of the United States, to say a word also upon the wages you are paying those who have the pain of serving you. You possess a unique advantage over other employers in having a wages fund to draw from which is practically inexhaustible. In twenty years, besides paying an enormous army of employed persons with unfailing regularity, you have discharged two thousand millions of debt. You are the richest employer in the world, and therefore in fixing rates of compensation you need consider nothing except justice and propriety. The mere amount which you pay, if within the bounds of reason and right, is a matter of no moment to you at all. If at the beginning of the late war you could have hired a competent general at a million dollars a day, you could have paid the amount with ease, and saved a thousand millions through the bargain. You have but to ask yourself, in every instance, what is the sum of money per annum which will procure for me, in the long run, the ablest, purest, and steadiest service?

People, I will take the liberty of saying that you have not yet learned the rudiments of the art of paying. When your own compensation falls below the line of propriety and justice, good heav-

ens! what an outcry is heard throughout the world. But when you are the paymaster, how do you comport yourself? I admit that you pay money enough in sum total to compensate all your servants in the most liberal manner. Oh yes, my dear People, the sum total of your payments is truly respectable and altogether sufficient for the servants you can profitably employ. It is the distribution of the sum which is so erroneous. You are paying twelve hundred dollars a year to copyists, whom other employers get for half the amount; while you pay to the score of lawyers whom you employ as chief judges, attorneys-general and Cabinet ministers little more than it costs them for house rent.

If any other client but you had to engage the pick of all the lawyers in the United States to go to a distant city for four years and devote himself exclusively to his client's business, with a month's vacation in summer, that client would have to pay that lawyer fifty thousand dollars per annum. He would find it to his advantage to pay that sum, with an occasional ten-thousand-dollar check by way of a refresher. On what ground can you expect to make a better bargain? The time was, dear People, when the honor of serving you was the richest compensation which ambition could covet. That honor was the supreme object of desire to many of the ablest men of our species. Within my own recollection (and I am not yet as old as I hope to be) the office of assistant alderman in the city of New York was one of such distinction that some of the first merchants of the city desired and sought it. The first young men once counted it an eminent felicity to serve as secretary to the political association of a ward. It was better than yachting. This is all now sadly changed. During the last fifty-six years, ever since that baleful spring of 1829, it has become every year less and less an honor to serve you, and men of ability now find it more convenient to cajole you into choosing dummies for high place, and to rule through them. Your pitiful pay, therefore, is now nearly all that the men in most responsible positions can receive by way of compensation for their services. It used to be a few thousands, plus distinction, opportunity, honor, and lasting remembrance.

One hapless individual in your service, my People, has among his other duties that of entertaining for you and in your name the representatives of foreign governments resident among us. It is his pleasant office to invite them to breakfast, dinner, and tea, to

open his house to them generally, and give them what little comfort he can during their residence at a capital which does not abound in the agreeable things to which they are accustomed at home. He has to be a father and friend to them all, and whatever he does in this way he does for you. As a citizen, Mr. Seward, or Mr. Bayard, or Mr. Frelinghuysen, is no more bound to ask a foreign minister to dinner than any other citizen. He does it wholly as your representative, and it is you who get the credit of it. People, when you invite a friend to tea you put before him the most luxurious spread which you can coax out of your refrigerator. Pork and beans may be your ordinary fare, but in honor of your friend and your house and the sacred rite of hospitality, you are content on this occasion with nothing short of chicken fixings and cranberry sauce. Rather than fail as a host you will spend half a week's wages on the feast, and subsist the rest of the week on the leavings. Do you ever pass around the hat among friends on the plea that you are going to entertain company and want to do the thing in style? But that is just what you do, O People, when you perform the duty of national hospitality through one of your servants. With infinite difficulty you get a man to serve who has plenty of money in the bank; to pay him his house rent, and let him meet the cost of entertaining your company out of his private fortune. Mr. Seward was a plain man, perfectly free from the spirit of ostentation. He lived at Washington in an ugly, old-fashioned, and not large brick house. He gave a diplomatic dinner every Saturday during the winter, and a reception in the evening. His salary averaged (in gold) about four thousand dollars a year, and I heard him mention that his expenses in Washington during his eight years of service as Secretary of State came to about twenty-two thousand dollars a year, in paper; say, about sixteen thousand in gold. Do not reply that he might have lived in a flat, and given your guests an oyster stew with cold slaw and crackers. Such a remark is frequently made in your name; but, People, it is beneath your intelligence. Politicians who talk so misrepresent your feelings.

I am far from thinking that you begrudge fair compensation to any who serve you, whether of low or high degree. The erroneous system of payment has grown in part out of circumstances, but is chiefly due to the lack of a guiding principle, which perhaps might have been indicated in the Constitution itself. I beg to propose

for your consideration the simple and just rule which has always guided you in your private transactions, *the rule of the market price.* I mean that, as you buy every commodity at the price which other buyers pay, so you shall pay every grade of man what individuals and corporations have to pay for the same grade. In New York, for example, there are at least ten grades of book-keepers, and they are paid from five hundred to fifteen thousand dollars per annum. Do the same, my dear People, in your public business. At Washington and elsewhere, there are a few collectors, heads of bureaus and others, who ought to be men of business of the very first class, men who could, in private enterprises, become rich in a few years. Pay such men in honor and in safety the equivalent of a large capital; thus, as our President has happily stated it, putting the public service on a business footing.

Finally, my dear People, you must learn how to treat your servants with politeness and consideration. If you are compelled to deprive a good man of his accustomed employment, you must learn to mitigate the stroke by the devices and allowances which the comity of private business has evolved. Do you suppose, People, that if the Chemical Bank or the Cooper Glue Works had a few clerks too many, that the manager would dismiss them ruthlessly and rudely, with no notice, without allowing reasonable opportunities to seek other employment? Do you suppose that any respectable and rooted establishment would turn an old man out of his place, like an old horse, to die on the high road? You know it would not. Why should you, the sovereign People of the United States, be less considerate, less humane, less polite than a bank? Why should you incur the shame of those heartless, brutal jokes of the newspapers, based upon the harrowing anxieties of aged clerks, whose calamity is that they have served you for a great many years? Is it a jest, or is it the fifth act of a tragedy, for an old man to be suddenly bereft of the only employment by which it is possible for him to subsist in honor and peace? Whatever they may suffer, it is you, the People of the United States, who are dishonored. Beat all the yachts that sail on the sea, you will have the respect of no worthy community on the globe while you treat old servants so. I can recall but one instance in which you behaved to discharged clerks with an approximation to decency. It was when General B. F. Butler procured the passage of an act giving two months'

pay to five hundred poor fellows, to enable them to get out of Washington.

For many years past it has been with me an object of curiosity to ascertain the true causes of durable success in human affairs. I have discovered nothing which has endured long except through taking due and ample care of its agents and ministers—not merely in the heyday of their strength, but when through infirmity and age they have ceased to be interesting, and lost their efficiency. *You* turn such out to die! The institutions that endure put upon their breast the splendid star of promotion, or hide their lean, shrunk shanks with the superb mantle of a new dignity. The Catholic Church is strong because it offers to all who serve it, of every degree, a desirable lot as long as life endures. The Protestant system dissolves visibly before our eyes because it has no desirable places except for the gifted, the brilliant, and the young. The London "Times" is to-day the first journal of Europe, because its founder knew how to treat men, both during and after their period of efficiency. I frequently hear you, O People, utter disparagingly the name of Vanderbilt. I could not ask anything better of you than that you should treat the men who serve you on the precise principle which guided the late commodore in his treatment of the men who worked for him. Before handing over his steamship to the government, he made it a condition that the officers and men should not be paid government wages, and he put this demand on the right ground. "I want my ship," said he, "to be sailed in the best way, by the best men, and the best men can't be got at the wages the government is paying." Enough; I could adduce the whole history of man, public and private, in support of the commodore's principle. If I could believe that your present childish system of appointments and removals were a thing of necessity in republics, I should be obliged to conclude that republican institutions, not being in harmony with the unchangeable circumstances of human life, ought not to endure.

Do not cherish the delusion that this barbarism is democratic. It is the precise thing which is farthest removed from every good meaning of that word. It is the system of favoritism, accident, and corruption. It gives every man a chance at public employment except the man who ought to have it. The most debauched hereditary despot never appointed and never removed with anything approaching your reckless and cruel precipitation. It recalls

to mind those periods in the decay of nations when mercenary favorites and volatile mistresses ruled and ruined. It savors of the time when Madame Dubarry gave Talleyrand a bishopric for an indecent jest.

I remain, my dear People, as I have ever been,

Yours truly,

JAMES PARTON.

SHOULD SILVER BE DEMONETIZED?

I.

Of the questions involved in the "battle of the standards," the one which overshadows all others is that of the volume of money.

It is the controlling factor in determining prices and wages, and thereby the burden of taxes and the relations of debtors and creditors. The question of how large the volume of money shall be arouses the passions of men, because it affects the most important human interests. It determines the sides which men, classes, sections, and nations respectively take, regarding the use of gold alone, or both gold and silver, as the metallic standard of the commercial world.

In his report upon the Mint, 1791, Alexander Hamilton summed up the whole matter by saying, that "to annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium."

To effect that abridgment was the avowed object of the persons who, under the lead of Chevalier, originated, thirty years ago, the plan of employing one and the same metal in all commercial countries. They at first proposed that this metal should be silver, and they actually persuaded some European countries to demonetize gold. They soon, however, changed their tactics, and proposed the demonetization of silver as a more practical method of accomplishing the object of "abridging the quantity of the circulating medium."

The motives of the men who have kept up the war upon silver down to the present time are the same as they were then, although not so openly avowed. Those who marshal, victual, and pay the forces by which this war is waged, formulate the battle-cries and direct the maneuvers, are the men who live upon fixed incomes;

bankers, as a class, those who hold credits secured upon the property of others, and those who own the enormous and almost fabulous public debts, not less of all kinds than forty thousand millions of dollars. It is in the interest of these classes of men to have as few dollars as possible, that each dollar may have an augmented command over the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life, and they know that there is no more direct road to an appreciated money than to strike down the monetary use of one of the metals.

It could be easily shown—if the brief space at my command would admit—that there has been a continuous fall, since 1873, in the prices of all the principal commodities which enter into human consumption, excepting only the year 1880.

The reaction which occurred in that year was more than balanced by the fall in the year 1884, which was larger than in any of the preceding years. The statistics of the value of the imports and exports of Great Britain, amounting to about $3,000,000,000 per annum, furnish data upon which safe estimates of the general range of prices can be made. From these data, it clearly appears that the purchasing power of money has steadily increased, and that it is now fully 25 per cent. greater than it was in 1860.

Unless the settled judgment of mankind, that the price of commodities, labor, land, and all kinds of property depends upon the volume of money is a delusion, it must be obvious that the demonetization of silver and restrictions upon its coinage in important countries must have been one of the powerfully contributing causes of the fall of prices and depression of industries.

Striking statements of the proportions and consequences of the fall of prices could be indefinitely multiplied; I must restrict myself to two or three.

In the British House of Commons, May 8, 1883, the condition of India being under consideration, Mr. Cross said:

> "Debt is not so easy to pay as it formerly was. A pound of debt was discharged by the remittance of a sovereign's worth of produce; but, unfortunately for the debtor-nations of the world, a good deal more produce had to be remitted to discharge a pound of debt than when most of the debts of the world were contracted. This told heavily against India."

Mr. Cross then read the following statement of the quantities of certain articles of Indian produce required to pay a pound sterling of debt in England, at the prices of 1883, as compared

with the quantities which would have been required at the average prices of the preceding twenty-five years :

	At prices of 1883.	At prices of preceding 25 years.
Cotton	44 pounds.	34 pounds.
Wheat	224 "	168 "
Jute	185 "	123 "
Rice	288 "	193 "
Tea	20 "	13 "
Indigo	4½ "	3½ "

Mr. Cross was justified in saying, as he did after reading this statement, that "the strain on gold might well make debtors tremble."

In the letter of February 11, 1885, addressed to Mr. Cleveland by ninty-five members of the last United States House of Representatives, it is said :

"It can be shown that it will take more labor or more of the produce of labor to pay what remains of our national debt now than it would have taken to pay it all at the close of the war. Eighteen million bales of cotton were the equivalent in value of the entire interest-bearing debt in 1865, but it will take 35,000,000 bales at the price of cotton now to pay the remainder of the debt. Twenty-five million tons of bar-iron would have paid the whole debt in 1865. It will now take 35,000,000 tons to pay what remains after all that has been paid."

The New York "Tribune" of January 8, 1885, says :

"About the 13th of December (1884), the market for products touched the lowest level of prices ever reached in this country since records of prices began. The range of prices is now below that of October, 1878, then the lowest reached for many years. When the depreciation of paper currency vanished (October, 1878), it was found that prices were more than 15 per cent. below the specie level of 1860, the last preceding year in which prices had been made in gold."

Silver dollars, if they were current in the market at only their bullion value, instead of their face value, would still have a purchasing power greater than any kind of dollars had in 1860.

In view of the disasters to debtors, taxpayers, industries, and all kinds of property, excepting only money, which the war upon silver has already caused, and the greater disasters which it threatens, and in view of the fact that an immense majority of the people of this country are debtors, taxpayers, or laboring men, how amazing does it seem that the administration of the national

finances is now, and for many years has been, in the hands of men who are subservient to the interests of the few money-lenders, and antagonistic to the interests of the great mass of the people who are engaged in productive industry, and who are compelled to borrow money. So long as men are selfish, and these conditions exist, we may expect that every discrimination which human ingenuity can devise will be invoked to depreciate the value of silver, and to make the silver dollar unpopular with the people.

It is true that a silver dollar measured by a gold standard does not contain a dollar's worth of bullion at the present market price. This may be an evil, but so long as there is no disturbance in the parity of the coins of the two metals, and no possibility of such a disturbance for many years to come, it is an evil of trifling consequence compared with that which will result from the discontinuance of silver coinage.

Complaint is made that silver is less convenient as to its portability than gold, but both metals, except subsidiary coin, are now chiefly used, and might be wholly used, not corporally, but by representative paper.

The storage of silver requires larger vaults than the storage of gold, but if all the advantages in respect to convenience which are claimed for gold are conceded, they wholly fail to justify the disuse of silver, if gold alone is inadequate in amount to sustain prices at the level at which the vast debts of the world have been contracted. We may apply in this case the language of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, in a reply which he made in England, in 1764, to the complaints of the British Board of Trade, that the American Colonies were supplementing coin with paper :

> "However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpose, whenever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in sufficient quantity, it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got in lieu of it."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June contained articles favoring a cessation of our present coinage, by Professor Sumner, President Walker, and Professor Laughlin. A reply to the arguments and statements of these three able writers, which rest to a degree upon widely different grounds, would fill many pages of the REVIEW. A brief allusion to them must suffice for the present.

Professor Laughlin has been at the trouble of preparing a wood-cut, with the value of gold between 1870 and 1884 exhibited

by a straight line as the standard of comparison, and with the value of silver relatively to gold during the same period exhibited by another line, which is of course very crooked and erratic; but he must know that if he had represented the value of silver by a straight line, and made that the standard for comparison, and had represented the relative value of gold by another line, the latter would have been equally crooked and erratic. But what is more important, and what the Professor may have failed to remember, is that if the general range of the prices of commodities be represented by a straight line, the correspondence with it of a line representing the value of silver would be much closer than of a line representing the value of gold.

Professor Sumner says that a fear that American money is to be depreciated by the continued coinage of silver is the reason "why so few are now willing to become creditors, and why industry and commerce are stagnant."

With due deference to the opinions of so able a theorist as Professor Sumner, the least that can be said is that this statement shows a misconception of the situation as a matter of fact, and that it is erroneous as a matter of philosophy.

Of the persons possessing moneyed capital, instead of there being only a few who wish to become creditors, or, in other words, who wish to loan it, they nearly all want to loan it. It is for this reason that rates of interest at central points are now merely nominal.

This unprofitable situation of loanable capital is as conspicuous in Great Britain, where no silver coinage is either in progress or impending, as it is in New York or Boston.

The cause of the almost universal desire in Europe and the United States to lend money, rather than to invest it in productive enterprises, or in purchases of any kind of property, is the common apprehension that money will appreciate in value, and that the position of a creditor with any tolerable security is more desirable than that of the holder of property.

This is the true reason "why industry and commerce are stagnant," while interest-bearing deposits with bankers, trust companies, and savings-banks are multiplying.

Nobody wishes to produce commodities, or to buy and hold them, while they are falling in price.

A glut of loanable capital and low rates of interest are the inevitable final accompaniments of a shrinking volume of money,

and the consequent decline in market values, rendering investments in property unprofitable and hazardous.

The British historian, Allison, said that the contraction of currency which attended the resumption of specie payments by the Bank of England, in 1821, caused as much loss to money capitalists by lowering the rate of interest as to producers by lowering the price of commodities.

Professor Walker favors the abrogation of the Silver-Coinage law of 1878 upon the sole ground that a bimetallic arrangement with European nations is the indispensable condition to the safe use of silver in this country.

This is in plain contradiction of the experience of mankind. From time immemorial both gold and silver have been used as money without bimetallic treaties. The relative value of gold and silver, disturbed for a time by the disproportionate yield of silver following the discovery of America, finally settled in 1650 to between 15 and 16 to 1, and so remained for 225 years, although the first case of an international arrangement, the Latin Union treaty, did not occur till 1865. That treaty was between four contiguous countries, all of which were already on the double standard, and all of which had the same ratio, viz.: 5½ to 1. It was made to secure a common use of the metallic money of the four countries, and had no reference to the general question of the metallic standards.

The world has had a long experience, independently of international treaties, of that steadiness of the relative value of the two metals which results from the magnitude of their mass, representing the accumulation of ages, which is so vastly in excess of their annual production.

No cause of equal magnitude, tending to disturb the relative value of the metals, as the transition of Germany from the single standard of silver to the single standard of gold, will probably recur for centuries. After that transition had spent its force we have the following record of the average gold price per ounce of the British standard silver during each of the past six years, in the London market, as given by the London "Economist," February 21, 1885 :

Years.	Average price in pence.	Years.	Average price in pence.
1879	51¼	1882	51⅝
1880	52¼	1883	50 11/16
1881	51 1/16	1884	50 1/16

These fluctuations, in the opinion of Professor Walker, are so intolerable, that in order to avoid them we must give up silver, unless there is a general coinage of it in Europe; and in the same article he admits that the abandonment of silver will result in "the enhancement of the burden of all debts and fixed charges, acting as a steady drag upon production," and that "suffocation, strangulation, are words hardly too strong to express the agony of the industrial body when embraced in the fatal coils of a contracting money."

To such evils, by no means too vividly portrayed, may this country never be brought to submit, by false alarms, as to the danger of a single silver standard.

That our present rate of coinage will ever result in such a standard is a remote and improbable contingency—even if it should occur, it would be a less misfortune than that of suffering our currency, by discarding silver, to be appreciated to any height to which selfish bankers and money capitalists in this country and in Europe may be able and disposed to carry gold.

It is of infinite importance to maintain the steadiness of the value of our own currency, and of our own prices. In comparison with this it is of little importance what the relation of value may be between our currency and that of foreign countries.

N. P. Hill.

II.

The silver dollar of the United States always has been, and is, and always must be, worth a dollar, and—under existing laws—can never be worth less than a gold dollar. No man has ever received or paid one for less than a gold dollar; no man has ever lost a cent from the employment of the silver dollar as money; yet there issues from the banking centers a persistent clamor to demonetize this coin, a clamor which, strange to say, is strengthened by the ill-concealed sympathy of officials whose duty it is less to impugn the wisdom of our laws than to uphold them.*

Money is a subject with which the most unlettered person is

* For example, the Comptroller of the Currency, in his report for 1884 (pp. 20, 21), impudently alludes to the "folly" of Congress with respect to the coinage of silver and its "ingenious" evasion of what he presumes to suppose are natural laws.

apt to deem himself conversant. Does he not every day handle coins or notes; is he not familiar with their appearance and use; has he not been taught that money is merely "pieces of merchandise, weighed and verified by the State;" that the value of these pieces or coins conforms to the cost of their production; that the ratio of value between silver and gold is due to the relative cost of producing these metals; that paper notes are not money, but its representatives; and that their value is due to the probability of their redemption in coins? "Surely," he argues, "it requires no learning to comprehend such easy matters as these;" and forthwith he lends himself to swell a clamor against silver, which, if unfortunately it should bear any practical fruit, will despoil this mushroom philosopher of a material portion of his wealth, and, perhaps, fling him into a bankruptcy court.

No man has ever seen money. He may have seen a part of it—a fraction, or many fractions of it; but the whole of it he could not have seen, because money consists of all money, or all the money in a given country. The usefulness, function, and value of each piece depend upon the numerical relation which it bears to the whole, and it is impossible to use it as money, or to determine its relation to other things, without reference to the whole sum of which it forms a part. Money is not pieces of merchandise any more than acres are pieces of land, or minutes pieces of clocks. Money is a measure or an institution of law designed to measure the numerical relation called value. The value of a piece of money does not at all depend upon the cost of its production, or else it would be impossible to alter the value of coins by the emission or retirement of paper notes; whereas, in point of fact this has repeatedly been done since paper notes were first introduced. The value of a piece of money depends solely upon the numerical relation which it bears to the whole sum of money. The ratio of value between silver and gold has nothing whatever to do with the relative cost of producing these metals, which, by the way, no man has ever determined; it is the result of a conflict of national (not natural) laws, which reach back to very distant ages. Paper notes are not representatives of money, but fractions of money itself; and their value is not derived from the probability of their redemption in coins, but simply from their legal or customary recognition and the numerical relations which they bear to the whole number of "dollars" or other legal denominations of

money, in which debts are payable by law—or custom having the force of law. And, so far is money from being an easy subject to comprehend, it has been deemed worthy the serious attention of the most intellectual men of all ages, of Aristotle, Locke, Newton, Montesquieu, Humboldt, and Mill.*

I am asked if, in my opinion, silver should be demonetized, meaning, I suppose, shall we demonetize the silver dollars. My answer is: If the government be authorized to supply the place of the coins (which would thus be withdrawn from circulation and from sustaining prices), if it be authorized to supply their place with additional paper notes, the same to be as full legal tenders and as irredeemable in any other money as the silver dollars are, it will work no direct harm to demonetize them. The silver dollars have done good service, and though the metal may have to be sold at a slight loss, it will pay off a large installment of the public debt. But if, as is more likely, the government fails to be so authorized, then to demonetize the silver dollars will be to diminish the money of the country about one-fifth and increase in like proportion the value of all interest-bearing securities, including bonds and mortgages and other evidences of indebtedness. It will also be to lower the prices of wheat, corn, fruits, hay, cotton, tobacco, sugar, wool, meats, butter, cheese, and all farm produce about one-sixth. It will still further depress trade by depriving our manufacturers and merchants of markets and our mechanics and laborers of employment. It will increase the moral hazard of insurance. In short, it will hand over from one-sixth to one-fifth of the wealth of the country substantially to the banks, and disarrange all those interests and relations of society upon whose permanency largely rests the welfare of the State.

Even were the silver dollars supplanted by greenbacks, there is an indirect evil which would arise from the demonetization of silver, and which is well worth considering in this connection: the loss of our wheat market in Liverpool. At the present time we annually export about seventy-five million bushels of wheat and fifty million barrels of wheat flour to foreign countries, the largest proportion to Great Britain. Among the sources from whence that country derives important supplies of wheat are India, Aus-

* For ample evidence concerning the nature and function of money the reader is referred to the writer's "History of the Precious Metals," "History of Money," and "Science of Money," New York, Scribner & Welford.

tria, and Morocco—all silver money countries. Were we to sell or threaten to sell our stock of silver dollars, which when melted would make about seven thousand tons of metal, the act would immediately affect the gold value of silver metal in England, without, for many years, if ever, disturbing its purchasing power over commodities in the countries named. The consequence would be that a given sum of gold in England would at once purchase much more wheat from India, Austria, etc., than from America, and our greatest market would be lost to us. The export of wheat from India increased from one million bushels in 1873 to forty-two million bushels in 1884. Late advices (1885) state that "the rains this year were tardy but copious, and there is every prospect of a good crop." Repeal the Bland bill, and within a year India will be able to land fifty million bushels of wheat in Liverpool at twenty-seven shillings, gold, the quarter (eighty-four cents a bushel), to say nothing of Austria, Morocco, and other silver-using and wheat-producing countries. Already the mere agitation of the subject has greatly depressed the price of wheat, and if the danger increases it will, no doubt, have its effect upon cotton and other crops in the production of which we have to compete with silver-using countries.

The money of the United States at the present time is furnished partly by the government, partly by the banks, and partly by individuals under a free coinage act copied from the statutes of Charles II. Owing to this pernicious distribution of the once royal prerogative of coining and regulating money, it is impossible to ascertain with precision how much money there is now, or how much there is likely to be, in the country, at any given time. In other words, the measure of value is so inexact and variable that no two persons would be likely to estimate it at the same sum. As nearly as the writer can determine, it consists at the present time of, nominally, about thirteen hundred million dollars, of which about forty-five per cent. is government-made money, consisting of greenbacks and silver coins, the latter increasing at about the rate of two millions a month; twenty-three per cent. of private bank notes, decreasing at the rate of about two millions a month; and thirty-two per cent of gold coined for banks and individuals, over the quantity coined, melted, exported, and circulated of which the government has no control. At the present moment it is lying in the Treasury and banks entirely inert, substantially none of it

being in general circulation. Of the whole sum of money in the country probably not over nine hundred or one thousand million dollars are in general circulation, or operating to sustain prices.

Assuming this estimate to be reasonably correct (I am aware that the estimate of gold differs from the "official" one) it follows that to demonetize say two hundred millions of silver dollars is to destroy one-fifth of the measure of value, and to undermine to this extent the basis of all contracts and bargains made since these silver dollars were coined; and this solely to the profit of the banks and other capitalists. More than this, it will practically relegate the future control of money to the banks, whose interests, at times, will lend them to as wild an inflation as now it invites to a ruinous contraction. They already have absolute control over their own notes, they have secured a large proportion of the gold coin and are trying to monopolize it all, and they are increasing their reserves of greenbacks which are payable in coin. The only portion of the money of the country not amenable to their control is the silver dollars; and this explains their hostility to them.

Mark that I do not question the patriotism of bank officers as individuals. In this respect they are probably no worse nor better than other men; but, as the officers of corporations, they have but one end to aim at, and that is to make profits. Contraction and the monopolization of gold promise these corporations a premium on that metal, an increase of the premium on consols, and perhaps a return to the State bank system and investment in seven per cent. securities. Hence their officers are unanimously in favor of contraction. But if their shareholders were asked if they ever knew of a prosperous country with a diminishing money, and reflected how much more they would lose as individuals than they would gain as shareholders through contraction of the currency, perhaps they would reverse their present policy, increase their note circulation, support the silver dollars, and promote an increased demand for discounts by imparting the hope of remunerative prices to the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the speculator.

It is useless to discuss the objections, often frivolous and always sophistical, which have been urged against the silver dollars; all these are met by the simple fact that nobody can get one and nobody will part with one for less than a gold dollar. If it be urged

that we cannot pay foreign balances with them, the answer is that we have no foreign balances to pay, that the bulk of our import trade is with silver and paper money countries and not with gold ones, and that as to the latter, American silver dollars are worth to-day in Liverpool within an eighth of a cent as much as gold ones; and if, as will probably be the case, it is attempted to be proved that "the Treasury cannot force silver dollars into circulation," the answer is, that still less can it force gold dollars. The real offense of the silver dollars is not their color, size, design, nor value when melted. It is their number, the fact that they are issued at pleasure of the nation, the greater ease of circulating the silver certificates than the gold ones, and the obstacles which these circumstances offer to the design of further contracting the currency. Twenty years ago a similar clamor was raised against greenbacks, and if a new California were discovered to-morrow a similar one would be raised against gold.

There will be no settlement of the laws relating to money until the government assumes entire control of it; and this is what should be done without further delay. The interests of society demand a precise, a stable, an equitable measure of value, and the government alone can furnish one. The preservation of our national unity invites the exertion of "a force which, like that of a uniform money, is all-pervading in its influence and constant in its operation." And when we come to the law of the matter, we have only to recall the words of the great Expounder of the Constitution: "Whenever paper is to perform the functions of coin, its regulation naturally belongs to the hands which hold the power over the coinage."

The time has now come to adopt a settled policy on this subject. Let a commission be appointed by Congress to whom the entire subject of money shall be relegated. Clothe this commission with power to take evidence and instruct it to bring in a bill designed to permanently regulate the monetary system of the country. The researches of such a body cannot fail to prove as instructive as its labors will have to be conservative; for it will be obliged to conciliate a wide divergence of opinion and respect a vast structure of vested and expectant interests. And in order to be rid of those idle people who have swelled the clamor against silver by inventing evils which they never endured and confident that their pretensions could not be made good, I would give this same commission power

to audit any claims for losses which could be proved to have been sustained by any person from the use of silver dollars, the claims to be paid by the government out of the seigniorage derived from the fabrication of the coins.

ALEXANDER DEL MAR,
Mining Commissioner to the Monetary Commission of 1876.

III.

THE elaborate and persistent attempts made of late to discredit one of the standard American coins render it necessary to make the inquiry whether there is anything unlawful or dishonest in the coinage of the silver dollar. The Constitution of the United States gives to Congress the power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof." Those who are objecting to the standard silver dollar would, logically, object just as much to the exercise by Congress of this constitutional function. The essence of their demand seems to be that our coin shall be a mere commodity, not a standard. Since the foundation of the government the United States coin has been *bimetallic*—gold and silver. The silver dollar is the unit of our values, the gold fives, tens, twenties, and fifties being multiples of it. Since our government first coined money the purchasing power of both gold and silver has fallen very much. Why not demand that gold and silver be put in both coins to bring them to the old value? The relative commercial value of gold and silver has changed more than once. Shortly after the discovery of gold in California and Australia, gold was, by the standards, relatively the cheaper metal. Since the application of machinery to silver mining, that metal has declined in commercial value; but the decline of silver in late years is largely due to the demonetization of silver by Germany, which thus ceased to be a buyer, and threw a large amount on the market. Owing to that fact, silver fell in 1876 to forty-six and a half pence per ounce. In 1881 it had risen to fifty-one and three-quarters pence. During the entire fifty years, from 1830 to 1880, the supply of silver was not sufficient, as Mr. Mulhall states that 5,230 tons of old candlesticks, etc., were during that period melted down for current uses.

Coin, either of gold or silver, is the standard of weight and

fineness for a nation. There is no international standard. When the coins of any nation cross its frontier, they become, like its wheat and beef, a commodity. Thus the United States is the largest producer of silver in the world: during the past few years it has furnished one-half of the entire production. Our production of gold is also large. It is quite immaterial when we ship these to other countries whether we send the amount in coin or bullion. The Latin Union, France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland, endeavor to maintain some uniformity of standards. The commercial value of their silver coin is slightly below ours. Britain has been the persistent advocate for a single gold standard for more than fifty years. Since that time silver has, at times, been dearer than gold, but her purpose was to strike down one of the standards, owing to the steady decline or great accumulations of both gold and silver. A nation which, like England, does not owe any other nation, and one to whom nearly every foreign nation is debtor, is of course deeply interested in keeping up the value of the metallic standards. Current business soon adjusts itself to any standard, but with debts it is different; the creditor is interested in raising or keeping them up, the debtor in keeping them down. As the chief value of gold and silver comes from their use as coin, the discontinuance of one standard would greatly enhance the value of the other. Money has two kinds of value: gold and silver have their standards of weight and fineness, that is one kind; the other kind consists in the volume of either or both there is in any one country. As a medium of exchange, the demand for it is governed by the amount in circulation. It is the same way with paper. It has, first, the value of the credit behind it, and then of the volume in circulation. Make money plenty, and it is cheap; make it scarce, and it is dear.

Between 1873 and 1879, Germany, in the attempt to join England on a monometallic basis, sold 3,220 tons of silver. She seriously depressed her business, and has still some standard silver in circulation. Scandinavia has attempted to do the same. Austria has a silver standard. All the other nations, like the United States, are bimetallic. Russia has also attempted the single standard, but her circulation is chiefly irredeemable paper. The Asiatic nations are large customers for and users of silver. While Britain has a single gold standard, British India has a silver circulation of enormous proportions. China coins neither gold nor

silver, but has a large circulation of foreign silver. The annual report of the Director of the Mint, for 1883, shows the amount of coin of a few great nations. France had then of full legal tender a circulation of $543,000,000 in gold, and $873,000,000 in silver. The United States at that time, $606,197,000 in gold, and $159,479,000 in silver. This latter has since become about two hundred millions. Great Britain, $587,683,000 in gold. Germany, $342,720,000 in gold, and $109,480,000 in silver. Mr. Mulhall states that the volume of paper money in the world is increasing much more rapidly than specie. In 1848 paper money was about twenty per cent. of all the money in use; in 1880 it was thirty-eight per cent. It will thus be seen that France has a circulation of silver four times as great as ours, and it looks a little singular that the United States, the great silver-producing nation, should aid in driving silver from circulation, thus destroying the value of one of its chief products.

This is not the first attempt to force the United States to adopt the single gold standard. A revision of the laws had been directed, and the report of the commission came before the Forty-third Congress. It had simply been authorized to make a code including the recent laws, and leaving out what had been repealed. No authority was given to make any *change* in legislation. The voluminous reports were read at night sessions, attended by few; and, in fact, the writer, who attended many of them, found it, as doubtless other members did, impossible to follow the reading and know whether changes had been made or not, as a person to have done so would have been required to compare every section with the whole seventeen volumes. No act of Congress had ever passed demonetizing the silver dollar, or suspending its coinage. When the revision came to be printed, it was found that several changes had *accidentally* got in. One of these left out the provision for coining American standard dollars. If there has ever been anything dishonest connected with our standard dollar, it was that transaction. If any one ever believed the change resulted from "an accident," the powerful lobby and press used to prevent its remonetization were sufficient to dispel that idea.

There was a strong popular sentiment in favor of correcting this "mistake." A number of bills were introduced. As the writer was a member of the Subcommittee on Banking and Currency, to whom they were referred, he claims to be tolerably familiar with

the history of the bill. As matured in the committee, and as it passed the House, the bill simply placed our silver coinage where it was before. In many countries, including Britain, coinage of gold and silver, according to the standard, was free. Our act was copied from an old English law. Any person could take gold and silver to the Mint and have it assayed and coined on paying mintage fees. That is the law in regard to gold now, and a man can deposit his gold bullion and get a certificate for it, which circulates as money. The Senate amended the House bill, striking out free coinage, and inserting a provision for buying silver bullion at the market rates, and coining two millions a month. It had been evidently expected by the enemies of the measure that this difference of opinion would cause the bill to fail, but as amended it became a law.

Since then a continuous and persistent war has been made on the silver dollar. On the 31st of last October our circulation of national bank notes was $332,473,693, and of legal tender notes, $346,681,016. There is also an amount of State bank notes, old demand notes, and other currency. These, with the subsidiary silver, or "token coinage," and the gold and silver as already stated, constitute our business circulating medium. The silver certificates should not be added, as they represent standard coin in the treasury. As it is the banks and dealers in money that are carrying on the war against the silver dollar, if money is too abundant they can withdraw their national bank notes. The real secret of their hostility is because the silver dollar is the only part of the currency they are unable to control. To show that our circulation is not much too large, Mr. Mulhall gives the total amount of all kinds of money, gold, silver, and paper, per inhabitant, as in Britain, five pounds six shillings; in France, ten pounds ten shillings; in the United States, five pounds fifteen shillings. Holland, a mercantile nation, stands eight pounds five shillings. The nations having little business and no great amount of wealth have small amounts of circulating medium, Russia having only one pound fifteen shillings, a great part of which is irredeemable paper.

The argument that the silver dollars are bulky and inconvenient is shallow. If silver certificates were issued in ones, twos, fives, besides the tens, the whole amount would pass immediately into circulation. Gold can hardly be said to circulate

except in certificates. A paper circulation that has standard coin behind it can scarcely be called in question. We freely store gold for everybody, surely we can store our own silver. To establish and maintain an international standard of money is impracticable. Changing standards is always a very doubtful expedient where great debts have been incurred, and we, as a nation, with our city, county, State, railway, and other debts, owe enormously. Gold may be discovered, or by improvements in machinery be mined in great quantities very soon, and once more disturb relative values. If the bimetallic standard can be maintained, it will materially aid one of our great industries. If a change in the standards must eventually be made, the United States should approach it cautiously.

WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

MR. EDITOR: Cardinal Manning's article is very much to be commended. It is extremely temperate, and at the same time clear and firm on the right side.

The moral power of corrupt passions in great cities has again and again proved itself to be more than a match for the moral power of the upper classes of society. It is remarkable how unanimous representative men are against gambling, crime, and vice, and every form of salacious immorality, and yet equally remarkable is the refusal of society in any concerted way to meddle with the subject; and we perceive on every side that men's actions are more affected by the infelicity of those who seek to stay corruption than they are by the corruption itself.

They know that thousands of men are ruined by intemperance, and in the case of London, uncounted thousands destroyed by licentiousness and every form of iniquity. And yet they never themselves institute one influence to suppress them, nor join with those who try to do so, but content themselves by standing off and criticising the infelicity of those who are earnestly working for the suppression of vice. We have a parallel instance in the city of New York. There can be no doubt as to the abominations of dishonesty, of gamblers in every form and shape, but Mr. Comstock has made himself the object of unlimited abuse, because in the employment of the law he has attempted to suppress, or, at any rate, to circumscribe the bounds of those overflowing fountains of public corruption.

That the evil is great is admitted; that it ought to be suppressed is admitted; but the moment any man undertakes to suppress it, good men and moral turn from him, and are more severe on his methods than they are on the iniquity he is endeavoring to suppress. In all our great cities the dregs at the bottom of society are drawn up to the surface, causing a malaria of unhealth.

It may be said that almost every modern city is built on the foundations of Sodom, and that the venomous character of wickedness at the bottom of society is in the proportion of the virtuousness of the top. In other words, men of intellect and piety refuse to exert any remedial influence which will oblige them to come into contact with men of corrupt animal passions. They separate themselves from their kind, because their kind are so wicked, and place themselves in the condition of the Scribes and Pharisees, against whom Christ uttered his maledictions. Their religion was without humanity. They served God by despising sinners.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

II.

MR. EDITOR: The "New York Tribune" published, on the 6th of July last, a telegram to the effect that General Diaz, President of the United Mexican States, was disposed to sell to the United States of America six of the Northern States of Mexico, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary funds to save the country from the financial crisis through which she is now passing. I stated, on the 21st of the same month, to a reporter of the Associated Press at this city, that I did not credit that rumor, because I did not think that any country having any self-respect should recur to suicide in order to surmount a difficulty of a transitory character.

You addressed me, on the 24th of said July, a letter on the subject, stating that the friends of Mexico in this country believed that there was some foundation for the report, and that it seemed to them that although General Diaz might at first repudiate it, he would at last accept it in order to save, in this wise, the financial situation of Mexico, particularly if a favorable opinion of the matter could be formed in both countries; or in other words, that the President of Mexico wished to feel the pulse of the two nations concerning this important subject. I answered, on the 2d of the following August, that I had already heard from General Diaz, and that the report that he was willing to sell any portion of the Mexican territory not only had no foundation at all, but that, on the contrary, his ideas on this point were entirely in accordance with mine.

Since the 24th of last July I addressed a letter to General Diaz, informing him of what was thought here to be his views on the subject, and on the 6th of August he wrote me a letter stating, "that if any person in the United States believed, in good faith, that he entertained the idea of selling any portion of the Mexican territory, he was wholly mistaken, as he had not only never uttered any word which might be construed in that sense, even at a great stretch, but had always, on the contrary, expressed himself, whenever speaking on the subject, in clear, precise, and even energetic terms; that he attributed these reports to the policy of his enemies in Mexico, and, therefore, thought proper that those who had given credit to the same in this country should know the truth."

Wishing, on one hand, to comply with General Diaz's desires on the subject, and, on the other, to inform you of the result of this incident, I quote here the terms of the reply of the President of Mexico.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

MEXICAN LEGATION, *Washington, D. C.*

III.

IN 1873 there were eighty Americans studying music in Milan. Out of this number have come Albani, Valleria, Miss Thursby, Miss Kate Smith, better known as Mlle. Caterina Measco, now singing in Europe, and Miss Josie Jones Yorke, still with the opera company of Carl Rosa in England. Since that time Paris has contributed Miss Van Zandt, Miss Emma Nevada and Miss Griswold, and to these, whose reputations belong to both continents, we add the names of

Miss Kellogg, Miss Cary, Minnie Hauk, and Mr. William Candidus, and remembering how rarely the flower of success blooms, we gain some idea of the musical fertility of this country. No other nation has produced an equal number of singers of equal reputation in the same time; but as a nation we have been the last to realize and profit by our own manifest advantage. It is as if we had left England to invent the cotton-gin, and France, McCormick's reaper.

But there is another side which should appeal as strongly to our sympathies as this to our pride. At that time Milan was a representative musical center, but Florence, Naples, Vienna, and Paris had each its nucleus of American students. The greater number of these were sent there through the generous interest of friends at home. In many instances to do this involved on the part of affection much self-sacrifice. But few of these singers had undertaken a musical career save with the expectation of success in that high and brilliant sense that Patti and Nilsson represented. None other was worthy an American girl's ambition. Conviction, however, has its own slow but relentless force. It arrived in time with the knowledge that to be a great singer is to aim beyond the stars and hit the mark. Unwilling to endure the humiliation of a less brilliant homecoming, numbers of these students have preferred to remain abroad and hold leading positions in the inferior Italian towns. The unwritten tragedies of many of these self-imposed duties have been due in great measure to our national misconceptions. With the exception of church choirs there was no place in this country except for great singers. Music was an art to be seen rather than to be heard. The phenomenal or the marvelous alone could add to its value.

Since that time, and especially in the few past years, a notable change has taken place in one point of view. There is a tendency to regard music as something desirable independent of individualities. This is due to the efforts of a handful of people, and notably those of Mr. Theodore Thomas in his orchestral concerts, and aided more recently by Dr. Damrosch in his season of German opera. These new conditions demand new provisions.

Happily that period arises with our first moments of national leisure. A young nation is inevitably absorbed in providing for the necessities of its existence; but, this work achieved, there arise new wants that prove as imperative as those which have before commanded attention. To these the increase of wealth and wisdom of the country alone can minister. It is the appreciation of these facts that has led to musical projects on the part of a few public-spirited citizens of the United States. These have taken the form of an organization, with the following gentlemen as its corporators: Mayor William R. Grace, Mr. August Belmont, Mr. Joseph M. Drexel, Mr. Richard Irvin, jr., Mr. Francis B. Thurber, Judge William G. Choate, Mr. Theodore Thomas, Mr. Parke Godwin, Mr. Henry G. Marquand, Mr. Jesse Seligman, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, of New York City; Mr. Henry S. Higginson, of Boston; Mr. Harrison Garrett, of Baltimore; Mr. A. Howard Henken, of Cincinnati; Mr. N. K. Fairbanks, of Chicago; Mr. Leopold Wetherby, of St. Louis. The ultimate aim of this organization is a National Conservatory of Music, the initiatory step the National School of Opera.

The address to the country takes the form of a demonstration of native capabilities and an exposition of new methods of representing operatic works in a season of American opera, to be inaugurated this coming winter. Of this, Mr. Charles E. Loder, so favorably known in connection with the Wagner concerts and with Mr. Theodore Thomas, will be the *impresario*, while Mr. Thomas will have the entire musical direction.

The first consideration appeals not only to our national pride, but more shrewdly to our commercial trait of seeing what we have before we pay for it. The public is asked to interest itself in the new project only after being shown the sample. The second is of higher and wider interest in its relation to the musical development of this country. The first result of presenting opera as a musical and dramatic *ensemble*, which is the intention of Mr. Thomas, is the subordination of personalities to ends more distinctly musical. This is the reverse of the prevailing system, and in bringing the various parts into different and more harmonious relations, at once creates a different *esprit de corps*. Setting aside its value to music as an art, it is of sufficient interest to engage attention in the inducements thus offered to a large number of singers. The American student is amenable to motives of a certain dignity, as the numerous applications already made for positions in the chorus from numerous homes all over the land bear witness.

Madame Marchesi, than whom there could be no more conclusive authority, has said that the United States is rapidly becoming the country to which the musical world will look for its singers, and accounts for the unusually good voices found among American girls, by the fact that they are taught to speak clearly and in no uncertain tones from childhood. The American voice has heretofore attracted attention by no means so flattering. But these words go far to compensate for less kind but equally truthful comment.

It is these forecasts that warrant the generous enterprise of which the first branch established will be the National School of Opera. So far as its policy is outlined, it is to attempt only what can be done effectively. It is in this way that the great conservatories of Europe, although supported by government subsidies, have arisen. In this country, private enterprise must take the place of public funds. How much can be done will depend on the financial support received. But the country is proverbially liberal in operatic matters. A guaranty fund of $50,000 is often raised in this city for a single season of opera. In view of these facts, there seems to be no doubt that a project, appealing not only to our national pride and national sympathies, but becoming a necessity brought before us by the great law of supply and demand, will be generously upheld.

As the incorporators are scattered over an extent of country and the business of organizing will require frequent meetings, the direction of the school has been intrusted to a board of trustees composed of the following persons: Mrs. August Belmont, Mrs. Wm. T. Blodgett, Mrs. Francis B. Thurber, Mrs. Thomas Ward, Mrs. Richard Irvin, jr., Mr. August Belmont, Mayor Grace, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Mr. Parke Godwin, Mr. Henry G. Marquand.

In love of art, business ability, and social position, the board presents various elements that contribute to success in any undertaking. The domestic

culture of music as it were with us in a National Conservatory, where training in all the highest branches of music can be obtained, and in which it is hoped the school of opera will be merged, must have certain indirect but equally important results.

One does not speak of an American school, but it is inevitable that a certain differentiation must in time result. It is quite as well if we hope it will result in our favor, and the star of music westward take its way. It will certainly do much toward creating a musical medium that will stimulate musical composition as well as musical execution.

But the most beguiling view of the subject is not in the outlook for budding American talent, nor in our national glorification, but in the contemplation of the sum of human happiness which the wide diffusion of musical culture will increase. The most critical and appreciative audiences in the world are found among the blouses and nodding caps in the top-most galleries of little Italian theaters. An Italian peasant may make his mark, but he knows every phrase of his Verdi, Bellini, Rossini, and Donizetti. The American has been to the public schools and has learned the value of primaries, but of music, as the Italian understands it, he agrees rather with Gautier, *C'est le bruit qui coûte le plus d'argent.* It is the touch of grace and joy that the arts alone can bestow, which the life of the American citizen lacks. It is this which the present project goes far to supply.

MARY GAY HUMPHREYS.

IV.

MR. EDITOR: We notice at the head of the first article in the September number of your REVIEW the following quotation:

"Les financiers soutiennent l'état comme la corde soutient le pendu."—Montesquieu.

We venture, therefore, to address you a slight verification in the form of a history of this clever saying.

It is incorrect to attribute it to Montesquieu, it having been uttered by Marshal Duc de Noailles in reply to an observation of King Louis XV., that the "fermiers généraux" (farmers of the taxes) were a support to the state.

"Oui, Sire," replied the Duke, "comme la corde soutient le pendu."

Our authority for this is Michaud's "Biographie Universelle," 1822, and following editions—articles on Noailles. The Marshal was long known under the title of the Duc d'Ayen and famous for his "bons mots." He was the ancestor of the present Marquis de Noailles, formerly French Minister to the United States, and now Ambassador at Constantinople, and of his elder brother, the Duc d'Ayen, who has recently, through the death of his father, (ancien pair de France, member of the French Academy, etc.), succeeded to the title of Duc de Noailles.

J. BAUDRY JEANCOURT.

PARIS, Office of "Galignani's Messenger," *September* 14, 1885.

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THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

December, 1885.

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II. The Progress of Texas . . . . . Governor Ireland.
III. Motley and Monarch . . . . . Robert G. Ingersoll.
IV. Rome and the Inquisitions . . . . . Alfred K. Glover.
V. An Acquaintance with Grant . . . . General James B. Fry.
VI. A Chapter on Monetary Policy . . . . . S. Dana Horton.
VII. The Capture of John Brown . . . . . Israel Green.
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IX. The Mistakes of Grant . . . . . General W. S. Rosecrans.
X. A Disfranchised People . . . . . The Editor.
XI. Notes and Comments.
George Parsons Lathrop, F. S. Woodbury, James N. Clark, Henry Rawie, John W. Bell.

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PROSPECTUS.

In 1886, the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW enters its seventy-second year. From its first number it has stood foremost among the great organs of great minds that mould nations and mark epochs.

Always the recognized exponent of the highest scholarship of the new world, its scope has been gradually enlarged until it includes literature, statesmanship, religion, science, philosophy and art, as illustrated by their leading champions throughout the world, without regard to creed, class or clique, party or school. But in this breadth it is true to its time-honored motto: "*Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*" Let a few names of its contributors point to the impartiality of its pages: in present European and American politics, for example—Gladstone, Foster, Parnell, Castelar and Stepniak; Edmunds, Seymour, Blaine, Lamar.

In religion, belief and unbelief are impartially represented by their most famous defenders. Here it is enough to point to the great names of Canon Farrar, Bishop Huntington, Prof. McCosh, Cardinal Manning, Henry Ward Beecher, Robert G. Ingersoll, and Frederic Harrison.

In other fields of inquiry, authorities of equally representative character will continue to use the REVIEW as their organ.

The REVIEW will continue to discuss the most vital problems that engage the human intellect and divide men's opinions, and to do so with the same impartiality that has characterized its recent policy. Both sides of every great question will be presented by those writers, who, by their study and their opportunities, are deemed specially qualified to write upon the topics selected for them. And no topic will be deemed too sacred for debate. The NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW insists that to forbid the most searching inquiry into the theories and actions of public men, no longer living, but whose authority is still potent, is to establish a despotism of sepulchres as dangerous as the tyranny of thrones. Especially will the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW inspect and criticise the great men and great measures of the late war between the States. The best time to do justice to historic men and historic measures is while the living can shed all the light of fact upon them.

In 1886 the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW purposes to commence the publication of a most searching series of historic studies of the Civil War, its legislation and its leaders, both National and Confederate. General Beauregard, the soldier who actually opened the war, will open this series of articles, in our January number, with a paper on the "Campaign of Shiloh." It is predicted that this series of articles will render it necessary to revise many of the best established theories of the war.

The statesmen of the war will also be discussed by men who knew them, and were of them. These essays will be accompanied by articles on the civil administration of President Grant, with whose retirement from the Presidency the war-legislation and war-policy of the country ended.

"Letters to Public Men" will be a new feature of the REVIEW, and will be anonymous, in order to give scope to free utterance and criticism. The first of the series is expected to be a letter to Secretary Bayard, to appear in the January number.

The progress made by the several States, especially of the South and West, since the war, will be treated by some prominent citizen of each State. The first article of this series appears in the December number of the REVIEW, from the hand of the Governor of Texas.

Few subjects are likely to command more attention in the future of American politics than the "The Land Question." The official report of the United States Land Commissioner declares there is no more arable land open for settlement, except in regions practically inaccessible. The editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has made some investigation of this matter, through a special Commissioner, deputed to the West, and purposes to continue the study and publish the results.

A present purpose of the REVIEW is to begin a series of articles in which the great denominational leaders of the world may answer the question: "Why I am an Episcopalian"? or "Why I am a Methodist"? etc. In connection with this discussion the Federative Union of the Churches will doubtless be considered.

But, while moving directly with the current of great events, the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW depends upon no merely new or sensational features for its standing or success, but upon its scholarship, its scientific s researches, and its entire disregard of any fear save that of with events, or failing to record the wisest verdict. On these long maintained by the REVIEW, the editor confidently relie prosperity—never, during its three score and ten years, so g

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCXLIX.

DECEMBER, 1885.

HALLECK'S INJUSTICE TO GRANT.

Some days ago, when conversing with the Editor of the North American Review about the correspondence between General Halleck and my father, General Grant, just after the fall of Fort Donelson, and about the strange condition of some of that correspondence in the records published by the War Department, I was requested to put it together in consecutive order, giving all the dispatches and correspondence relating to the relieving of General Grant from his command after the fall of Donelson, with my comments upon the same. I submit the following, as extracted from my father's documents:

On the 16th of February, 1862, General Grant telegraphs General Halleck *via* Smithland:

"We have taken Fort Donelson and from 12 to 15,000 prisoners, including Generals Buckner and Bushrod Johnson; also about 20,000 stand of arms, 48 pieces of artillery, 17 heavy guns, from 2,000 to 4,000 horses, and large quantities of commissary stores."

And on the same day he wrote to Brigadier-general Geo. W. Cullum, Halleck's chief of staff, a detailed report of the siege and capture of Donelson. Nothing is sent by Halleck to Grant during the 16th or 17th, but on the 18th Halleck orders:

"Don't let gunboats go higher up * than Clarksville. . . ."

* Meaning the Cumberland River.

And on the 19th, Halleck telegraphs General Hunter in Kansas:

"To you more than to any other man out of this department are we indebted for our success at Fort Donelson."

And to McClellan:

"Brigadier-general Charles F. Smith, by his coolness and bravery at Fort Donelson when the battle was against us, turned the tide and carried the enemy's outworks. Make him a major-general. You can't get a better one. Honor him for this victory and the whole country will applaud."

There was on the 19th an order issued from Halleck's headquarters, by his adjutant-general, congratulating Flag-officer Foote, Brigadier-general Grant, and the brave officers and men under their commands, on the recent brilliant victories on the Tennessee and Cumberland.

Grant reports through Cullum on the 19th:

"Clarksville is evacuated, and I shall take possession on Friday next with one division under General Smith. If it is the desire of the general commanding department, I can leave Nashville on Saturday week. . . . Please inform me early of the desire of the general commanding on this point at as early a day as possible. . . ."

On the 20th, Cullum acknowledges Grant's reports and letters from Fort Donelson, and mentions specially the one written on the 19th of February.

The 21st, Grant writes to Cullum:

"I am now in Clarksville, but will move no force there except General Smith's division until I hear from General Halleck. . . . It is my impression that by following up our success Nashville would be an easy conquest, but I only throw this out as a suggestion based simply upon information from people who have no sympathy with us. . . . I am ready for any move the general commanding may order."

News of Grant's being in Clarksville must have gotten to Halleck, for on the same day he telegraphs to Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, and at that time in Louisville, Ky.:

"Advices just received from Clarksville represent that General A. S. Johnston has fallen back on Columbia, and that there is very little preparation for a stand at Nashville. General Grant and Commodore Foote say the road is now open, and are impatient. Can't you come down to the Cumberland and divide the responsibility with me? If so, I will immediately prepare to go ahead. I am tired of waiting for action in Washington. They will not understand the case. It is as plain as daylight to me."

On the 22d, Grant reports to Halleck through Kelton, one of Halleck's staff, a case of pilfering and marauding, and that he (Grant) has placed the commanding officer under arrest and restored the property.

The 23d, Halleck telegraphs to General Sherman instructions to forward to Grant about concentrating 20,000 men at Clarksville. On the 24th, Grant reports that he has returned from Clarksville, and encloses an order he gave to Nelson to take Nashville and report to Buell, and also a dispatch from Buell sent through to Clarksville; and on the 25th, Grant writes to Cullum giving some details, and uses the two following sentences that I deem important points in this correspondence:

"I shall go to Nashville immediately after the arrival of the next mail should there be no orders to prevent it. . . . I am growing anxious to know what the next move is going to be."

The 28th, Grant informs Halleck (through Kelton) of details of his command, and ends his letter in the following words:

"I have informed General Cullum that General Buell ordered General Smith from Clarksville to join him at Nashville. I enclose herewith General Buell's order on the subject. I have just returned from Nashville this morning. My impression is, from all I can learn, that the enemy have fallen back to Decatur or Chattanooga."

March 1st, Grant reports through Kelton, again, that Buell ordered Smith to Nashville.

March 2d, Cullum sends through Sherman the following to Grant:

"General Halleck, February 25, telegraphed me, 'Grant will send no more forces to Clarksville; General Smith's division will come to Fort Henry or a point higher up the Tennessee River. Transports will also be collected at Paducah. Two gunboats in Tennessee River with General Grant. Grant will immediately have such garrisons detailed for Forts Donelson and Henry, and all other forces made ready for the field. From your letter of the 28th I learn you are at Fort Donelson and General Smith at Nashville, from which I infer you would not have received orders.' Halleck's telegram of last night says: 'Who sent Smith's division to Nashville? I ordered it across to the Tennessee, where they are wanted immediately. Order them back. Send all spare transports up Tennessee to General Grant.' Evidently the general supposes you on the Tennessee. . . ."

Halleck telegraphs the same day (March 2) to McClellan:

" . . . I have had no communication with General Grant for more than a week. He left his command without my authority and went to Nashville.

His army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run. It is hard to censure a successful general immediately after a victory, but I think he richly deserves it. I can get no returns, no reports, no information of any kind from him. Satisfied with his victory, he sits down and enjoys it without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired with this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency."

On the 3d, McClellan answers with the approval of the Secretary of War (Stanton):

"Your dispatch of last evening received. The future success of our cause demands that proceedings such as Grant's should at once be checked. Generals must observe discipline as well as private soldiers. Do not hesitate to arrest him at once if the good of the service requires it, and place C. F. Smith in command. You are at liberty to regard this as a positive order if it will smooth your way. I appreciate the difficulties you have to encounter, and will be glad to relieve you from trouble as far as possible."

On the 4th, Halleck telegraphs Grant *via* Paducah:

"You will place Major-general C. F. Smith in command of expedition and remain yourself at Fort Henry. Why do you not obey my orders to report strength and position of your command?"

And to McClellan:

'A rumor has just reached me that since the taking of Fort Donelson General Grant has resumed his former bad habits. If so, it will account for his neglect of my often-repeated orders. I do not deem it advisable to arrest him at present, but have placed General Smith in command of the expedition up the Tennessee. I think Smith will restore order and discipline. . . ."

March 5th Grant reports to Halleck:

"Your dispatch of yesterday is just received. Troops will be sent under command of Major-general Smith as directed. . . . I am not aware of ever having disobeyed any orders from head-quarters, certainly never intended such a thing. I have reported almost daily the condition of my command, and reported every position occupied. I have not, however, been able to get returns from all the troops from which to consolidate a return for department head-quarters. All have come in except from General Smith's command at Clarksville. . . . The general has probably been unable to get his, in consequence of being ordered to Nashville by General Buell. General Smith has been relieved by General Buell, and was ordered immediately to the Tennessee by me. As soon as I was notified that General Smith had been ordered to Nashville I reported the fact and sent a copy of Buell's order. My reports have nearly all been made to General Cullum, chief of staff, and it may be that many of them were not thought of sufficient importance to forward more than a telegraphic synopsis of. . . . In conclusion, I will say that you may rely on my carrying out your instructions in every particular to the best of my ability."

The 5th, the same day that Grant wrote the above, Halleck wrote to Grant:

"General McClellan directs that you report to me daily the number and position of the forces under your command. Your neglect of repeated orders to report the strength of your command has created great dissatisfaction and seriously interfered with military plans. Your going to Nashville without authority, and when your presence with your troops was of the utmost importance, is a matter of very serious complaint at Washington, so much so that I was advised to arrest you on your return."

On the 6th, Halleck writes to Grant:

"I enclose herewith a copy of a letter * addressed to Judge Davis, President of the Western Investigating Commission. Judge Davis says the writer is a man of integrity and perfectly reliable.

"The want of order and discipline, and the numerous irregularities in your command since the capture of Fort Donelson, are matters of general notoriety, and have attracted the serious attention of the authorities at Washington. Unless these things are immediately corrected, I am directed to relieve you from the command."

The 7th, Grant writes:

"Your dispatch of yesterday just received. I did all I could to get you returns of the strength of my command. Every move I made was reported daily to your chief of staff, who must have failed to keep you properly posted. I have done my very best to obey orders and to carry out the interest of the service. If my course is not satisfactory, remove me at once. I do not wish to impede in any way the success of our arms. I have averaged writing more than once a day since leaving Cairo to keep you informed of my position, and it is no fault of mine if you have not received my letters. My going to Nashville was strictly intended for the good of the service, and not to gratify any desire of my own.

Believing sincerely that I must have enemies between you and myself who are trying to impair my usefulness, I respectfully ask to be relieved from further duty in the department."

The 8th, Halleck telegraphs McClellan:

"Strange to say I have not yet received any returns whatever from General Grant showing number and position of his forces. I ordered on the 1st of March, one week ago, the movement up the Tennessee to destroy bridges, etc. I can get no official information of how many have gone or where they now are. . . ."

* This was an anonymous letter, and complained of some irregularities at Fort Henry.

And to Grant:

"You are mistaken—there is no enemy between you and me. There is no letter of yours stating the number and position of your command since the capture of Fort Donelson. General McClellan has asked for it repeatedly with reference to ulterior movements, but I could not give him the information. He is out of patience waiting for it. Answer by telegraph in general terms."

Grant answered the above the next day (9th) with two dispatches, one giving detail report of his troops and stating that he had mailed returns three days before, and in the other he says:

"Your dispatch of yesterday is just received. . . . You had a better chance of knowing my strength whilst surrounding Fort Donelson than I had. Troops were reporting daily, by your order, and immediately assigned to brigades. There were no orders received from you until the 28th of February, to make out returns, and I made every effort to get them in as early as possible. . . . I renew my application to be relieved from further duty. Returns have been sent."

Halleck writes to Grant (9th):

'Your letter of the 5th instant, just received, contains the first and only information of your actual forces. If you have reported them before, I have not seen them. General McClellan has repeatedly ordered me to report to him daily the numbers and positions of your forces. This I could not do, and the fault certainly was not mine, for I telegraphed to you time and again for the information, but could get no answer. This certainly indicated a great want of order and system in your command, the blame of which was partially thrown on me, and perhaps justly—as it is the duty of every commander to compel those under him to obey orders and enforce discipline. Don't let such neglect occur again, for it is equally discreditable to you and to me. I really felt ashamed to telegraph back to Washington time and again that I was unable to give the strength of your command. But to business (detailed instructions). . . ."

On the 10th, Halleck telegraphs Grant about reinforcements he is sending up the Tennessee, and ends his dispatch with:

"Arrange for them as they arrive, and be ready yourself to take the general command."

The 11th, Grant says to Halleck:

"Yours of the 6th instant, enclosing an anonymous letter to Hon. David Davis, speaking of frauds committed against government, is just received. I refer you to my orders to suppress marauding as the only reply necessary.

"There is such a disposition to find fault with me, that I again ask to be relieved from further duty until I can be placed right in the estimation of those higher in authority."

On the 13th, Halleck, who has evidently just received the above from Grant, telegraphs him :

"You cannot be relieved from your command. There is no good reason for it. I am certain that all which the authorities at Washington ask is that you enforce discipline and punish the disorderly. The power is in your hands—use it, and you will be sustained by all above you. Instead of relieving you, I wish you (as soon as your new army is in the field) to assume the immediate command and lead it on to new victories."

This was answered on the 14th by Grant as follows :

"After your letter, inclosing copy of an anonymous letter upon which severe censure was based, I felt as though it would be impossible for me to serve longer without a court of inquiry. Your telegram of yesterday, however, places such a different phase upon my position that I will again assume command and give every effort to the success of our cause. Under the worst circumstances I would do the same. . . . P. S.—Since writing the above, yours of the 9th instant is received. I certainly received but one telegraphic dispatch up to the 28th of February to furnish reports of strength. I had done my best, however, previous to that to get in field returns, in order that consolidated returns might be made out to send you. . . ."

March 17th, Halleck, writing to Grant, says :

"I inclose you a letter and a slip from a newspaper as a sample of what I am almost daily receiving in relation to the general plunder of public property which, it is alleged, took place at Fort Donelson. Representations of these robberies by our soldiers, and the general neglect of the officers, were made to Washington, and I have been called on time and again to have the officers and men arrested and punished. Of course I could act only through you, and, as you had full power to order courts, I deemed it your duty to bring these plunderers to justice. Officers of companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions should be held strictly accountable for the conduct of their men, and, when they fail to prevent such misconduct, they should be arrested and tried for neglect of duty.

"In justice to myself as well as to you, I inclose herewith copies of a letter received from the adjutant-general in relation to the matter, and of my answer. . . . I have been directed, hereafter, when any plunder of this kind occurs, to arrest any officer in command of the troops engaged in it."

The following is the letter from the adjutant-general and General Halleck's reply :

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, *March* 10, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, U.S.A.,
"*Commanding Department of the Mississippi, St. Louis.*

"It has been reported that soon after the battle of Fort Donelson, Brigadier general Grant left his command without leave. By direction of the President,

the Secretary of War desires you to ascertain and report whether General Grant left his command at any time without proper authority, and if so, for how long; whether he has made to you proper reports and returns of his force; whether he has committed any acts which were unauthorized, or not, in accordance with military subordination or propriety, and if so, what.

(Signed) "L. THOMAS,
"Adjutant-General."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
"ST. LOUIS, *March* 15, 1862.

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL L. THOMAS,
"Adjutant-general of the Army, Washington.

"In accordance with your instructions of the 10th inst., I report that General Grant and several officers of high rank in his command, immediately after the battle of Fort Donelson, went to Nashville without my authority or knowledge. I am satisfied, however, from investigation, that General Grant did this from good intentions and from a desire to subserve the public interest. Not being advised of General Buell's movements, and learning that General Buell had ordered Smith's division of his (Grant's) command to Nashville, he deemed it his duty to go there in person. During the absence of General Grant and a part of his general officers, numerous irregularities are said to have occurred at Fort Donelson. These were in violation of orders issued by General Grant before his departure, and probably under the circumstances were unavoidable. General Grant has made the proper explanations and has been directed to resume his command in the field, as he acted from a praiseworthy, although mistaken, zeal for the public service, in going to Nashville and leaving his command. I respectfully recommend that no further notice be taken of it. There never has been any want of military subordination on the part of General Grant, and his failure to make returns of his forces has been explained as resulting partly from the failure of colonels of regiments to report to him on their arrival, and partly from an interruption of telegraphic communication. All these irregularities have now been remedied.

(Signed) "H. W. HALLECK,
"Major-general."

March the 21st, in a letter, Grant writes to Halleck the following:

"I have just learned to-day that your dispatches to me after the taking of Fort Donelson reached Fort Henry, some of them at least, but were never sent to me. What has become of the operator then at Fort Henry? I don't know. At present a soldier detailed from the ranks is filling the station."

On the 24th, Grant writes his last letter to Halleck on this subject, and never mentions it again in writing until he writes his

book, which gives what he thinks of Halleck's conduct in his own words. Grant's last letter reads as follows :

"Your letter, inclosing correspondence between yourself and Adjutant-general Thomas, is just received. In regard to the plundering at Fort Donelson, it is very much overestimated by disappointed persons who failed in getting off the trophies they had gathered. My orders at the time show that I did all in my power to prevent marauding. To execute these orders I kept a company on duty searching boats about leaving, and to bring off all captured property found. My great difficulty was with the rush of citizens, particularly the Sanitary Committee, who infested Donelson after its fall. They thought it an exceedingly hard case that patriotic gentlemen like themselves, who had gone to tender their services to the sick and wounded, could not carry off what they pleased. Most of the wounded had reached hospitals before these gentlemen left Cairo. One of these gentlemen (a Doctor Fowler of Springfield) swore vengeance against me for this very act of preventing trophies being carried off. How many more did not the same thing I can't tell.

"My going to Nashville I did regard particularly as going beyond my district. After the fall of Donelson, from information I had, I knew that the way was clear to Clarksville and Nashville. Accordingly I wrote to you, directed to your chief of staff, as was all my correspondence from the time of leaving Fort Henry until I learned you were not hearing from me, that by Friday following the fall of Donelson I should occupy Clarksville and by Saturday week following should be in Nashville, if not prevented by orders from head-quarters of the department. During all this time not one word was received from you, and I accordingly occupied Clarksville on the day indicated, and two days after the time I was to occupy Nashville, General Nelson reported to me with a division of Buell's army, they being all ready on transports; and knowing that Buell's column should have arrived opposite Nashville the day before, and having no use for the troops myself, I ordered them immediately to Nashville. It is perfectly plain to me that designing enemies are the cause of all the publications that appear, and are the means of getting extracts sent to you. It is also a little remarkable that the adjutant-general should learn of my presence in Nashville before it was known in St. Louis, where I reported I was going before starting.

"I do not feel that I have neglected a single duty. My reports to you have averaged at least one a day since leaving Cairo, and there has been scarcely a day that I have not either written or telegraphed to head-quarters. I most fully appreciate your justness, General, in the part you have taken, and you may rely upon me to the utmost of my capacity for carrying out all your orders."

The best comment I can make upon this correspondence, probably, is what I have heard my father say. It is this :

General Halleck unquestionably regarded General C. F. Smith as a much fitter officer for the command of all the forces in the military district than he (Grant), and, to render Smith available

for such command, desired his promotion to antedate the promotions of the other commanders. It is probable that the general opinion was that Smith's long services in the army and distinguished deeds rendered him the more proper person for such command. This did not justify, however, the dispatches which General Halleck sent to Washington, or his subsequent concealment of them when pretending to explain the action of his superiors.

F. D. GRANT.

THE PROGRESS OF TEXAS.

It is a beautiful tradition that, when the Spanish explorers first landed on the shores of Matagorda Bay they were met by the natives with emblems of peace, and that the first word spoken by the chief, as he advanced to meet the holy father who stood under the banner of the cross, was "Tekas," meaning welcome. By easy transition Tekas became Texas, and thus named the province which is now the State. When pronounced in the language of the Cid, Tejas* (Tahas) is soft and musical, and its significance (welcome) is symbolic of the generous hospitality of the people that inhabit the State and form her government; and, surely, no state or nation has a history more resplendent with acts of true hospitality and genuine welcome.

In 1822 a colony of three hundred families came to Texas, under a contract made by Stephen F. Austin, a native of Connecticut, with the Mexican Government. They were of that hardy, intelligent race who were the pioneers of civilization on the North American Continent, and they brought with them the qualities that make men great and useful. They were imbued with the love of liberty, and of the principles upon which the United States Government was founded. The colonists settled on the rich alluvial lands of the Brazas, Trinity, and Colorado Rivers. Attending strictly to their own affairs, they avoided the various political complications of the government under which they had come to live. Yet their very prudence became their offense. They were annoyed, and finally oppressed, by that despotic government. Then, throwing off all allegiance to Mexico, they declared their independence, and with their swords carved their boundaries from the Sabine to the Rio Grande.

The men who formed the constitution of 1836 were typical of the free institutions under which they were born. Descendants of

* The a in Tejas pronounced soft.

the men of 1776, the first act of the newly freed people of Texas was to extend invitation and welcome to all the world, by offering to every man who would come among them a portion of the domain they had won. To each head of a family they gave forty-four hundred acres, and to each single man fourteen hundred and eighty acres. These generous inducements offered by the Republic, as well as her chivalric and romantic history, attracted settlers from all directions. A government patterned after that of the United States was formed, and the Republic of Texas established itself among the nations as a sovereign power, recognized and respected.

Nine years of independence passed away—from 1837 to 1846—when, after due deliberation, without pressure from any source, like the son who had wandered from his father's roof and tested the world's attractions, but found nothing so congenial as the old home, the men of Texas, seeking no grander destiny, asking no other fate, threw this magnificent empire, all their own, this rich diadem glittering with deeds of patriotism, courage, and wisdom, at the feet of the mother country, and became a part of the great American Union. The survivors of that time, and of those events, look back through the dim vista of time upon the historic drama of 1846, only to realize that the annexation of Texas was the direct cause of the war with Mexico, the acquisition of California, and of the political questions beginning with the repeal of the Missouri compromise and culminating in the war between the States, which closed at Appomattox. Yet these patriarchs feel that their action was right, and that the fate which ruled it was the fate of brothers; and with their brothers they shared it.

In 1865, at the close of the war, Texas was demoralized and almost ruined. It is true she had been spared the tramp of hostile armies; yet her material wealth was gone, her loss in slaves alone being a hundred and thirty-seven millions of dollars. Her labor system had been destroyed, confidence had fled, and hope had departed. The pursuits of the people, be it remembered, had been essentially agricultural and pastoral; but agriculture lay paralyzed, and the flocks and herds of the grazer were scattered and lost. Added to such misfortune, the iron heel of the conqueror came to crush the really brave and genuine manhood of Texas. But the men who had strongly met the storm of war were prepared to meet its consequences—the placing in their stead the

selfish stranger and the ignorant negro. Governed, however, by a class that only sought the deeper degradation of the people, we can understand that Texans naturally reverted to the oppressions of Mexican rule, and found no consolation by comparison. The days seemed dark indeed. This state of things, ameliorating gradually but with agonizing slowness, came to an end in 1874. Reason resumed her throne. After nine years of experience, those who controlled the government of the nation realized that the way to treat brave men was to trust them, and so restored to the people their political rights. Upon this restoration, Texas entered with a bound, as it were, upon her new career.

And what of the State to-day ?

Imperial in her domain, attractive in the variety of good and rare things she possesses, she is again able to say : "Tekas"—"Welcome." And to what does she invite ?

Embracing all the territory between the 94th and 106th degrees of west longitude, and the 26th and 36th degrees of north latitude —a territory of two hundred and seventy-four thousand square miles—larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland combined—larger than the half of Europe, omitting Russia—she can support a population equal to the present population of the United States, and yet not crowd her people. She has a genial climate whose uniformity of temperature gives health and comfort, and does not shut up labor for six months in the year with ice and snow. She has a soil rich and diversified, producing wheat as in California, cotton as in Egypt, and corn as in Illinois. She is the grazing ground of a continent, where within the memory of man countless herds of buffalo roamed over her prairies, from her northern to her southern boundary, but whose trails are now covered with inclosures, breeding cattle with which to feed the world.

Let me call earnest attention to a few remarkable facts, which I take from the official reports of the State. Our tables of statistics show that in 1836 the population numbered about fifty thousand. In forty-nine years it has increased fifty-fold, and we now have two and a half millions. Fifteen years ago, in 1870, the assessed value of property was a little less than a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. It is now six hundred and three millions. Yet the tax-rate for 1885 is only twenty-five cents on the hundred dollars, one-half of which is for the public schools.

In this important matter of public schools and the education of our youth, it must be remembered that the fathers of '36 set aside one-tenth of the annual revenue of their Republic for a perpetual school fund, and also granted to each county four leagues of land, or twenty thousand acres. Still, in addition, they set aside fifty leagues—more than two hundred and twenty thousand acres—for a university. Subsequently the State of Texas donated to railroads sixteen alternate sections of land to the mile, and coupled this donation with the obligation to survey an equal area for the school-fund. This fund now owns, from that source, thirty-two millions of acres, worth, at the minimum government price, sixty-four millions of dollars. It has, besides, seven millions in cash, bonds, and stocks, which yield even more than two and a quarter million as an available school fund for the year 1885, allowing each child in the State five dollars for six months' tuition. The increase in value of the school lands, whether from lease or from sale to actual settlers, will in a short time relieve the people from paying any school tax at all; for, with the interest on nearly a hundred millions of capital invested, there will be enough revenue for the grandest free-school system ever known.

I have stated the taxable value of all the property of Texas at six hundred and three millions of dollars. Let me enumerate, in round numbers, a few of the items which go to make up that sum.

The land is counted at about two hundred and forty-seven millions, not including eighty-six millions for town lots. Cattle stand for eighty-one millions; horses, thirty-two millions; sheep, nine millions; and hogs, two millions. The assessed value of railroads is forty millions. The merchandise of the State is put down at twenty-nine millions; and the money on hand, twelve millions and a half.

Of the two hundred and seventy-four thousand square miles of Texan territory, twenty millions are rich in minerals—iron, coal, copper, lead, and silver. The timber lands, with a hundred and ninety-four varieties of wood, comprise forty-six millions of acres. And over this various territory run, already, seventy-three hundred miles of railroad, connecting us with the markets of the world. The crop estimates for 1885 include thirteen hundred thousand bales of cotton, four million bushels of wheat, eight million bushels of corn, and thirty-two million pounds of wool.

Twelve million head of live stock sustain themselves on our three hundred and fifty-three varieties of the grasses. We can feed New England with cheap meat. We can supply Old England with fine beef, France with fat mutton, and ingratiate Germany with the best of pork, though not one-fifth of the area of Texas is yet occupied or utilized. We have a good government, a moral, Christian population, with activity, progress, and peace on every hand. Where on earth are such inducements for the present, and such prospects for the future? Tekas—welcome! Come and share with us all these blessings.

JOHN IRELAND.

MOTLEY AND MONARCH.

STRANGE mingling of mirth and tears, of the tragic and grotesque, of cap and crown, of Socrates and Rabelais, of Æsop and Marcus Aurelius, of all that is gentle and just, humorous and honest, merciful, wise, laughable, lovable, and divine, and all consecrated to the use of man; while through all, and over all, an overwhelming sense of obligation, of chivalric loyalty to truth, and upon all the shadow of the tragic end.

Nearly all the great historic characters are impossible monsters, disproportioned by flattery, or by calumny deformed. We know nothing of their peculiarities, or nothing but their peculiarities. About the roots of these oaks there clings none of the earth of humanity. Washington is now only a steel engraving. About the real man who lived and loved and hated and schemed we know but little. The glass through which we look at him is of such high magnifying power that the features are exceedingly indistinct. Hundreds of people are now engaged in smoothing out the lines of Lincoln's face—forcing all features to the common mold—so that he may be known, not as he really was, but, according to their poor standard, as he should have been.

Lincoln was not a type. He stands alone—no ancestors, no fellows, and no successors. He had the advantage of living in a new country, of social equality, of personal freedom, of seeing in the horizon of his future the perpetual star of hope. He preserved his individuality and his self-respect. He knew and mingled with men of every kind; and, after all, men are the best books. He became acquainted with the ambitions and hopes of the heart, the means used to accomplish ends, the springs of action and the seeds of thought. He was familiar with nature, with actual things, with common facts. He loved and appreciated the poem of the year, the drama of the seasons.

In a new country a man must possess at least three virtues—honesty, courage, and generosity. In cultivated society, cultivation is often more important than soil. A well-executed counterfeit passes more readily than a blurred genuine. It is necessary only to observe the unwritten laws of society—to be honest enough to keep out of prison, and generous enough to subscribe in public—where the subscription can be defended as an investment. In a new country, character is essential; in the old, reputation is sufficient. In the new, they find what a man really is; in the old, he generally passes for what he resembles. People separated only by distance are much nearer together than those divided by the walls of caste.

It is no advantage to live in a great city, where poverty degrades and failure brings despair. The fields are lovelier than paved streets, and the great forest than walls of brick. Oaks and elms are more poetic than steeples and chimneys. In the country is the idea of home. There you see the rising and setting sun; you become acquainted with the stars and clouds. The constellations are your friends. You hear the rain on the roof and listen to the rhythmic sighing of the winds. You are thrilled by the resurrection called Spring, touched and saddened by Autumn, the grace and poetry of death. Every field is a picture, a landscape; every landscape a poem; every flower a tender thought; and every forest a fairy-land. In the country you preserve your identity—your personality. There you are an aggregation of atoms, but in the city you are only an atom of an aggregation.

Lincoln never finished his education. To the night of his death he was a pupil, a learner, an inquirer, a seeker after knowledge. You have no idea how many men are spoiled by what is called education. For the most part, colleges are places where pebbles are polished and diamonds are dimmed. If Shakespeare had graduated at Oxford, he might have been a quibbling attorney or a hypocritical parson.

Lincoln was a many-sided man, acquainted with smiles and tears, complex in brain, single in heart, direct as light; and his words, candid as mirrors, gave the perfect image of his thought. He was never afraid to ask—never too dignified to admit that he did not know. No man had keener wit or kinder humor. He was not solemn. Solemnity is a mask worn by ignorance and

hypocrisy—it is the preface, prologue, and index to the cunning or the stupid. He was natural in his life and thought—master of the story-teller's art, in illustration apt, in application perfect, liberal in speech, shocking Pharisees and prudes, using any word that wit could disinfect.

He was a logician. Logic is the necessary product of intelligence and sincerity. It cannot be learned. It is the child of a clear head and a good heart. He was candid, and with candor often deceived the deceitful. He had intellect without arrogance, genius without pride, and religion without cant—that is to say, without bigotry and without deceit.

He was an orator—clear, sincere, natural. He did not pretend. He did not say what he thought others thought, but what he thought. If you wish to be sublime you must be natural—you must keep close to the grass. You must sit by the fireside of the heart: above the clouds it is too cold. You must be simple in your speech: too much polish suggests insincerity. The great orator idealizes the real, transfigures the common, makes even the inanimate throb and thrill, fills the gallery of the imagination with statues and pictures perfect in form and color, brings to light the gold hoarded by memory—the miser shows the glittering coin to the spendthrift hope—enriches the brain, ennobles the heart, and quickens the conscience. Between his lips words bud and blossom.

If you wish to know the difference between an orator and an elocutionist—between what is felt and what is said—between what the heart and brain can do together and what the brain can do alone—read Lincoln's wondrous words at Gettysburg, and then the speech of Edward Everett. The oration of Lincoln will never be forgotten. It will live until languages are dead and lips are dust. The speech of Everett will never be read. The elocutionists believe in the virtue of voice, the sublimity of syntax, the majesty of long sentences, and the genius of gesture. The orator loves the real, the simple, the natural. He places the thought above all. He knows that the greatest ideas should be expressed in the shortest words—that the greatest statues need the least drapery.

Lincoln was an immense personality—firm but not obstinate. Obstinacy is egotism—firmness, heroism. He influenced others without effort, unconsciously; and they submitted to him as

men submit to nature, unconsciously. He was severe with himself, and for that reason lenient with others. He appeared to apologize for being kinder than his fellows. He did merciful things as stealthily as others committed crimes. Almost ashamed of tenderness, he said and did the noblest words and deeds with that charming confusion—that awkwardness—that is the perfect grace of modesty. As a noble man, wishing to pay a small debt to a poor neighbor, reluctantly offers a hundred-dollar bill and asks for change, fearing that he may be suspected either of making a display of wealth or a pretense of payment, so Lincoln hesitated to show his wealth of goodness, even to the best he knew.

A great man stooping, not wishing to make his fellows feel that they were small or mean.

He knew others, because perfectly acquainted with himself. He cared nothing for place, but everything for principle, nothing for money, but everything for independence. Where no principle was involved, easily swayed—willing to go slowly if in the right direction—sometimes willing to stop, but he would not go back, and he would not go wrong. He was willing to wait. He knew that the event was not waiting, and that fate was not the fool of chance. He knew that slavery had defenders, but no defense, and that they who attack the right must wound themselves. He was neither tyrant nor slave. He neither knelt nor scorned. With him, men were neither great nor small—they were right or wrong. Through manners, clothes, titles, rags, and race, he saw the real—that which is. Beyond accident, policy, compromise, and war, he saw the end. He was patient as Destiny, whose undecipherable hieroglyphs were so deeply graven on his sad and tragic face.

Nothing discloses real character like the use of power. It is easy for the weak to be gentle. Most people can bear adversity. But if you wish to know what a man really is, give him power. This is the supreme test. It is the glory of Lincoln that, having almost absolute power, he never abused it, except upon the side of mercy.

Wealth could not purchase, power could not awe, this divine, this loving man. He knew no fear except the fear of doing wrong. Hating slavery, pitying the master—seeking to conquer, not persons, but prejudices—he was the embodiment of the self-denial, the courage, the hope, and the nobility of a nation. He spoke, not to inflame, not to upbraid, but to convince. He raised his

hands, not to strike, but in benediction. He longed to pardon. He loved to see the pearls of joy on the cheeks of a wife whose husband he had rescued from death.

Lincoln was the grandest figure of the fiercest civil war. He is the gentlest memory of our world.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

ROME AND THE INQUISITIONS.

Two hundred and forty-two years ago, in one of Rome's majestic palaces, before an illustrious assemblage of Roman dignitaries, arrayed in all the gorgeous magnificence of Roman ecclesiasticism, there stood an aged man of venerable mien, who looked the very man he was—the Nestor of mathematical science.

The great churchmen who surrounded composed the dreaded court of the Roman Inquisition, and they ere long adjudged him guilty of heresy in proclaiming the scientific doctrine that the earth revolves around the sun.

That man was Galileo Galilei, and in his condemnation by so mighty a power, the world abroad believed that science had received her martyrdom.

Galileo's conviction and censure embodied a condemnation, by the congregation of the Inquisition and the Index, of his theories respecting the movement of the earth and its relation to the universe as false and unscriptural—a decision rendered by a court of ecclesiastics not wholly responsible to the church for its judgment, as the latter has never spoken on faith or morals save through the person of her supreme pontiff pronouncing an *ex cathedrâ* judgment.

The inquisitorial process against Galileo in 1633, being wholly under the control of the "Holy Office," bears no expression or pledge of papal authority, while the bishops scattered throughout the world had no voice in the affair.

But the court of Inquisition had blundered—its blunder was indeed a mighty one, its censure hasty and unwarranted, and it must forever bear the stigma of creating by its imprudent verdict the most baneful impressions on the scientific and religious worlds of that day and of ours.

The office of the Roman Congregation had been to detect and subsequently to judge the heretical suspect; and if necessary to administer punishment in the form of imprisonment in cases of

obstinacy. Beyond this it could not act. It had naught to do with the defining and promulgation of articles of faith or morals. It was an eminently local congregation of cardinals, who hesitated to search far beyond the confines of Italy for heretical sentiments; and, furthermore, its decisions were in no case final in the eyes of the church.

The judgment of the court was virtually the honest opinion of the ecclesiastics composing it. Copernicanism, as far back as 1616, had been branded as false and heretical by the congregations of the Index and Inquisition, but neither the decree of 1616 nor that of 1633 bears even the semblance of papal approbation—a self-evident proof that there was a yet higher power, the church in the person of her pontiff, which the Index knew constituted the great court of appeals, and which alone might pronounce an infallible verdict.

The concensus of eminent churchmen affords us, perhaps, the safest way to discover the sentiments prevailing subsequent to the trial of Galileo.

In 1651 the Jesuit Riccioli advises the propriety of respecting the censure "until the judges, either by themselves recognizing, or being shown by others, the truth of the demonstration, withdraw it." (See "Almagest. Nov.," tom. ii. p. 489.)

Ten years later the Grand Penitentiary Fabri reminded his contemporaries that the Copernicans had not yet published a satisfactory demonstration, and speaks his opinion thus: "But if haply one should be some time excogitated by you (which I should hardly fancy), the church will in nowise hesitate to declare that those passages (of Scripture) are to be understood in a figured and improper sense." (See a letter from Anzout to Abbé Charles, 1664, "Memoirs de l'Académie des Sciences," Paris.)

Father Grassi, S.J., and the great Cistercian Caramuel ("Theol. Moral. Fundun."), maintained in their writings a similar position without molestation; and Father Faune, S.J., himself opposed to Copernicanism, and a bosom friend of Pope Pius VI., declares with some enthusiasm that it was never condemned by papal bull or ecumenical council. (See "Annot. to Notæ in Enchirea.," St. August., Romæ, 1775.)

The *major et sanior pars* of the community and church never sought to maintain the decrees of the Roman Congregations to be irreformable. Indeed, the extremest of the advocates of the

powers of the Index did not venture to assert that its judgments were beyond appeal.

The great Bellarmino, himself a veritable "hammer of heretics," was not an exception to the general run.

Copernicus had given his immortal work "De Revolutionibus Orbium," to the world in 1543, fully twelve years subsequent to its actual completion, by reason of his fear of its immediate effects on the church and society. To conciliate the former, he finally dedicated it to the reigning pontiff, Paul III.

No court of Inquisition was convened for his trial, nor were his works anathematized. The Copernican theory was so mighty an innovation on the universal medieval belief that the earth controlled all the planets and the sun, as the central power of the universe, and that Scripture itself sustained it at least by imputation, that the whole world was startled. All the learned men of the age read and discussed the new theories, and Pope Paul felt highly honored in the dedication to him of so great a work.

It was not until 1616, when the conflict of Copernicanism with the Ptolemaic and Aristotelian theories was at its uttermost height, that some decision was demanded by the enemies of the new school of science.

The same forces were gathered at this time as were marshaled at the condemnation of Galileo—the fanatical supporters of the laws of antiquity had come to conquer, and the decree of the Index proclaimed the falsity of Copernicanism. But the church and her pontiff were silent! Rome had not spoken!

If the church herself had condemned the theories of Copernicus in the seventeenth century, would she not do likewise in the nineteenth? No single instance can be given in history in which the church either through pontiff or council has ever revoked an article of faith or morals pronounced by any preceding pope or council.

In all matters referring to faith and morals the church has held, and still holds, herself to be immutable. The silence of the pope in 1633, following Galileo's censure, is a self-evident proof that the spirit of the church coincided with the public declaration in our day by a celebrated and learned churchman, that "faith and morals were not concerned in the question of the revolution of the earth around the sun," that "time was necessary to ascertain the fact that the earth does move," and that Scripture does not teach the contrary.

The opinion of the Roman prelates was presumably honest, even if false; and the world looked on complacently for future developments, regarding the "Index Expurgatorius" as the best possible place for such untenable hypotheses, however grand in conception.

It was in 1632 that Galileo gave to the public his "Un dialogo intomo i due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo." It was the first production of its kind, and since the days of Copernicus the theories and notions of antiquity in their bearing on science had not endured so scathing a criticism—they were virtually expunged from the domain of truth. "El dialogo" was the philosopher's masterly assertion and lucid explanation of theories which he could positively prove *true* from the long record of scientific experiments which have bestowed on him the immortal dignity of "Father of experimental science."

As in 1616 so in 1633, the church and pontiff were silent. May not that silence imply that the arraignment of Galileo on the ground of heresy was as local in interest as was the court in imposition ?

The Church Universal, in the persons of her bishops and pope, though seemingly indifferent as to the verdict of the Inquisition, were doubtless thoroughly interested in the final results of scientific research, but chose to do no more than clothe the new theories in the habit of possibility or of probability.

It was sufficient for the end that time should play her part in proving or disproving what an irresponsible court had anathematized.

History has brought down to us, as an apology for the blunder, the details of a personal resentment on the part of Pope Urban toward his former friend Galileo, created by a real or imaginary satirization of the former, under the title "Simplicio" in "Un dialogo, etc.," in which Galileo views the pontiff in the light of a man careless of scientific truth, and a greater lover of the laws of the ancients, regardless of recent scientific research.

If Urban personally brought to bear the weight of the "Holy Office" on his real or imaginary foe, the world may never know it as a positive fact, and Urban may yet be spared the imputed character of an unchristian pope with an otherwise unblemished pontificate.

If false, this personal difficulty might better be silenced ; but

if true, it fully answers the accusation that the Roman Church of the seventeenth century was the enemy of science, though at the same time it bestows dishonor on the head of the church. The Church Universal, then, may not be made to suffer through the acts of her irresponsible prelates. She has formally declared her principles and defined her position toward science in the syllabus of the last Vatican Council: "Let him be anathema . . . . who shall say that it may at any time come to pass in the progress of science, that the doctrines set forth by the church must be taken in another sense than that in which the church has ever received and yet receives them."

This she regards as an infallible and final judgment, as it was formulated by a general council and promulgated by the sovereign pontiff, Pius IX., *ex cathedrâ*. In it immutability in faith is declared. It moreover implies the necessity of submitting the theories of science to be judged by revealed religion, rather than to join without due investigation many of the wild sallies of scientific hypothesis.

The *ex cathedrâ* voice of the church is irreformable. The voice of the congregation of the Inquisition may be as easily false as true.

The average reader never ceases to connect the code and acts of the Roman with those of the Spanish Inquisition. It is, indeed, a very easy task to discover the collateral tie, but a very difficult one to conscientiously compare their histories in the light of one and the same institution. Founded in 1248 under Innocent IV., its primary object was the guarding of Christian faith and morals against the adverse influences of the various sects that arose from time to time during the later middle ages, and whose votaries had finally become so bold and treacherous that heresy was regarded in those days as the very worst of crimes.

Administered at first by the zealous Dominicans, the "Holy Office" was the means of instituting the most salutary reforms. It was not until it became identified with the state that its nature and purpose were corrupted into a tool of the unscrupulous monarch, whereby its religious characteristics were obliterated in Western Europe, acquiring in later days the opprobrious name of "Spanish Inquisition." That section of the Inquisition operating in Italy, being under the immediate and paternal influence of

the popes, retained its ancient characteristics, and remains to this day a purely religious tribunal.

The church's creed evidently does not embody oppression among its articles, though such was the predominant spirit among the Spanish Inquisitors. Indeed, from their clutches not even an eminent ecclesiastic could free himself when once rendering himself a suspect; and it was only after a mighty struggle that Sixtus IV. succeeded, by pure virtue of his office, in debarring the establishment of its courts in those cities of Italy then belonging to Spain.

Yielding to the urgent appeals of Isabella, Sixtus, in 1480, consented to its establishment as a means, more political than religious, of preserving the integrity of the monarchy, then disturbed by the intrigues of the Moors and Jews and countless criminals.

The pontiffs were ever ready to extend the hand of charity and offer asylum to the unhappy refugees of every creed and race who sought protection from the fury of the inquisitors; and the seeming anomaly of a pope excommunicating an inquisitor for severity of judgment and heartlessness in punishment, was but the repetition of the paternal acts of a long line of pontiff kings.

The Inquisition became virtually a handy instrument of the Spanish crown, and the popes continued in succession to wage a merciless warfare against its practices. Sixtus wrote at least one letter to the sovereigns of Spain, and admonished them that "mercy toward the guilty was more pleasing to God than the severity which they were using."

The atrocities of the Spanish institution were thoroughly Spanish, and the Roman Church may hold herself irresponsible for them. She more than once has seen her own bishops summoned before that arbitrary tribunal with no hope of pardon or freedom, even through the good offices of the Holy See.

The Spanish Court of Inquisition was a mixed tribunal, composed equally of lay and clerical members, and its authority ultimately commenced and ended with the crown; and to give it a yet more civil character, it followed the example of the common law, and followed up conviction and punishment by an arbitrary confiscation of personal property.

The king filled his treasury with these spoils.

It was to the advantage of the royal family to covertly encourage its excesses.

On the other hand, the penal code of the Inquisition was merciful and just when compared with the code of the kingdom as administered in the time of Charles V.

The latter was rife in red-hot pincers, mutilation, and terrible methods of capital punishment, while the Inquisition was free from all such barbarities. (Compare Hefeli's "Life of Ximenes.")

Even Florenti, the fallen priest-historian and avowed enemy of the inquisitors, declares in detail that a marked difference was evident between the inquisitorial and government prisons; and this nominally religious court enjoyed ere long the reputation of being the justest tribunal in Christendom, a title which, to us, may seem wholly inapplicable to a court that occasioned by its own voluntary acts so much misery and suffering.

Whatever accusations may be hurled against the Roman Congregations in the exercise of their offices, it is a solemn historical fact that, during the long and varied careers of those powerful tribunals, no authenticated case of capital punishment has ever occurred in the dominions of the pope, where they exercised their chief authority.

The Index and the Inquisition still survive in Rome, and though not as far-reaching in their influence and powers, yet are equally important in the government of the Church Universal. The inquisitorial processes against heresy and heretical publications still continue at Rome, the capital of the Christian world, and the judgments of the Index are still presumably true, though by no means beyond appeal. The pressure of public opinion in church and society constitutes a powerful safeguard against any possibility of an arbitrary act, while at the same time it confers a blessing on the church by thwarting every inclination toward blunder.

A. KINGSLEY GLOVER.

AN ACQUAINTANCE WITH GRANT.

ONE afternoon in June, 1843, while I was at West Point, a candidate for admission to the Military Academy, I wandered into the riding hall, where the members of the graduating class were going through their final mounted exercises before Major Richard Delafield, the distinguished engineer, then superintendent, the Academic Board, and a large assemblage of spectators. When the regular services were completed, the class, still mounted, was formed in line through the center of the hall, the riding-master placed the leaping-bar higher than a man's head, and called out "*Cadet Grant!*" A clean-faced, slender, blue-eyed young fellow, weighing about 120 pounds, dashed from the ranks on a powerfully built chestnut-sorrel horse, and galloped down the opposite side of the hall. As he turned at the farther end and came into the straight stretch across which the bar was placed, the horse increased his pace, and, measuring his strides for the great leap before him, bounded into the air and cleared the bar, carrying his rider as if man and beast had been welded together. The spectators were breathless! "*Very well done, sir!*" growled "old Hershberger," the riding-master, and the class was dismissed and disappeared; but "Cadet Grant" remained a living image in my memory.

A few months before graduation, one of Grant's classmates, James A. Hardie, said to his friend and instructor, "Well, sir, if a great emergency arises in this country during our life-time, Sam. Grant will be the man to meet it."* If I had heard Hardie's prediction I doubt not I should have believed in it, for I thought the young man who could perform the feat of horsemanship I had witnessed, and wore a sword, could do anything.

* In the summer of 1845, only two years after Grant's graduation, his classmate and room-mate, George Deshon, now a Catholic priest in New York City, said at West Point, in presence of Professor Kendrick and Mr. Stebbins of Springfield, Mass., that Grant would some day prove to the Academic Board that he was the strongest man in his class.

I was in General Grant's room in New York City on the 25th of May, 1885. Forty years had elapsed since Hardie's prediction was made; and it had been amply fulfilled. But, alas! the hand of death was upon the hero of it. Though brave and cheerful, he was almost voiceless. Before him were sheets of his forthcoming book, and a few artist's proofs of a steel engraving of himself made from a daguerreotype taken soon after his graduation. He wrote my name and his own upon one of the engravings and handed it to me. I said, "General, this looks as you did the first time I ever saw you. It was when you made the great jump in the riding exercises of your graduation." "Yes," he whispered, "I remember that very well. York was a wonderful horse. I could feel him gathering under me for the effort as he approached the bar. Have you heard anything lately of Hershberger?" I replied, "No, I never heard of him after he left West Point years ago." "Oh," said the general, "I have heard of him since the war. He was in Carlisle, old and poor, and I sent him a check for fifty dollars." This early friendship had lived for forty years, and the old master was enabled to say near the close of his pupil's career, as he had said at the beginning of it, "Very well done, sir!"

During the period of Grant's official authority, I saw but little of him. I was not one of the so-called "Grant men" of the army. It was not until we were near neighbors in New York City, in 1881–5, that I became well acquainted with him. At that time he was out of office, and the third term movement to restore him to the Presidency had failed. My acquaintance began with the cadet. It matured with the general, and was not disturbed by partiality or interest. Grant was always free from arrogance of office, but in the little I had seen of him, prior to 1881, I had not been able to get through the crust of his natural reserve or diffidence, and I was behind those who knew him well, in my estimate of his character and ability. By constant and free personal relations with him for the last three or four years of his life, and a fuller study of his career, I caught up and perceived the soundness of the exalted public judgment of this remarkable man.

It may be said, without detracting from his merits, that perhaps a knowledge of his many good and great deeds has tended to make it somewhat the fashion, since Grant's death, to try and lift him above all the imperfections of men. The sounder view is that he

was not free from human frailties, but was great in spite of them. He was what military men call "unsoldierly" in feeling, bearing, and appearance; yet he was a great general, and the most essential trait of soldiership, obedience, was next to a religion with him. He knew the value of discipline in an army, but he had neither taste nor aptitude for establishing or enforcing it, and instinctively relied more upon *the man* than upon *the soldier*. He loved and cherished his army associations above all others, but did not like the profession of arms. In an interview with him last winter, I alluded to his lack of fondness for purely military affairs, whereupon he selected a sheet from the proofs which lay before him, and as evidence of his taste, pointed to a statement therein, to the effect that soon after he entered the army, in 1843, he reviewed his West Point studies, in order to prepare himself for a professorship in some institution of learning and leave the military service.

In disposition, Grant was patient, kind, and considerate. In manner, he was natural, quiet, and unassuming, somewhat diffident, but not bashful or awkward. He had no readiness in showing off his acquirements; on the contrary, his acquirements did not appear until forced to the front, and then they showed him off without his knowing it. He was well educated, but it is probably true that the first impression he made upon strangers was that he was a plain man without elements of greatness. A closer acquaintance, however, hardly ever failed to create firm belief in his extraordinary reserve power. While truth, courage, tenacity, and self-reliance were his ruling traits, he had but little pride of opinion. He did not hesitate in choosing the best course, no matter who proposed it; and in military affairs he would execute a plan prescribed by higher authority with as much vigor and fidelity as if it had been his own. He did not trouble himself about the past or the future, but concentrated all his faculties upon the matter he was at the moment called upon by his duty to deal with.

Neither responsibility, nor turmoil, nor danger, nor pleasure, nor pain, impaired the force of his resolution, or interrupted the steady flow of his intellect. The war is full of illustrations of his bravery and determination of character, and of his self-reliance and self-possession under trying circumstances. History does not record a more heroic personal effort than the one he made in writing a book, when he was in agony and on the verge of the grave, to rescue his family from the misfortunes that had befallen them.

Grant possessed some humor, and occasionally told a story, but rarely indulged in figures of speech, and did not exaggerate or emphasize even for the purpose of illustration. If he had any imagination it was kept under by his habit of literal truth. He made no use of expletives and but little of adjectives. He would not have indulged in profane language even if he had possessed no religious scruples on the subject. Though he was not without temper and resentment, he was so patient and matter-of-fact, that he never felt inclined to *damn* things, as men, when sorely tried, sometimes do.

In congenial company he conversed with pleasure and fluency, but he felt no obligation to talk for the mere purpose of entertaining the persons in his presence. He spoke only because he had something to tell. Having no regard for forms of expression, he never, in writing or speaking, turned sentences for effect, nor could he dissemble or use words to mislead. If he did not wish to express his thoughts he was silent, and left people to draw their own inferences.

He had unlimited faith in those whom he once took to his heart. His friendship was accompanied by the fullest confidence, and, when his choice was not wisely made, it served to facilitate and to shield evil practices, which it is the duty of that high sentiment to restrain; and thus Grant's friendship sometimes injured him who gave and him who received it. It was a principle with him never to abandon a comrade "under fire;" and a friend in disgrace, as well as a friend in trouble, could depend upon him until Grant himself found him guilty. I called upon Grant on Sunday evening, May 4, 1883, the day that he borrowed the hundred and fifty thousand dollars from Vanderbilt. He was very cheerful, and said to me, "I expect to have a game of cards on Tuesday night, and would be glad to have you come." As I was taking my leave he repeated the invitation, but thinking the meeting might depend upon further arrangements, as sometimes happened, I thanked him, and said I would hold myself subject to his call. "No," he replied, "don't wait for further notice. Ward is certainly coming, and the party is made." On Tuesday morning, about 11 o'clock, I met Grant by chance in a car going down-town. He was upon crutches on account of the accident he had met with some time before. He talked about persons and events of the war, without restraint, and was so much intereste din conversa-

tion that he failed to get out at the station he intended. As he left the car he said, "I shall expect you to-night." By a singular coincidence we fell into the same car going up-town about 3 P.M., and I again seated myself by his side. After a few minutes of gloomy silence on his part, he said, "We will not have the meeting I fixed for to-night; I have bad news." I replied, "Why, general, I hope it is nothing serious." "Yes," he continued, "the Marine Bank has failed or is about to fail. It owes our firm a large amount, and I suppose we are ruined. When I went down-town this morning I thought I was worth a great deal of money, now I don't know that I have a dollar; and probably my sons, too, have lost everything." I had heard nothing of the financial crash which had occurred during the day. I said, "General, do you suspect Ward?" He replied, "You know I expected him at my house to-night. If he had come to the office any time to-day and assured me all was right, I should have believed him and gone home contented. But I waited until nearly 3 o'clock, and he did not appear. I do not know what to think." He was not willing even then to accuse the knave in whom he had confided, and prior to that time, notwithstanding warnings which would have aroused a dishonest man, had no suspicion that villainy had been practiced. After he became aware of the truth, three or four days passed before the enormity of the disaster made its full impression upon him, but he never recovered from the shock of the deception and wrong practiced upon him by one of the basest creatures of the age.

Grant's self-reliance and integrity were so deeply seated and highly developed that it was difficult for him to make the wishes and opinions of others the basis of his own action in public affairs. Hence, though long a controlling factor in politics, he never was a politician. Destitute of the simplest arts of deception, silence was his recourse when urged to action he did not approve. Hence he was called silent, and sometimes even stolid.

Prior to 1867, Grant was nothing but a soldier. He regarded his election to the chief magistracy of the nation as a promotion, and did not at first realize that while the scope of his authority had been enlarged its nature had been changed, and that he could not govern the country as he had governed the army. He soon discovered that his forces, now political instead of military, could not be concentrated upon the line of operations he had laid down;

and he promptly changed base to the party that elected him, and then advanced upon the new line with as much confidence and fidelity as if it had been his first choice. That movement consolidated his military prestige, his personal power, and the political strength of the Republican Party into a public force, of which—contrary to the fated powerlessness of ex-Presidents generally—he was the real head to the day of his death, and which has never been surpassed, if it has been equaled, in this country. When the change of base just mentioned became known, many of Grant's old friends thought he had surrendered to the politicians, but he had not; nor was his new course inconsistent with his self-reliance and stern sense of duty. He had become sensible of the fact that to enforce "no policy against the will of the people," a part of public affairs had to be conducted according to the principles and dogmas of the dominant party; and as far as he could clearly identify that part he let those whom he regarded as party leaders have it to themselves. But in all other matters—in fact, upon special occasions in these—he relied upon himself and acted up to his own sense of duty, and demanded "unconditional surrender" from all who opposed him. He not only crushed Charles Sumner, who ventured into revolt, but probably would have succeeded in preventing his return to the United States Senate, if that distinguished leader had not died before the time came for his re-election.

Grant wrote with remarkable facility. His war papers are not only his own composition, but many of them are in his own handwriting. His article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of November, 1882, is an example of the rapidity with which he could write what he had to say, as well as of the clearness and force with which he expressed his meaning. It was commenced on the 24th of October, and was in the editor's hands on the 25th. He said of it at the time:

"It does not appear to me worthy of a place in a magazine of the standing of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It was dictated from notes prepared hastily. The subject, however, has become so familiar to me, that I think I have committed no error in the statement of facts."

Grant showed but little interest in abstruse subjects, and rarely took part in the discussion of them. His conversation was always marked by simplicity, and freedom from vanity, vainglory, and mock-modesty. His excellent memory was a store-house upon

which he drew for the interesting reminiscences which formed the staple of his conversation.

He was wise, but, having no gifts as a debater, he could not shine in council. It was his nature or his habit, as heretofore stated, to concentrate his mind upon subjects which required his own action, or for which he was responsible.

The prominence of these affairs, the precedence of the practical and personal over the theoretical and general, sometimes misled the public judgment as to his real power and ability. Like many great men, he required the pressure of necessity to bring out his strength. He could not dwell upon theories, or appear to advantage in hypothetical cases, and even in practical matters his mental processes were carried on beneath the surface. Until he was ready to act he gave no sign by word or expression of his own train of thought or the impression made upon him by others, though they might make him change his mind and induce action different from what he had intended. He generally adhered to his first convictions, but never halted long between two opinions. When he changed he went over without qualification or regard for consequences, and was not disturbed by lingering doubts or regrets.

The Fitz-John Porter case served to exhibit one of Grant's best traits—devotion to his own deliberate sense of duty, despite the temptations of interest, ease, and expediency. "Consistency is a jewel," but so is truth, and to Grant the latter was more precious than the former. Porter's claim that he had been wronged by the court-martial which convicted him in 1863, and that new evidence to prove it would be presented if a hearing could be granted, was laid before Grant as early as 1867, but the appeal was refused or neglected. As long as Grant was General-in-Chief of the army and President of the United States, with power to act effectively in redressing the alleged wrong, he accepted the verdict of the court-martial without understanding the record of that tribunal and the new evidence which Porter offered to produce. But in September, 1881, when he had become a private citizen and a resident of New York City, Porter asked an interview. To this Grant replied in writing, September 27, 1881 :

"I will hear what you have to say, and will endeavor to listen without prejudice; and if convinced that I was wrong in former opinions, entertained and possibly expressed, I would be willing to correct them."

The result was that Grant agreed to study the whole case, including the record of the court-martial, and state his conclusions. The investigation, which was prolonged till December 19, convinced him that a great wrong had been done, and he became deeply distressed that he had not mastered the subject while he was in power. Then, regardless of the inconsistent attitude in which his change of mind placed him, and the antagonisms it created, he devoted all of his ability and influence to procure for Porter the justice he thought due him. In a letter dated November 3, 1883, which was given to the public, he said to Porter :

"I did believe that General Pope was so odious to some of the officers in the East, that a cordial support was not given him by them. . . . I supposed you had shared in this feeling. . . . Until 1881, when I re-examined for myself, my belief was that on the 29th of August, 1862, a great battle was fought between General Pope commanding the Union forces, and General Jackson commanding the Confederate forces ; and that you with a corps of twelve or more thousand men stood in a position across the right flank of Jackson, and where you could easily get into his rear; that you received an order to do so about 5 or 5.30 o'clock, which you refused to obey because of clouds of dust in your front, which you contended indicated an enemy in superior force to you; that you allowed Pope to get beaten while you stood idly looking on without raising an arm to help him. With this understanding, and without a doubt as to the correctness of it, I condemned you."

Then he proceeded to give the results of his own examination of the case, expressed his regret that he had not made the investigation while he was in office, and added :

"As long as I have a voice it shall be raised in your support, without any reference to its effect upon me or others."

On the 30th of December, 1881, he replied as follows to a letter from Senator Logan :

"My dear General :

"I have your letter of yesterday. It is true that I have re-examined the proceedings of the court-martial and court of inquiry in Fitz-John Porter's case, and believe sincerely that I have done him an injustice, and have so written to the President. When I gave General Porter the letter, I requested him to send you a copy. If he has not done so he will, or I will. That letter will explain all I would otherwise write you on this subject. I reluctantly came to the conclusion I did, but was convinced beyond all preconceived notions, and felt it due to an accused man to say so. Very truly yours,

"U. S. Grant."

In a letter to Porter, dated February 4, 1882, he said:

"My whole object now is to benefit you; and to this end I am willing to do anything that is truthful."

Grant was slow to take offense, was not malicious, and did not hastily resent wrongs; but animosity sometimes found its way to his heart, and when rooted there it was as hardy as his friendship, though it did not assert itself in action unless specially invited by circumstances. His course towards his old associates of the regular army, while he was in power, affords many illustrations of his friendship, and possibly a few of the other kind. One of the bulletins which he issued during his last sickness announced that he desired the good-will of all; and he closed a letter from Mt. McGregor, dated June 22, 1885, with the words:

"I am not willing to do any one an injustice, and if convinced that I have done one, I am always willing to make the fullest admission."

That was not only the truth, but was no doubt the whole truth; and was quite as far as he was disposed to go. He had to be "convinced" that he had done injustice before he was willing to advance towards reconcilations. Some of his opinions of men were founded in error or misunderstanding, and some of his feelings possibly in prejudice; but as he believed they were right, it was not in the power of approaching death to make him surrender them. Mr. G. W. Childs has said:

"General Grant always felt that he was badly treated by Halleck. . . . During my long friendship with him, I never heard him more than two or three times speak unkindly of Halleck."

Grant was unjustly accused after the capture of Donelson, and was dissatisfied with the treatment he received; but his animosity towards Halleck, born at Donelson, got its growth afterwards. The lapse of time and the whirl of events probably disqualified him for fixing the exact course of it, and confused him as to the time when it took substantial form.

During a conversation with Grant about his Shiloh article, after it had appeared in print, one of the persons present asked me whether it was true, as reported, that Buell was going to answer General Grant. I replied:

"I do not understand that he is going to answer General Grant, but he will write an article giving an account of the battle."

I then said to Grant:

"General, you and Buell will never agree about the battle of Shiloh, but in a recent letter to me, Buell spoke most kindly of you, saying, among other things, that when you and he were young together in the army you had, as he expressed it, 'attractive, even endearing qualities.'"

I waited for response, but in vain. Grant remained silent. I construed his action upon this and a subsequent occasion to mean that the remarks commendatory of Buell's character and ability, made in the Shiloh article, conveyed all he chose to express upon that subject as it then stood.

The bulk of Grant's admiration and friendship was no doubt bestowed upon Sherman, McPherson, and Sheridan. The day before he started from Nashville to Washington, in March, 1864, to receive his commission as lieutenant-general, Grant wrote a letter to Sherman expressing a full sense of his obligations to subordinates, and saying:

"I want to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. . . . I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction. The word you, I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also."

Grant had antipathies as well as attachments. His relations to his generals would form a striking chapter of history; and an interesting part of it would be the story of the estrangement between him and Hancock.

In his account of the battle of Shiloh published in the "Century Magazine," Grant said:

"The enemy had hardly started in retreat from his last position, when, looking back toward the river, I saw a division of troops coming up in beautiful order as if going on parade or review. The commander was at the head of the column, and the staff seemed to be bestowed about as they would have been had they been going on parade. When the head of the column came near where I was standing, it was halted, and the commanding officer, General A. McD. McCook, rode up to where I was, and appealed to me not to send his division any farther, saying that they were worn out with marching and fighting. . . . It was not, however, the rank and file or the junior officers who asked to be excused, but the division commander."

This was a remarkable error, and did great injustice to McCook. Grant, soon after the publication of the foregoing statement, and

subsequently in the "Century Magazine," admitted the injustice of it, but said nothing as to how he happened to make the mistake. Not long after the article appeared, I mentioned the error, and told the general I thought he had fallen into it by merging two occasions into one through a lapse of memory—that McCook's division did march in column and in dress parade order, from the river to the line of battle, and it made a fine spectacle, but it was quite early in the morning of the second day's fight. That, no doubt, was the spectacle which impressed itself upon the general's memory. But at that time the enemy had not "started in retreat from his last position." Indeed, the only question, then, was whether we could beat him, not whether we would pursue him. McCook's division, after marching up in column in dress parade order, formed line, attacked, and was actively engaged the rest of the day, and it was not until evening, when the enemy had been defeated, that the question of pursuit arose. "Then," I said to Grant, "you probably saw McCook a second time, and the conversation which you mention in the article took place." He admitted the probability that the explanation was correct.

When the second session of the last Congress began, a bill for the retirement of Grant as general of the army had passed the Senate, and was before the House, the Fitz-John Porter bill had been vetoed, and Grant, though a wreck financially and physically, had written to Porter, July 4

"You can scarcely conceive the pain it caused me to read the veto of your bill by the President yesterday. I was not prepared for it. This message is the merest sophistry. It is, no doubt, a great disappointment to you and your family, but I believe it will result ultimately in doing you full justice. You were dismissed unjustly, and you are entitled to restoration. Be of good cheer, and pray that justice may yet be done you and yours."

This letter, of course, was not known to the President, but in the condition of affairs just set forth, President Arthur, in his last annual message, said:

"I recommend that in recognition of the eminent services of Ulysses S. Grant, late general of the armies of the United States, and twice President of this nation, the Congress confer upon him a suitable pension."

This formal recommendation of a pension implied that the

President did not favor a bill to place Grant on the retired list of the army. Grant, in a letter to Senator Mitchell, dated December 5, 1884, requested that the pension bill be withdrawn, and said he would not accept a pension if the bill should pass and be approved. This ended the pension movement.

The well-deserved boon of retirement came at last, and with a unanimity and public approval that made it welcome, and the dying hero received it gratefully.

The time has not come for final judgment of Grant. He had great abilities and great opportunities. Chance is undoubtedly an important factor in the race of glory, and perhaps it favored Grant in the war of rebellion. General Sherman goes so far as to have said since Grant's death, that, "had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson;" but that is conjecture. Grant was one of the "singular few" who possessed qualities which probably would have gained for him a high place in history, no matter who had lived to compete with him in our great war.

No man was known by reputation, and personally, to so many men of his time as Grant. The nations of the earth read of him, saw him, and judged him. After the fame of his great deeds had spread over the world, he traveled through both hemispheres, and received the willing and unstinted homage of men high and low in various climes and countries. The record of what he has said and what he has done must place him high in the roll of the world's great men. Posterity will see to that. We who knew him face to face may bear witness to what he *was in himself.* We need not inquire to what extent he imbibed and assimilated the wisdom, the knowledge, or the morality of worthy parents, of early teachers, of friends and staff officers, such as McPherson, and Rawlins, and Wilson, and Bowers. Undoubtedly with him, as with other men, the surrounding influences of his life had much to do with making him what he was. He endured disappointment, humiliation, and poverty; he was tempted by military success and glory, and encountered the rivalries, the jealousies, the intrigues of ambitious and aspiring generals; he floated for years upon the high tide of popular favor and good fortune, and then fell through the evil of others, and was wrongfully and cruelly dashed against the rocks of financial discredit and ruin; and finally, while tried by prolonged and excruciating physical torture, he made an effort,

unsurpassed in its heroism, to restore the fortunes of his family by the work of his own brain and hand. What did the duties, the obligations, the temptations, the sorrows, the struggles of life, make of this man? One of the truest, strongest, bravest, human entities that the world has ever produced.

JAMES B. FRY.

A CHAPTER ON MONETARY POLICY.

In fulfilling the task confided to me of reviewing the "symposium" in the November number of The North American Review, entitled, "Shall Silver be Demonetized?" the reader will grant me indulgence if I waive detailed exposition of "Bimetallism." By so far presuming upon the publicity of my contributions to the doctrine and policy embodied in that word, I reserve space needed for the work of criticism. I am, withal, warranted in expecting on the part of the general reader of to-day a certain familiarity with the general nature and aim of that doctrine and policy.

I shall also take leave to sacrifice this occasion of criticising matters of detail; even where they invite refutations, as in the case of the rigid local quantity-theory which inspires Mr. Hill's views on the Volume of Money and Mr. Delmar's views on Demonetization. I thus reserve the space at my disposal for such a comprehensive view of monetary policy as shall indicate the extent and position of the circle of ideas to which Mr. Hill, Mr. Delmar, and Mr. Phillips have limited themselves.

A convenient text is offered me for reviewing their position, as a whole, by Mr. Hill's full and frank defining of representative views upon the international aspect of the Silver Question.

"Professor Walker, he says, favors the abrogation of the Silver Coinage law of 1878 upon the sole ground that a bimetallic arrangement with European nations is the indispensable condition to the safe use of silver in this country.

"*This is in plain contradiction of the experience of mankind.* From time immemorial both gold and silver have been used as money without bimetallic treaties. The relative value of gold and silver, disturbed for a time by the disproportionate yield of silver following the discovery of America, finally settled in 1650 to between 15 and 16 to 1, and so remained for 225 years, although the first case of an international arrangement, the Latin Union treaty, did not occur till 1865.

"The world *has had a long experience, independently of international treaties, of that steadiness of the relative value of the two metals which results from*

the magnitude of their mass, representing the accumulation of ages, which is so vastly in excess of their annual production.

"*No cause of equal magnitude*, tending to disturb the relative value of the metals, *as the transition of Germany from the single standard of silver to the single standard of gold, will probably recur for centuries. After that transition had spent its force*," etc., etc.

To the breadth of this historical survey, I desire to offer, in passing, a tribute of respect. Standing, as it does, in marked contrast to the narrowness of range unfortunately so prevalent, it is itself an ally in securing the detection of whatever defect of statement or error of conclusion it may embody or foster.

Such defect and error are, in fact, not far from the surface.

What is the most notable feature, from the point of view of monetary policy, in this long period, from 1650 to 1875, to which Mr. Hill calls attention ?

What else but the substantial consensus of nations in bimetallic law ?

The story of these 225 years is a story of concurrent legal tender, and concurrent in alternating coinage; a story of the Spanish and Portuguese ratios of 16; of the French ratios near 14.50; of the English ratio of 15.21; of the new French ratio of 15.50. This comparative stability to relative value between the two money metals which is exhibited for our praise, what was it but the concurrent laws of money-using nations which marshaled to its maintenance the self-interest of money-using men ? Man's self-interest—the great fact of facts, the fundamental postulate of economic science—was directed to alternative demand by the governmental institution of the silver and gold standard: a demand for silver below and not above, a demand for gold below and not above, the rates established by the practice of governments; a demand which thus, though under crude and varying conditions, has, so to speak, automatically transferred from one metal to another, with the natural effect of supporting an equilibrium between them.

Now this concurrence of nations in the silver and gold standard presents the counterpart in embryo of that Bimetallic Union, to be made firm by contract, which was the aim of the policy of the Monetary Conferences.

Again, in the formation of the Latin Union, we can recognize a simple step forward in a normal process of development from

these beginnings of international concert in maintaining equilibrium between silver and gold. In a word, in the place of a crude and unconscious bimetallic union, we see a union which more properly deserves the name, a conscious and well-regulated Bimetallic Union.

The "experience of mankind," therefore, "for 225 years," is precisely an experience of a "bimetallic arrangement of European nations."

And the arrangement of which the United States made itself the promoter, by calling the Conference of 1878, is a continuation or renewal of this time-honored arrangement in such a form as conservatism and common sense demand; namely, a better arrangement than the world has yet enjoyed—a better union—a "more perfect union," to use the language employed by our fathers when, a century ago, they achieved an analogous advance in internal political organization, from the Confederation to the Constitution.

So much for the past! How stands it with Mr. Hill's perception of the present?

A phenomenon has occurred unique in history. Bimetallic free coinage, the balance-wheel of the mechanism of the valuations of the planet, is broken. That constitution of money upon which the history of Christendom has proceeded stands now subverted; to monetary peace succeeds monetary war.

And yet of all this Mr. Hill will have his readers hear nothing.

Pages for effects, but not a word for causes.

So much for the present! What of the future?

Mr. Hill speaks of the transition of Germany from silver to gold as having *spent its force*, and is of opinion that no equal cause of disturbance will probably occur for centuries.

Germany's transition!

But Germany, in 1879, interrupted that part of her transition which consisted in selling out her melted thalers. And it has "spent its force!"

Happy illusion! The early installments of it broke up the Bimetallic Union. The enormous stock of silver coin in the Western nations subsides to the precarious status of tokens; the gold is undergoing upheaval, each step of which is cumulative wrong; in a word, the world's metallic money has been forced into an insupportable posture of unstable equilibrium. If ever

this disastrous process now going on shall have been arrested; if order shall have been restored—that is to say, *if the policy of the Monetary Conferences shall have reaped the harvest of success*—then, at length, it will be possible to say that force has departed from Germany's transition.

But if the world shall consent to remain prisoner within the circle of ideas which Mr. Hill represents, then the centuries of which he speaks may tell their serial story of the unexhausted force of this "transition."

But enough.

We have sufficiently exposed the barrenness of the land.

No one will question that in scholarly acquirement as well as in practical experience, ex-Senator Hill, of Colorado, is well entitled to lead the section of opinion of which he allows himself to be the spokesman.

But opposition to an international bimetallist policy—in the camp of expansionists of any school—will be found to be inspired full as much by temper as by doctrine, and by temper which claims kinship to patriotism and to civic virtue.

It is almost instinctive with us, upon proper provocation, to set up a Monroe Doctrine which is equal to the occasion; and the mere foreignness of an international question, seeking to impose itself upon local national policy, excites a combativeness which veils the inexorable fact that there is no Monroe Doctrine which is equal to this occasion.

In this obscurity alone could it happen that the important special interests which have most to lose by the continued non-success of international bimetallism, most to gain by its success, namely, wheat and cotton, are represented by its most obstinate enemies. But agencies are at work to further a business view of the situation. The wheat interests of the Mississippi Valley take a business view of wheat; the cotton-growing States are not indifferent to the business aspects of cotton, *in some respects*. All look across the border to Liverpool or Manchester, and those who are far-sighted see Bombay beyond, and a vista of new Indian railways. There is no Monroe Doctrine here; no objection to dealing with things foreign and international as a matter of business.

Now, when the staples he exports depend for their price upon competing supply and employment in many nations, can any

practical man imagine that the metals in times of which these staples are paid for are not equally subject to international influences of competing supply and employment ?

Impossible !

So, if the wheat man thougthfully follows his wheat, and the cotton man his cotton, he will presently find when his returns come in that he is an "international bimetallist."

And it is high time that he should do so. The situation is critical. Either a decisive blow in the campaign of international Bimetallism is to be struck *now* by Congress, or a pitiful failure is to be made through which mighty interests of millions will suffer.

It is the latter policy, that of failure, of which Mr. Hill is an advocate, and which inspires his attack against an international monetary policy; the vital point with him being that the silver dollar coinage must not be stopped.

It will therefore complete our circuit of review of this portion of the anti-bimetallist camp, if I set forth the grounds why, as a Bimetallist, I desire the cessation of silver coinage in this country.

As for the reasons, domestic and internal, which make such cessations now a necessity, space precludes my entering upon them here.

As for the form of the law which should be passed (at once, under suspension of the rules), a conservative measure would fix a date in the near future for cessation of purchase of bullion and coinage of dollars, though, barring constitutional questions, the same date need not be fixed for both. It would also seem politic to provide for the removal of the limit in case Europe should offer proper co-operation in coining new silver. In justice to all sides, it is proper, before passing to the main task in hand, to maintain here certain other important duties which are incumbent upon the country in connection with silver.

The formation of an International Monetary Union demands more of the United States than cordial concurrence. This is not enough. The initiation in bringing about such a union, which the United States assumed by the conferences, should not be abandoned. This does not necessarily imply new conferences; indeed, the time would seem to be past for further diplomatic assemblies for public academic debate on this question.

But the object in view is a contract, or concerted action equivalent to contract, between the sovereigns who in unions can swing the par of the money metals. Now the definition of a contract imports *aggregatio mentium*—a "meeting of minds." Those sovereigns, whether emperor, king, or president, are not likely to sign a contract except upon advice of their various privy councilors, except in diplomacy and science. A confidential mutual understanding, therefore, between the confidential counselors of the various governments—a "meeting of minds" on their part, in their various languages—is the counterpart for the international task of the "meeting of minds" of buyer and seller in a contract of bargain and sale. We note therefore, in passing, without detail, but clearly, that whatever action—whether it be in legislatures or in cabinets, in department affairs or elsewhere—proves necessary in order to bring about this confidential mutual understanding, is a condition precedent to setting in motion the august machinery of treaty-making or of concurrent legislation, and therefore an essential part of the duties of the time.

Stoppage of silver coinage as a plank in the platform of the Bimetallic Union justifies itself at once when the character and extent of the antisilver movement is fully understood.

The movement to proscribe silver drew its chief inspiration from four sources:

1. The economic dogma of unity of standard.
2. The aspiration for unification of coinage.
3. The desire to avert a general depreciation of money (rise of prices).
4. The example of England.

In Germany, a political interest gave an electric impetus to the movement; a new gold money, replacing and obliterating the sectionalism of a silver past, was a natural crowning of the edifice for the new-made empire, giving in fullest measure to the new Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's.

But this proposition to recoin French napoleons into German Williams *d'or*, and to sell out the German stock of silver to be coined into French dollars, was hardly welcome to France, the center and support of the great Bimetallic Union, which had been steadying the par of the metals for the world's benefit.

The monetary assault of the Teutonic Empire upon the Latin treasure was therefore countered with rapidity. No sooner

did the retirement of German silver begin, than the Latin Union put up the bars (January 30, 1874) by limiting coinage ; a practice followed, in 1878, by total suspension. Holland shut her door in 1875. France did not coin her quota of silver ; she took five million dollars' worth of new silver in 1876, and that was the last.

And so the Bimetallic Union was dissolved. This momentous event was plainly due to the enforcement of dogma by passion.

In its origin an idea, doctrinaire, artificial, impractical, unsound, the antisilver movement had been reinforced by powers well-nigh inarrestible, by habit in England, by national pride in Germany and in France.

For who, in 1885, can see that its strength is not yet wholly spent, can recognize that it was a movement tidal in its force ? It was clear that in any event the re-establishment of a Bimetallic Union must take time ; the practical inertia of governments, the dogmatic opposition and the mental inertia of their monetary privy councilors, the mere momentum of a movement, such as I have described it, could only be overcome by a process analogous to the erosion of continents with which physical geography has to deal.

Such was, in brief, the diplomatic situation when the United States called the Conference of 1878.

That the duty of assuming this initiation lay upon the United States is obvious.

What other nation could assume it, or would assume it ?

There was Holland ; Bimetallist to the core, as she is to-day, with none but skilled labor on guard. But Holland was a minor power; perhaps she was too conscious of it—but the task seemed beyond her strength.

The question of the time was, "What would the United States do—this young Giant of the West, this great Paper-money Power across the Atlantic, which proposed to take unto itself its share of specie ?" Evidently the casting vote to determine what specie should be lay in its hands. What would it do ?

A question, to answer which the European statesmen could gain but a vague forecast.

In such a situation the work of the Conference was well marked; it forced the governments of Europe to realize their situation, to examine their interests from the international stand-point ; and it was a unique occasion and means of advancing the study of mon-

etary policy in preparation for the performance of the novel duty thrown upon the nations in this age, the conscious regulation of the parity of silver and gold.

But the mission of the Conference was also to impress Europe with the attitude of the transatlantic power which convoked it.

Candor compels our recognition that, to a European thinker who knew the monetary past of the United States, there was much to encourage the belief that Europe might in the end—*if she waited long enough*—melt down her silver coin and sell it out to the Americans at a good gold price.

The vista of State bank issues before the war; the failure to keep our money at par during the war, or to bring it back to par soon after the war; the strenuous agitation in favor of immediate free coinage when it must facilitate demonetization in Germany, an agitation sanctioned by the report of a commission; the redundant coinage of silver change since 1873 and in 1878; the new coinage of silver dollars—everything pointed in the one direction we have described.

And, of course, the chance of selling out silver to America was calculated to stifle in Europe the dispositions which alone could promise success to the policy of the Conference.

Bluntly stated, therefore, the task for European monetary diplomacy was, "how to maneuver the United States out of its adhesion to the policy of Bimetallic Union, and into the scheme of coining silver without limit all alone."

That the coinage of standard dollars was, from the purely diplomatic stand-point, a mistake, is an obvious conclusion.

What was true in 1878 is true to-day. In all the years that have followed, the perspective offered to Europe, that the United States without concurrent coinage in Europe would continue to relieve the situation by coining two millions, or four millions, or *more* millions a month, has been a drag upon the advancement of bimetallic policy.

The Conference of 1881 offered a distinct advance toward the end. The attitude of the United States, as defined in the Conference of 1878, had inaugurated a period of reflection, the progress of which was revealed as with an electric flash by the stoppage of sales of demonetized German silver, May 16, 1877.

Germany, who had declined all participation in the Conference of 1878, was now ready for concessions, among which was an en-

gagement not to sell silver. England was ready to offer free coinage of silver and exclusion of gold in India, and a limited issue of Bank of England notes on silver deposit in England.

But the object of these concessions was avowedly to induce the other Powers to inaugurate free coinage.

Unimportant in practice as the concessions of Germany and England might appear, they infallibly operated as an admission of the great point of controversy, the truth of bimetallist doctrine: it was admittedly, then, the interest of England and of Germany to further the re-enfranchisement of silver.

In this situation it seemed that the Conference could properly report progress and act for further time. This was done. An adjournment for consultation and negotiation between governments was agreed upon, and April 12, 1882, fixed for the adjourned session. But the work of doctrinal diplomacy thus imposed upon governments was crossed and made unfruitful by a series of political events, involving changes of succession in the governments which had called the Conference: the short reign and downfall of the Gambetta ministry in France, and in this country the agony and death of Garfield and the transfer of power from Mr. Blaine to Mr. Frelinghuysen.

The course decided upon by the governments of France and the United States, upon consultation with the various governments, was set forth in an identical note, sent March 31, 1882, to the powers which had taken part in the Conference, "deferring its convocation, subject to a determination, on the part of the states interested, of the date for its reassembling, the same to take place within the present year."

Various schemes of concurrent action had been under discussion, of which some fell short of the concurrent free coinage held in view by Congress; for example, a union for limited coinage, each nation to coin a quota, and a union for concurrent withdrawal of small gold coin and small notes.

In the mean time an active propaganda had been set on foot in England and in Germany, the two countries where further enlightenment of public opinion was especially needed. But the long session of Congress (1882) having passed by without any action fixing a limit of time for the dollar coinage, the states interested in the success of the policy of the Conferences profited by the opportunity to let things drift.

And drifting is the course which still is followed while the dollar coinage goes on. Meantime, Italy has succeeded in gathering a gold fund to keep her paper at or near par, and Holland has acted upon the advice of her Bimetallist leaders, and prepared herself to take in sail if the wind should rise, by a law allowing the Bank to melt and sell silver in order to maintain its gold reserve.

A new phenomenon, the competition of India in wheat, and to some extent in cotton, at a low silver price, translated for gold countries into an artificially lower gold price, has invaded the monetary peace of Christendom—not merely with amounts imported, but through the specific draw on prices of a great potential supply—and so contributes a novel quota to the general subsidence of prices in occidental money.

Evidences are accumulating that sensitiveness is replacing inertia in tone-giving quarters.

On the 6th of March, 1885, a strong bimetallist resolution was the subject of exhaustive debate in the German Reichstag. The motion was defeated, but without giving an index of the opinions of the House, the anti-bimetallists being supported by the vote and not the speeches of the clericals, who acted in a body; while their leader, Windthorst, in stating their positions, distinctly disavowed committing himself against a bimetallist policy, but based the action of his party solely upon their view of the respective functions of the House and of the government, the initiative and responsibility in this matter belonging to the latter.

In the French Chamber, the monetary question came up on March 8, in connection with the tariff on wheat, and was the subject of debate, the chief speaker, M. de Soubeyran, maintaining, among other things, that the defeat of the resolution in the Reichstag two days before was due to the fact that it was felt that the initiative in the matter of further negotiations really belonged to France and the United States.

At the request of the Finance Minister, the matter was not pressed.

A query arises from these incidents which is full of suggestion, namely, what action might have been taken in Berlin and in Paris, if the Congress which came to an end March 4, 1885, had passed the Coinage Bill reported in January by the Senate Finance Committee.

The appointment of a royal commission in England to investigate the causes of trade depression, the announcement in official quarters in Berlin that the question of the double standard is under consideration, the decided expressions of the Bankers' Union of Paris and the provinces, are later signs that the leaven of reform is working.

Significant, too, in another direction, are the echoes of the discussion of the Warner Bill—notably, articles in a Hamburg paper, in July, from the hand of Professor Soetbeer, the intellectual author of "Silver Outlawry in Germany," in which he makes the naïve observation that European nations have no reason to feel any concern as to the adoption of this compromise in the United States, but that, on the contrary, it is a consummation rather to be wished by *those nations which have silver to sell.*

What, then, is the situation revealed by this survey of the field?

A vicious circle: nations watching each other, sensitive and expectant, all waiting for the United States to act.

And who are they who say that the United States shall not act—act to force an international settlement of the silver question, act in furtherance of the policy which alone offers monetary honor and monetary peace?

The chief obstructionists are they who are in subjection to the errors we have passed in review.

S. Dana Horton.

THE CAPTURE OF JOHN BROWN.

At noon of Monday, October 18, 1859, Chief Clerk Walsh, of the Navy Department, drove rapidly into the Washington Navy-yard, and, meeting me, asked me how many marines we had stationed at the barracks available for immediate duty. I happened to be the senior officer present and in command that day. I instantly replied to Mr. Walsh that we had ninety men available, and then asked him what was the trouble. He told me that Ossawatomie Brown, of Kansas, with a number of men, had taken the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and was then besieged there by the Virginia State troops. Mr. Walsh returned speedily to the Navy Department building, and, in the course of an hour, orders came to me from Secretary Tousey to proceed at once to Harper's Ferry and report to the senior officer; and, if there should be no such officer at the Ferry, to take charge and protect the government property. With a detachment of ninety marines, I started for Harper's Ferry that afternoon on the 3:30 train, taking with me two howitzers. It was a beautiful, clear autumn day, and the men, exhilarated by the excitement of the occasion, which came after a long, dull season of confinement in the barracks, enjoyed the trip exceedingly.

At Frederick Junction I received a dispatch from Colonel Robert E. Lee, who turned out to be the army officer to whom I was to report. He directed me to proceed to Sandy Hook, a small place about a mile this side of the Ferry, and there await his arrival. At ten o'clock in the evening he came up on a special train from Washington. His first order was to form the marines out of the car, and march from the bridge to Harper's Ferry. This we did, entering the inclosure of the arsenal grounds through a back gate. At eleven o'clock Colonel Lee ordered the volunteers to march out of the grounds, and gave the control inside to the marines, with instructions to see that none of the insurgents escaped during the night. There had been hard fighting all the preceding day, and

Brown and his men kept quiet during the night. At half-past six in the morning Colonel Lee gave me orders to select a detail of twelve men for a storming party, and place them near the engine-house in which Brown and his men had intrenched themselves. I selected twelve of my best men, and a second twelve to be employed as a reserve. The engine-house was a strong stone building, which is still in a good state of preservation at the Ferry, in spite of the three days' fighting in the building by Brown and his men, and the ravages of the recent war between the States. The building was of stone, perhaps thirty feet by thirty-five. In the front were two large double doors, between which was a stone abutment. Within were two old-fashioned, heavy fire-engines, with a hose-cart and reel standing between them, and just back of the abutment between the doors. They were double-battened doors, very strongly made, with heavy wrought-iron nails. Lieutenant J. E. B. Stewart, afterwards famous as a cavalry commander on the side of the South, accompanied Colonel Lee as a volunteer aid. He was ordered to go with a part of the troops to the front of the engine-house and demand the surrender of the insurgent party. Colonel Lee directed him to offer protection to Brown and his men, but to receive no counter-proposition from Brown in regard to the surrender. On the way to the engine-house, Stewart and myself agreed upon a signal for attack in the event that Brown should refuse to surrender. It was simply that Lieutenant Stewart would wave his hat, which was then, I believe, one very similar to the famous chapeau which he wore throughout the war. I had my storming party ranged alongside of the engine-house, and a number of men were provided with sledge-hammers with which to batter in the doors. I stood in front of the abutment between the doors. Stewart hailed Brown and called for his surrender, but Brown at once began to make a proposition that he and his men should be allowed to come out of the engine-house and be given the length of the bridge start, so that they might escape. Suddenly Lieutenant Stewart waved his hat, and I gave the order to my men to batter in the door. Those inside fired rapidly at the point where the blows were given upon the door. Very little impression was made with the hammers, as the doors were tied on the inside with ropes and braced by the hand-brakes of the fire-engines, and in a few minutes I gave the order to desist. Just then my eye caught sight of a ladder, lying a few feet from the

engine-house, in the yard, and I ordered my men to catch it up and use it as a battering-ram. The reserve of twelve men I employed as a supporting column for the assaulting party. The men took hold bravely and made a tremendous assault upon the door. The second blow broke it in. This entrance was a ragged hole low down in the right-hand door, the door being splintered and cracked some distance upward. I instantly stepped from my position in front of the stone abutment, and entered the opening made by the ladder. At the time I did not stop to think of it, but upon reflection I should say that Brown had just emptied his carbine at the point broken by the ladder, and so I passed in safely. Getting to my feet, I ran to the right of the engine which stood behind the door, passed quickly to the rear of the house, and came up between the two engines. The first person I saw was Colonel Lewis Washington, who was standing near the hose-cart, at the front of the engine-house. On one knee, a few feet to the left, knelt a man with a carbine in his hand, just pulling the lever to reload.

"Hello, Green," said Colonel Washington, and he reached out his hand to me. I grasped it with my left hand, having my saber uplifted in my right, and he said, pointing to the kneeling figure, "This is Ossawatomie."

As he said this, Brown turned his head to see who it was to whom Colonel Washington was speaking. Quicker than thought I brought my saber down with all my strength upon his head. He was moving as the blow fell, and I suppose I did not strike him where I intended, for he received a deep saber cut in the back of the neck. He fell senseless on his side, then rolled over on his back. He had in his hand a short Sharpe's-cavalry carbine. I think he had just fired as I reached Colonel Washington, for the marine who followed me into the aperture made by the ladder received a bullet in the abdomen, from which he died in a few minutes. The shot might have been fired by some one else in the insurgent party, but I think it was from Brown. Instinctively as Brown fell I gave him a saber thrust in the left breast. The sword I carried was a light uniform weapon, and, either not having a point or striking something hard in Brown's accouterments, did not penetrate. The blade bent double.

By that time three or four of my men were inside. They came rushing in like tigers, as a storming assault is not a play-day sport.

They bayoneted one man skulking under the engine, and pinned another fellow up against the rear wall, both being instantly killed. I ordered the men to spill no more blood. The other insurgents were at once taken under arrest, and the contest ended. The whole fight had not lasted over three minutes. My only thought was to capture, or, if necessary, kill, the insurgents, and take possession of the engine-house.

I saw very little of the situation within until the fight was over. Then I observed that the engine-house was thick with smoke, and it was with difficulty that a person could be seen across the room. In the rear, behind the left-hand engine, were huddled the prisoners whom Brown had captured and held as hostages for the safety of himself and his men. Colonel Washington was one of these. All during the fight, as I understood afterward, he kept to the front of the engine-house. When I met him he was as cool as he would have been on his own veranda entertaining guests. He was naturally a very brave man. I remember that he would not come out of the engine-house, begrimed and soiled as he was from his long imprisonment, until he had put a pair of kid gloves upon his hands. The other prisoners were the sorriest lot of people I ever saw. They had been without food for over sixty hours, in constant dread of being shot, and were huddled up in the corner where lay the body of Brown's son and one or two others of the insurgents who had been killed. Some of them have endeavored to give an account of the storming of the engine-house and the capture of Brown, but none of the reports have been free from a great many misstatements, and I suppose that Colonel Washington and myself were the only persons really able to say what was done. Other stories have been printed by people on the outside, describing the fight within. What they say must be taken with a great deal of allowance, for they could not have been witnesses of what occurred within the engine-house. One recent account describes me as jumping over the right-hand engine more like a wild beast than a soldier. Of course nothing of the kind happened. The report made by Colonel Lee at the time, which is now on file in the War Department, gives a more succinct and detailed account than any I have seen.

I can see Colonel Lee now, as he stood on a slight elevation, about forty feet from the engine-house, during the assault. He was in civilian dress, and looked then very little as he did during

the war. He wore no beard, except a dark mustache, and his hair was slightly gray. He had no arms upon his person, and treated the affair as one of no very great consequence, which would be speedily settled by the marines. A part of the scene, giving color and life to the picture, was the bright blue uniform of the marines. They wore blue trousers then, as they do now, and a dark blue frock-coat. Their belts were white, and they wore French fatigue caps. I do not remember the names of the twelve men in the storming party, nor can I tell what became of them in later life. We had no use for the howitzers, and, in fact, they were not taken from the car.

Immediately after the fight, Brown was carried out of the engine-house, and recovered consciousness while lying on the ground in front. A detail of men carried him up to the paymaster's office, where he was attended to and his wants supplied. On the following day, Wednesday, with an escort, I removed him to Charleston, and turned him over to the civil authorities. No handcuffs were placed upon him, and he supported himself with a self-reliance and independence which were characteristic of the man. He had recovered a great deal from the effects of the blow from my saber, the injury of which was principally the shock, as he only received a flesh wound. I had little conversation with him, and spent very little time with him.

I have often been asked to describe Brown's appearance at the instant he lifted his head to see who was talking with Colonel Washington. It would be impossible for me to do so. The whole scene passed so rapidly that it hardly made a distinct impression upon my mind. I can only recall the fleeting picture of an old man kneeling with a carbine in his hand, with a long gray beard falling away from his face, looking quickly and keenly toward the danger that he was aware had come upon him. He was not a large man, being perhaps five feet ten inches when he straightened up in full. His dress, even, I do not remember distinctly. I should say that he had his trousers tucked in his boots, and that he wore clothes of gray—probably no more than trousers and shirt. I think he had no hat upon his head.

None of the prisoners were hurt. They were badly frightened and somewhat starved. I received no wounds except a slight scratch on one hand as I was getting through the hole in the door. Colonel Lee and the people on the outside thought I was wounded.

Brown had, at the time, only five or six fighting men, and I think he himself was the only one who showed fight after I entered the engine-house. There were no provisions in the building, and it would have been only a question of time when Brown would have had to surrender. Colonel Washington was the only person inside the house that I knew.

I have been asked what became of Brown's carbine. That I do not know. My sword was left in Washington, among people with whom I lived, and I lost trace of it. A few years ago, after having come out of the war and gone west to Dakota, where I now live, I received a letter from a gentleman in Washington, saying that he knew where the sword was, and that it was still bent double, as it was left by the thrust upon Brown's breast. He said that it was now a relic of great historic value, and asked me to assent to the selling of it upon the condition that I should receive a portion of the price of the weapon. To me the matter had very little interest, and I replied indifferently. Since then I have heard nothing of the matter. I presume the saber could be found somewhere in Washington.

ISRAEL GREEN.

JOHNSON'S PLOT AND MOTIVES.

THE 29th day of May, 1865, President Johnson issued a proclamation for the reorganization of the State of North Carolina. By that proclamation William W. Holden was appointed provisional governor, and it was made his duty at the earliest practicable period to prescribe such rules and regulations as might be necessary and proper for the election of delegates to a convention that should be competent to alter or amend the constitution of the State, and to do whatever might be necessary to enable the loyal citizens to restore the State to its constitutional relations to the Federal Government, and to present such a Republican form of State government as would entitle the State to the guarantee of the United States. The voters were required to take and subscribe the oath prescribed by the proclamation of amnesty of the same date. The officers of the army and the navy were required to aid the governor in the performance of the duty imposed upon him.

The proclamation assumed that the work of reconstruction was in the hands of the President alone. The 39th Congress could not meet until December. It was possible for the President to complete the work of reconstruction before the judgment of Congress or of the country could be obtained.

After an examination of the document, my apprehensions were such that I made a visit to Washington for the purpose of conferring with the President, and of offering such suggestions as then occurred to me, and which I hoped might change his policy. At the interview I stated my objections to the proclamation. He said in reply that the step was experimental; that North Carolina was his native State; and that he had a wish to see the State restored to the Union at an early moment. At the end he assured me that no other State would be reorganized until the experiment in North Carolina had been tested. Upon this assurance I was in a degree satisfied, saying, however, as I was leaving, that a continuance of the policy would end in the division of the Republican Party.

I did not then realize that my closing observation was an encouragement to the President to pursue the policy against which I was protesting. This was afterward made to appear by the testimony of the Hon. Stanley Matthews.

The first day of July, 1867, Stanley Matthews, now a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, was examined by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

As a part of his testimony he said: "I had an interview with Mr. Johnson in February, 1865, at the Burnett House, in Cincinnati, where he was stopping on his way to Washington to be inaugurated as Vice-President. I called upon him, having been one of the electors of President and Vice-President, to pay my respects to him, and I had some conversation with him at that time upon public affairs. The earlier part of the conversation had reference to some personal matters growing out of our relations when I was in Nashville as provost-marshal. After they had been disposed of in conversation, I inquired as to the state of public feeling on political matters in Tennessee at that time. He remarked that very great changes had taken place since I had been there; that many of those who at first were the best Union men had turned to be the worst rebels, and that many of those who had originally been the worst rebels were now the best Union men. I expressed surprise and regret at what he said in reference to the matter. We were sitting near each other on the sofa. He then turned to me and said: 'You and I were old Democrats.' I said 'Yes.' He then said: 'I will tell you what it is, if the country is ever to be saved, it is to be done through the old Democratic Party.' I do not know whether I made any reply to that, or, if I did, what it was; and immediately afterward I took my leave." ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 781.)

This avowal by Mr. Johnson is the key to the whole of his subsequent political career. Although he had been appointed military governor of Tennessee by a Republican President, and although he was then on his way to Washington to take the second highest office in the nation at the hands of the Republican Party, he had no hope for the salvation of the country except by the agency of the old Democratic Party.

That avowal explains the proclamation of the 29th of May, for the reorganization of the State of North Carolina, which opened the way for the return of the old Democratic Party to power in the

government of the United States. It explains the proclamation of the 13th of June, 1865, for the reorganization of the State of Mississippi—a State which had no claim to special consideration at the hands of the Republican Party, of which Mr. Johnson was then the recognized head.

It explains the several proclamations, all bearing date as early as July 13, 1865, by which provisional governors were appointed for Georgia, for Texas, for Alabama, for South Carolina, for Florida; and authority was given for the erection of a State government in each. It explains also the unnecessary declaration in the proclamation of the 2d of April, 1866, that the States then recently in rebellion were still States of the American Union, and by the Constitution and laws of the United States were "made equals, and placed upon a like footing as to political rights, immunities, dignity, and power, with the several States with which they are united."

It explains his separation from the Republican Party, which then, indeed, he had in opinion, and probably in purpose, abandoned, and at a moment when no controversy with its leaders had arisen, and at a moment when he was accepting its highest honors.

The avowal made to Judge Matthews casts reasonable doubt upon the sincerity of all Mr. Johnson's subsequent declarations in which he denounced traitors and treason as odious, and it prepares the ordinary human mind to accept as truthful the statements attributed to General Grant, touching the events and incidents of his relations to President Johnson in the autumn of 1866.

Upon my arrival in Washington to attend the session of Congress which began December 3, 1866, I received a letter from Mr. Stanton, asking me to call at the War Department at the earliest moment possible. I called without delay. He directed me to his private room, where he soon joined me.

Without preface he said: "I am more concerned for the fate of the country than I was at any time during the war." His exact words further I cannot recall, but he gave me to understand that the President had issued orders to officers of the army, of which neither he nor General Grant had knowledge, and that there was danger that General Grant would be sent away from Washington. He spoke of an article I had published in the October number of the "Atlantic Monthly," and said that it had disturbed the President, but that the scheme for the reorganization of Congress was

not abandoned. He did not allude to the attempt to send General Grant to Mexico, nor did he refer to General Sherman, unless the remark about orders related to the order to Sherman to report in Washington.

At the request of Mr. Stanton, I wrote at his dictation the substance of what afterward became the second section of the Army Appropriation Act, approved March 2, 1867.

In that section it was provided that the head-quarters of the General of the Army should be at the city of Washington, and that he should not be detailed for service elsewhere except at his own request or by the previous approval of the Senate; that all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary of War should be issued through the General of the Army, or in case of his disability, through the officer next in command; and, finally, that all orders issued in any other manner should be null and void, and that the officer issuing such orders, and all officers who might obey them, knowing that they had been issued in any other manner, should be alike guilty of a misdemeanor.

I submitted a fair copy of this paper to Mr. Stevens, then Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and repeated to him in substance the conversation that I had had with Mr. Stanton. We had some conversation upon the constitutional questions that occurred to us, and also upon the mode of proceeding, whether by a separate bill or by its incorporation as a section in the Army Appropriation Bill.

The provision was inserted in the Army Bill, and in that bill it passed the House after some debate which did not relate directly to the merits of the measure. I took the precaution to communicate to Mr. Fessenden, then the Chairman of the Committee on Finance of the Senate, the substance of my conversation with Mr. Stanton.

The debate in the Senate was limited to amendments proposed which did not extend to the merits of the bill. Mr. Stevens reported the Army Appropriation Bill the 5th day of February, and at that time, if not at an earlier date, President Johnson had knowledge of the purpose to limit his authority as commander of the army, and he could not have been ignorant of the events in which the purpose originated.

At that time I had not had any conversations with General Grant touching his relations with President Johnson. While Gen-

eral Grant was President, I had many conversations with him, and, as he detailed his interviews with President Johnson, I was able to understand the causes which induced Mr. Stanton to advise and urge the passage of the act of March 2, 1867.

General Grant's statement to me was this: That on an occasion, which I understood to have been in the year 1866, summer or early autumn, Johnson said to him, "If I should have trouble with Congress, which side should you support?" to which Grant said, "That would depend upon which side the law was."

President Johnson may have interpreted this remark as equivalent to a declaration by the General of the Army that he should support the Congress composed of members from the loyal States exclusively, until governments should have been organized in the South in conformity to acts passed by the Congress composed only of men from the loyal States. It was in fact, however, a declaration that he should obey the laws and Constitution of the country. General Grant's opinion in July, 1867, is fully proved by his testimony taken by the Judiciary Committee.

Speaking of the North Carolina proclamation, and giving his opinion of it at the time it was issued, he said: "I looked upon it simply as a temporary measure, to establish a sort of government until Congress should meet and settle the whole question." ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 834.)

General Grant was not ignorant of President Johnson's opinions concerning the legality of the 39th Congress. In his testimony (p. 832) he said, speaking of Johnson, "I have heard him say—and I think I have heard him say it twice in his speeches—that if the North carried the elections by members enough to give them, with the Southern members, a majority, why would they not be the Congress of the United States? I have heard him say that several times. . . . I mean, if the North carried enough members in favor of the admission of the South."

There cannot be a reasonable doubt that President Johnson made a serious and persistent attempt, in the autumn of 1866, to send General Grant to Mexico; and it is equally certain that the most thorough knowledge of our relations with that country fails to disclose any sufficient and honorable reason for the undertaking.

After the election of General Grant to the Presidency, he gave me an account of his interviews with President Johnson, in refer-

ence to the project of sending the General to Mexico in the autumn of 1866. It was, in substance, this: "At a casual meeting the President said, 'I may have occasion to ask you to go to Mexico.' I said, in reply, 'I am so situated that it will not be convenient for me to leave.' Not many days after this conversation the President sent for me to come to his office. Upon my arrival I found Mr. Seward and the President. Mr. Seward opened his portfolio, and read a long paper addressed to me, and containing instructions for my guidance in Mexico. The instructions referred to many matters, more indefinite, and at the end he came out at the same hole he went in at. When Mr. Seward had concluded, I said to the President, 'You know I told you that it would not be convenient for me to go to Mexico.' The President then began to argue with me, and to urge. I as steadily resisted his arguments. The President grew warm; and finally, rising from his chair and striking his table violently with his fist, he said, 'I would like to know if there is an officer of the army who will not obey my orders!' I rose, took my hat in my hand, and said, 'I am an officer of the army, but I am a citizen also. The service you ask me to perform is a civil service, and, as a citizen, I may accept it or decline it, and I decline it.' I then left the room."

The distinction thus made by General Grant left to the President authority to assign him to duty as a soldier at any point within the United States that the President might select, and hence the solicitude of Mr. Stanton for the passage of the section in the Army Bill of the 2d of March, 1867.

Certain facts in Mr. Johnson's career are established upon proofs that would be satisfactory to judges and juries when dealing with the ordinary affairs of men.

(1.) The attempt to destroy the Union having been overcome, Mr. Johnson did not sympathize with the leaders of the Republican Party nor believe in its principles.

(2.) He entertained the opinion, common to the Democratic Party, that, upon the suppression of the rebellion, the States that had been engaged in it were still States of the American Union; and, as such States, that they were entitled, through the agency of the loyal citizens in each, to immediate and unconditional representation in the Congress of the United States.

(3.) Consequently, he entertained the opinion that the 39th

and 40th Congresses were illegal assemblages, and that their acts were void, or, at least, were voidable.

(4.) As set forth in his avowal to Judge Matthews, he was a believer in the policy of "the old Democratic Party;" consequently, when the war was ended and the attempt to destroy the Union had failed, there was no obstacle of opinion or of policy separating, or tending to separate, Mr. Johnson from "the old Democratic Party."

If it be assumed that these propositions concerning the opinion of Mr. Johnson are established by trustworthy evidence, we shall then, consequently, find him in such a state of mind in the year 1865, that he might have justified himself to himself in the adoption of the policy which he attempted in regard to the reconstruction of the Union.

General Grant was then in command of the army, with his head-quarters in Washington. He was then fresh from a series of victories covering a period of three years, and never marred by a single defeat. A million men had recognized him as their leader and chief.

The country regarded him as the restorer of the Union. The Republican Party, with few exceptions, supported the policy of Congress.

Any attempt to resist or reverse that policy must end in a disastrous failure, unless General Grant could be conciliated or exiled. There can be no reasonable doubt that President Johnson attempted first to reconcile General Grant to his policy, and, failing in that, he then attempted to send him out of the country.

We are not left in doubt as to Mr. Johnson's opinions upon the questions in controversy in 1865 and 1866 ; but whether he had a fixed resolution as to his own conduct in the premises is not so clear. In his opinions he was fixed to obstinacy ; but his actions were often spasmodic and erratic.

In many forms of speech he asserted the rights of senators and representatives chosen in the rebel States under the provisional governments which he had set up ; but it is not clear that he had a fixed and continuing resolution to recognize a Congress composed of those senators and representatives combined with duly elected Democratic senators and representatives from the North, and to defend such a Congress by force. The project, however, must have been in his mind, and there may have been moments

when he entertained the thought of attempting its execution. With Mr. Johnson, courage was a passion and not a habit of life.

Hence he was likely to form resolutions which he had no continuing ability to execute.

There is a chapter in Mr. Johnson's history remote from the subject of this inquiry at the beginning, but which at the end may have had a relation to the project for the reorganization of Congress.

In 1862, Mr. Johnson was military governor of Tennessee, and J. S. Fowler, afterward a Senator from the State of Tennessee, held the office of comptroller. During the summer of that year General Buell was forced back upon Louisville, and all regular communication between Nashville and the Ohio River was interrupted. There were troops at Nashville who had not been paid. Many of them were from the vicinity of Nashville, and their families were in want of the means of living.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Fowler went to the Planters' Bank and the Union Bank, and obtained a loan of forty thousand dollars, twenty thousand from each, for which they signed two notes, or drafts, of twenty thousand dollars each. The money of these banks was then at twenty or twenty-five per cent. discount. Of the sum so obtained, about thirty-four thousand dollars were paid out at par to the soldiers, and upon the usual pay-rolls. The remainder was used in the hospitals.

When communications were opened, the pay-rolls were sent to Washington, and in due time Mr. Johnson received a draft for the payments that had been made to the soldiers. Mr. Fowler was reimbursed for the hospital expenditures, and that money he placed in Mr. Johnson's hands. The government was then receiving money on deposit and allowing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum. At the request of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Fowler took the money to Cincinnati, deposited it in the United States depository, and received therefor four certificates of $10,000 each, and all in the name of Mr. Johnson. Mr. Fowler said: "Then of course he was to meet those notes. I was very much pressed afterward to pay the notes, and annoyed in reference to them. I presented the matter to Governor Johnson after he became acting President of the United States, and what was done in regard to it I do not know personally. The last time I called his attention to it he remarked, 'Let them call on me, and I will attend to it,'

or words to that effect." ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 176.)

The Planters' Bank failed, was put into the hands of receivers, and a Mr. Michael Burns, a friend of President Johnson, was designated as agent, with authority to arrange for the payment of the notes. Mr. Burns was examined in February, 1867. He stated that he had an interview with the President in the preceding November. At that interview the President said that he would like to have the notes arranged; that he did not get much value from them; that he paid the money to the troops and got a good deal of cursing because it was a depreciated currency. ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 164.)

The statement of Burns was this: "After he became President the parties became clamorous for their money. He said he thought they should not demand the money from him in full. He then asked them to compromise it, and he thought they ought to take $10,000 each. The banks sent on a Mr. White to arrange the matter. Mr. White returned with an offer from the President of $10,000 each. I told the President, when he mentioned the matter to me in the latter part of 1866, that I thought the banks would not take that offer, and that he should offer more. I telegraphed early in January, 1867, to him, that the Union Bank claim could be settled for $15,000. He acceded to this proposition. . . . When I went to make the arrangements with the bank they would not take less than $16,250. I got fretted about it, and in order to be rid of it, having told him I could settle it for $15,000, I gave a check on my own private account in the bank for the $1,250. . . ." The claim of the Planters' Bank had been previously paid by him.

"They took $14,600. The reason he claimed a compromise was that when he got the money the currency of the bank was about twenty per cent. below par." ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 1147.)

"The money paid to the Planters' Bank was the proceeds of twenty Tennessee bonds, then worth about seventy-two or seventy-three per cent. of their par." ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 1148.)

President Johnson kept an account with the First National Bank, Washington. The cashier, W. S. Huntington, was examined by the Judiciary Committee, March 30, 1867. When that account was opened he placed in the bank certificates of de-

posit issued by the assistant treasurer at Cincinnati, to the amount, as Mr. Huntington thought, of $50,000. These certificates were collected by the bank, and $48,000 of the proceeds were invested in United States seven-thirty bonds. The bonds were of the par value of $50,000, as their market value was then less than par. An additional purchase of bonds to the amount of $10,000 was subsequently made.

Finally, all these bonds were sold, and the proceeds, amounting to $64,947, were placed to Mr. Johnson's credit under date of December 15, 1866. ("Impeachment Investigation," p. 181.)

The balance to the credit of President Johnson, at the First National Bank, March 28, 1867, was $57,302.27, showing that the sale of the seven-thirty bonds had not been for the purpose of changing the investment. Mr. Huntington testified that he made a suggestion to the President "that he had better sell them, as the price was pretty good."

This chapter in Mr. Johnson's history does not justify the conclusion that the sale of bonds was due to any plan or purpose that might disturb the credit of the country, or lead him to the thought that it might be convenient to have at command a considerable sum of ready money. It is a legal conclusion from the evidence that the transaction was a financial one, solely; but the circumstances, that the sale was made in December, 1866, and that the money lay in bank unused for more than a hundred days, may lead some minds to an opposite conclusion.

GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

THE MISTAKES OF GRANT.

In a recent interview with the editor of the North American Review, my attention was called to the article in the November number of the "Century," page 128 *et seq.*, and I was asked in the interests of history to prepare some observations upon the matters therein set forth. I said there were very serious objections to a compliance with his request; that time and my occupations precluded the preparation of an historical article; that the time was inopportune, on account of the recent death of the author of the "Century" article, the state of the public mind, created by sympathies his death had excited, and because of the existence of strong partisan biases and partisan interests that lived and fed upon the illusions which had been created in the past. It was urged by the editor that errors in history were pernicious, and that as soon as possible they should be eradicated; that the Review was desirous of directing its efforts to the propagation of the truth of history, and, therefore, of acting upon this maxim, and insisted that I should make some contributions to that end. My reply was that the utmost I could do would be to signalize a few of the many errors of fact which the article contained, for the purpose of warning students of history to wait until the publication of the records of the rebellion covering that period should furnish the materials for demonstration. I, furthermore, represented to him that personally I had very great objections to troubling the public with piecemeal bits of information concerning war matters, to which the editor replied that it seemed a duty which men having held high commands in the military service owed to posterity, to contribute testimony upon obscure or mooted points while they were yet alive; that the matters treated of in the "Century" article were comparatively little understood by the general public; that the number of living witnesses to the events the article recounted was constantly diminishing; and that, while waiting for the means and the oppor-

tunity of a thorough history, the public ought to have at least something from me on the subject. I finally said that the true way would be to make a plain and summary statement of the facts involved, but that for lack of time to refer to reports and correspondence not yet published, I could not undertake to do it; that the most I would do would be to submit the following observations:

At the outset the article states:

"But after the investment of Vicksburg, Bragg's army was largely depleted to strengthen Johnston, in Mississippi."

My information, which is very positive, flatly contradicts that statement. Very few troops, if any, save cavalry, were detached from Bragg's command in Tennessee.

"I frequently wrote to General Halleck suggesting that Rosecrans should move against Bragg. By so doing he would either detain the latter's troops, or lay Chattanooga open to capture."

This shows that the author of the "Century" article did not understand the situation. Bragg, commanding the army of the Mississippi, was in middle Tennessee; his troops were largely Tennesseeans; he occupied two intrenched camps, and commanded the corn country of Duck and Elk rivers, with railway communication to Chattanooga for supplying his army. He was confronting a dangerous and powerful Union army, and had every reason for believing that he was rendering services of vital importance to the cause he represented. As the commander of the Union army facetiously remarked, like Squibob in the celebrated combat with the San Diego editor, "He was holding us down with his nose, which he had inserted between our teeth for that purpose."

Bragg's troops were already thus being detained, and the views of the author of the "Century" article to the contrary are illusory. As to laying "Chattanooga open to capture," subsequent events show what was required for that purpose. Had Bragg been driven across the Tennessee River, the Union army, for lack of railway transportation and forage, could not have followed him further than its banks within six weeks or two months. Meanwhile, the main body of his troops not being required to watch the crossings, Bragg would have been obliged to join Johnston, and so enable him to attack our besieging army at Vicksburg in the rear, or to compel it to quit its intrenchments and undertake a cam-

paign. Thus, what the author of the "Century" article urged to have done, instead of increasing his assurance of safety, would have drawn upon him the very forces which it was necessary to keep away. The author adds:

"General Halleck strongly approved the suggestion, and finally wrote me that he had repeatedly ordered Rosecrans to advance, but that the latter had constantly failed to comply with the order, and at last, after having held a council of war, replied, in effect," etc.

I never failed to comply with General Halleck's order; for he did not order me to advance; nor did I ever hold a council of war, as the author states, whatever may have been written to the contrary. What the article states further on, that "Rosecrans was ordered to move against the army that was detaching troops to raise the siege," contains two errors. First, no such orders were given; second, no material bodies of troops were detached. On the 23d of June the Army of the Cumberland began its movements, and by the 4th of July occupied successively the enemy's intrenched camps, Shelbyville and Tullahoma, eighteen miles in the rear of Shelbyville, as formidably intrenched as those of the enemy at Vicksburg; and Bragg had retreated across the mountains and across the Tennessee River, and destroyed as far as possible the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, along which he had retired.

"I knew the peril the Army of the Cumberland was in, being depleted continually not only by ordinary casualties, but also by having to detach troops to hold its constantly extending line over which to draw supplies, while the enemy in front was as constantly being strengthened."

The student of history will note the above statement, because it signalizes one of the great difficulties which the Army of the Cumberland had subsequently to overcome; and he will best understand the paragraphs which immediately follow in that article by a statement of what the Army of the Cumberland had to do after the close of the Tullahoma campaign of fifteen days just mentioned—driving Bragg across the Tennessee River.

First, it had to repair the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad from Murfreesboro forward to Winchester, in order to subsist the army at that point; second, it had to repair the same thence to Bridgeport, in order to carry forward supplies; and third, to reach Chattanooga. The reasons for this were, that this point admitted of the use of the Nashville and Chattanooga road, the Alabama

Central road, and part of the Memphis and Charleston road and river, as lines of supply. The possession of Chattanooga would make East Tennessee untenable by the enemy, cut off his use of the coal mines in the mountains on the south side of the Tennessee, from which he was supplying his furnaces at Etowah, and open the way into the heart of the Confederacy. The obstacles to be encountered were to cross these mountain ranges, keep up the supplies of the army, and force a passage of the Tennessee River in the face of the opposing enemy, or deceive him as to the point of crossing. Of these difficulties which had to be overcome, the author of the article appears to have had no conception. The repairs of the Nashville and Chattanooga road, the demonstrations necessary to deceive the enemy as to the point where the Tennessee River would be crossed, the preparation of material for ponton-bridges, and the training of men to handle them, were all carried on simultaneously from the day the campaign of Tullahoma ended. On the 18th of July, the first train from Nashville crossed the Elk River bridge, bringing supplies to the army of the Cumberland at Winchester. Sheridan's division was advanced to Stevenson and Bridgeport, covering the repairs of the railway, preventing the entire destruction of the railroad bridge, and taking possession of the river from below Caperton's Ferry, far above Bridgeport. The scanty equipment of the road, which was a five-feet gauge, on which no Northern engine could be used, made the process of accumulating supplies for the movement of the Army of the Cumberland comparatively slow. Nor could the Army of the Cumberland undertake this movement, after it crossed the Tennessee River, with a less supply than twenty days' rations and ammunition for two great battles. Food for the animals could not be carried, and the movement could not begin until corn was sufficiently ripe to supply it. On the 14th of August, the movement of the Army of the Cumberland began. The demonstrations planned and successfully executed were such as to force the enemy to the belief that the Army of the Cumberland would cross the Tennessee at or near Blythe's Ferry, forty-five miles above Chattanooga; while, in point of fact, it was determined to cross the river on ponton-bridges at Bridgeport, twenty-eight miles below Chattanooga, and at Caperton's Ferry, ten miles below Bridgeport. The length of the ponton-bridge at the latter place was 1,254 feet, and the ponton and trestle bridge at Bridgeport 2,700 feet long.

The success of the operations just described for the campaign depended upon keeping up the illusion of the enemy as to the point of crossing, Sheridan's head-quarters were at Stevenson, the junction of the Nashville and Chattanooga with the Memphis and Charleston road; Athens was occupied, and our cavalry occupied the Tennessee on the south. The railroad from Stevenson to Athens was open, and trains running upon it. The greatest quietude was observed. After they crossed the Cumberland Mountains, the troops encamped out of sight of the enemy from the cliffs of Sand Mountain on the south side of the river, and the ponton train was brought forward into Crow Creek Valley, and the pontoniers there trained in putting it up and taking it down. The river front was examined from Shell Mound downward past Sequatchee Valley to Bridgeport. Sequatchee is a deep and narrow valley separating the great mountain mass into two, Cumberland Mountain on the west, and Walden's Ridge on the east, only three or four miles wide at most, but fertile and tolerably well settled. This was occupied by the twenty-first corps, stretching for twenty miles up and down the valley, and making the largest possible display of force of all arms; while one brigade of cavalry and one brigade of mounted infantry were to drive everything across and occupy the west bank of the Tennessee River from Chattanooga northward, each backed by a brigade of infantry, encamped displayed, on the eastern edge of Walden's Ridge in sight of the Tennessee Valley above Chattanooga, and were to keep up the impression that our point of crossing would be about Blythe's Ferry. The enemy's movements demonstrated his conviction that this would be so.

These were but preliminary preparations. The great problem yet to be solved was to get the enemy out of Chattanooga, and the Army of the Cumberland into possession of it, and then to maintain it in that position. I had caused the enemy to concen trate his troops at and north of Chattanooga. I knew that the moment the Army of the Cumberland crossed the Tennessee River, Buckner would leave East Tennessee and join Bragg. Chattanooga is on the east side at the north end of Lookout Range, over which the only passes on the south side of the river, available for troops of all arms, were: first, at the nose of the mountain, near Chattanooga; second, at Johnston's pass, twenty-six miles south of it; and third, at Valley Head, forty-six miles south,

where a road leads down by Alpine into Broomtown Valley. To assault Chattanooga over the pass at the nose of the mountain near Chattanooga was impracticable. It was absolutely necessary to maneuver Bragg with his forces out of that position, the value of which Bragg, as well as I, knew. Such a maneuver could be successful only by threatening his communications at some considerable distance south of Chattanooga toward Atlanta, and the threat must necessarily be a very formidable one. It was therefore determined that, upon crossing the Tennessee River, the 20th Corps should go by Caperton's Ferry, cross Sand Mountain, ascend Wills' Creek (Lookout Valley) to Valley Head, whence the cavalry should precede it into Broomtown Valley, and operate with great vigor; that the corps commander should send a brigade down the eastern slope of Lookout Mountain, to Alpine, and possibly support it by two other brigades; that Thomas, with the 14th corps, should cross at Bridgeport over into Lookout Valley by another route, and ascend that valley in sight of the enemy on Lookout Mountain, until the head of the column should arrive at the foot of Johnston's pass, about four miles above Trenton; that Crittenden's corps, the 21st, with Reynolds' division of Thomas's corps, should cross—part at Shell Mound in boats, the remainder on the ponton and trestle bridge—follow Thomas's corps a short distance up Trenton Valley, sending a division to watch the road crossing over the nose of Lookout in his rear.

All these movements were arranged between the 20th and 28th. The effect of their execution was to be to compel the enemy to believe that a movement was to be made, by the way of Alpine, to strike his communications at Rome or its vicinity, and, by keeping up this belief, to induce him to withdraw at least so far south of Chattanooga that we should be able to concentrate our entire command there.

That we should be obliged to fight a great battle for the possession of Chattanooga was beyond possible military doubt. Had this movement of the Army of the Cumberland been sustained, as it ought betimes to have been, by the concentration of the Army of the Tennessee near Decatur, for a movement into north-eastern Alabama, or further north, so as to be within supporting distance; had Burnside closed down on the left flank of its movement, as was the original understanding, there might have been less certainty of its being obliged to fight such a battle for the possession

of Chattanooga. But as it was, that army, the only force which stood between the enemy and the Ohio Valley, through no fault or negligence of its commander, had been put in great and needless peril. The interests of the Confederacy were supreme in crushing it, or, at least, in defeating the object of its campaign. From its inception I foresaw this, and the absolute necessity of making provision for the maintenance of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga, when we should get possession of it. I therefore ordered to be built, at Bridgeport, five flat-bottom, stern-wheel steamboats, to be used between there and Chattanooga in the lowest stages of water, and placed the business of constructing them in charge of Captain Edwards, an efficient quartermaster. The material for the construction of these boats was brought down, the engines ordered from the shops in the North, the first hull launched, and the second hull nearly ready to be launched between the 20th and the 28th of August, when the Army of the Cumberland began its movement across the river. During the ten days intervening between my arrival at Stevenson and the beginning of the movement, I had also telegraphed for the representatives of the railroad bridge building firms of Fletcher & Co., of Cleveland, and Boomer & Co., of Chicago, and contracted with them for repairing the railroad bridge across the Tennessee River at Bridgeport, to be done in four weeks, and the Running Water Bridge—the only other large railway bridge between that and Chattanooga—to be completed within two weeks from the time of the passage of the first freight train over the Bridgeport Bridge. The Running Water Bridge was of three spans—each span 171 feet, the center pier 110 feet high. There is nothing in the "Century" article to indicate anything of this, and yet it is a very significant part of the history of that campaign.

The Army of the Cumberland began to cross the Tennessee River on the 28th of August, and the movement was continued according to the plan. Its effect, as anticipated, was to cause Bragg to evacuate Chattanooga about the 8th or 9th of September, and move slowly south. Of course, the country, the air, and everything was filled with rumors as to the enemy's movements. As soon as Bragg's movement was known, I directed General Thomas to ascend Johnston's Pass to the top of Lookout Mountain, and to descend at Cooper's Gap on the east side; to occupy a defensive position at the foot of the gap, which would keep up the

enemy's belief that we meant to cut his communications with Atlanta, and prevent him retracing his steps, which, upon the contrary belief, he would promptly have done, into Chattanooga. While Thomas was thus ordered to move over Lookout, at Johnston's and Cooper's Gaps, the twenty-first corps, under General T. L. Crittenden, instead of waiting to follow Thomas, was ordered to follow the road over the nose of the mountain into Chattanooga, taking with him the reserve artillery, leave it there in charge of a brigade, move out on the enemy's lines of withdrawal south, and ascertain his movements. On the 9th it was found that the enemy was retiring slowly and in force, toward Lafayette, and later, on the 10th or 11th, it was found that he was concentrating at that point.

What grounds there were for the popular impression which had been so assiduously fostered in certain quarters, that we had possession of Chattanooga, appears from this. It is for the reader to understand what kind of possession that was. As Lafayette was only thirty miles from Chattanooga, and we had to concentrate between the enemy and that place, the space was very limited. Thomas's corps was on the flank of that interspace, on the north side of the South Chickamauga, and Crittenden, who had moved out on the roads to the east of Thomas's position, was ordered to move, with all possible secrecy and dispatch, westward to supporting distance of Thomas. At the same time the twentieth corps (McCook's) was ordered to move with all possible celerity from its position on the eastern slope of Lookout, near Alpine, to which, without orders, it had been moved from Valley Head, and to join Thomas. Meanwhile, on the 14th, we learned that Longstreet had arrived at Atlanta with his corps from Lee's army, and was to join in the fight. Fully aware of the perils of the situation, I had ordered up General Granger to the vicinity of Winchester, and now dispatched orders to him to go immediately to Chattanooga with Steadman's division and McCook's and Spear's brigades. The suspense while these orders were being carried was fearful; but finally, on the morning of the 18th, the head of McCook's column arrived at the top of Cooper's Gap, and under cover of a strong picket line along the South Chickamauga, the movement of Crittenden's and Thomas's corps began to the north-eastward, to get on the roads leading through Rossville, between the enemy and Chattanooga. Four hours of precious time were lost by the delay of

General Hazen, who, until he received orders through the regular channel, declined to be relieved by General Negly's division sent for the purpose of enabling him to join his division commander. These two corps moved all the night of the 18th by a line of fires built through the woods; and by daylight of the 19th, General Thomas with his corps was planted across the Gordon's Mills and Rossville road to Chattanooga. Thus, by the delay in the arrival of the twentieth corps and that just mentioned, though concentrated between the enemy and Chattanooga, our toil-worn troops, unable to choose our own battle-ground, were obliged to begin the battle of the 19th and 20th of September, 1863, for the possession of that place, knowing that they alone stood between a powerful, veteran army and the Ohio River.

In the light of all this the reader will be able to understand what is to be thought of the statement in the "Century" article, beginning, "Soon it was discovered in Washington that Rosecrans was in trouble and required assistance," and with whom must rest the terrible responsibility that the troops of the Army of the Tennessee, anxious to come to our aid—which ought to have come up six weeks before, as the "Century" article says—did not in fact get orders to move until the 23d of September, two days after the battle of Chickamauga had given us beyond peradventure the possession of Chattanooga. It will also appear what weight should attach to the remark that—

"Meanwhile, Rosecrans had very skillfully manœuvered Bragg south of the Tennessee, through and beyond Chattanooga."

Bragg was not maneuvered south of the Tennessee River, and through Chattanooga, during the campaign. He had been there for two months. Ever since the campaign of Tullahoma drove him out of middle Tennessee he had occupied that side of the river. It will appear also what is to be thought of the statement, "if he (Rosecrans) had stopped and intrenched, and made himself strong there," etc. The writer of the "Century" article, after all these years, and with all his military ideas, does not seem to comprehend the situation, nor the utter error of saying that—

"He pushed on, with his forces very much scattered, until Bragg's troops from Mississippi began to join him, then Bragg took the initiative. Rosecrans had to fall back in turn, and was able to get his army together at Chickamauga," etc.

In the light of all the foregoing facts, that we fought the enemy on the 19th and 20th, on a battle-ground not of our own choosing, and offered him battle on the 21st, at Rossville, only three miles from our position on those days, and took possession of Chattanooga on the following night, what is to be thought of the statement that—

"Rosecrans was badly defeated, with a heavy loss in artillery, and some sixteen thousand men killed, wounded, and captured. The corps under Major-general George H. Thomas stood its ground, while Rosecrans, with Crittenden and McCook, returned to Chattanooga?"

In the light of ample documentary evidence, with which the writer certainly had abundant opportunity to become acquainted, this statement can be regarded in no other way than as a bold untruth. The order of battle of the 20th is in writing; the official reports amply testify that I had reinforced Thomas's corps by Johnston's Division of McCook's, the 20th, and Palmer's Division of the 21st, on the day before; that all the remaining troops on the field, save two brigades of Jeff C. Davis's and three of Sheridan's, were, by my order, with General Thomas before one o'clock of the afternoon of the 20th; that General Thomas had repeated orders from me to hold his position at all hazards; that having made various orders to meet actual and possible exigencies, which I sent by Garfield to explain to him, in the afternoon, near the close of the fight, I sent one to him which he received about five o'clock, while awaiting an impending attack of the enemy; that those orders were that he should use his discretion as to whether we should hold the ground which we would occupy, and have ammunition and everything else brought there, or to retire to Rossville; that he exercised that discretion, and ordered the troops back to that position; that I approved of his movements, directed him to dispose of the troops, to receive the enemy's attack, in case he dared to make one, at that point, and ordered up troops and ammunition accordingly; that the Army of the Cumberland waited there all day the 21st, offering the enemy battle, which he declined; and that having laid out the lines, and made necessary dispositions for the definite and continued occupation of Chattanooga, I withdrew the army from its position at Rossville, during the night of the 21st, and took possession of the lines at Chattanooga.

Thus the Army of the Cumberland, beginning to move from

Winchester on the 14th of August, had crossed the Cumberland Mountains, the Tennessee—a wide and formidable river—the Sand Mountain, and Lookout Ranges, carrying from Bridgeport twenty days' rations and ammunition sufficient to fight two great battles, fought a great battle, and took and held possession of Chattanooga, seventy-six miles distant from the point of departure—fourteen miles farther than from Fredericksburg to Richmond—in a campaign of thirty-eight days.

Though obliged to fight the inevitable battle for that purpose on ground of the enemy's choosing, we defeated his attempt to crush us, and held the objective points of the campaign at a cost of men and material which the country would have willingly paid for its possession at any time within the two preceding years.

No true soldier could overlook or fail to appreciate the merits of a campaign which in thirty-eight days overcame such obstacles, and from the jaws of such peril snatched and held a strategic position so valuable. Why then did the author of the "Century" article fail to do so?

The next thing after getting Chattanooga was to keep it.

The preliminary preparations for supplying the Army of the Cumberland at that point, made before crossing the river, have been already stated—contracts for rebuilding the Bridgeport and Running Water Railway bridges, to be finished within six weeks, and the construction of five flat-bottom, stern-wheel steamers, for navigating the river between Bridgeport and Chattanooga. Now, on the 21st of September, having possession of Chattanooga, the first thing was to construct and occupy suitable and defensive lines for the army.

That the intelligent reader may form some idea of what it was and how this was done, let him examine a map of Chattanooga and its vicinity, and he will see that the town is situated on the north-west corner of a rolling plain in the bend of the Tennessee River, which bounds it on the north, where the river runs east and west, and on the west, where it runs in a course nearly south for about three miles and a half, to a bend where it breaks through a gorge between Lookout Mountain and the southern extremity of Walden's Ridge, whence it takes a north-westerly direction until the mass of Raccoon Mountain drives it nearly northerly for a distance of several miles. The Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad runs from the town south-westerly, until it strikes the

east end of this big bend, and then, turning, follows the bank of the river, under high precipitous cliffs, for about a mile, where it emerges into the Valley of Lookout, or Wills' Creek ; thence it passes westerly through a gap between Raccoon Mountain on the north and Sand Mountain on the south, and from there to Bridgeport, a total distance of about twenty-eight miles. About two miles south of the town is Chattanooga Creek, coming down from the south, and cutting a crooked, deep channel in the alluvium, and running into the Tennessee River near the south-western side of the great bend just described. Artillery and infantry cannot pass it without bridging.

Three miles east of the town are foot-hills belonging to Missionary Ridge, a mountain mass, some six hundred or eight hundred feet high, running nearly north and south, and overlooking it at a distance of about four miles from the town. At the southerly end of this mass is the town of Rossville, in a low gap, the gate-way to this plane, which the Army of the Cumberland held on the 21st of September.

I very much desired to extend my line south of Chattanooga Creek, to cover the railway line and wagon road across the pass over the north end of Lookout Mountain, but found that to do this would so expose my right, that, in case of a serious attack at that point, I might be obliged to withdraw my command from Chattanooga to defend it, and thus practically be compelled to give up the town and go over into Lookout Valley. This was not to be thought of. I therefore adopted such lines as I could occupy, and defend beyond peradventure, leaving the end of Lookout temporarily to be taken possession of by the enemy. But to prevent that enemy from being able to pass over it into Lookout Valley with artillery and wagons, in large force, and to impede any passage, except by stealth, across the nose of the mountain, I placed batteries on Moccasin Point, on the north side of the river opposite the nose of Lookout, so as to command the passage along the railway under the cliffs, and also greatly impede the use of the wagon road over the slopes above. Bridge connection with the north side of the river, so as to communicate at once with Bridgeport on that side, was immediately to be made. For that purpose, for many reasons, two ponton-bridges were to be built forthwith. Orders were given to the chiefs of the Pioneer Corps to have all the pontoon-trains that could be spared brought

up from Bridgeport. Materials were also sought wherever they could be found in Chattanooga, to complete these structures. Lumber was so scarce that houses had to be torn down, and the saw-mill of which the "Century" article speaks was put in order, and Colonel Stanley, of the 18th Ohio, was charged with preparing boats, balks, and chesses, with all possible dispatch, so that the wagon trains could at once go and come between our positions and Bridgeport by way of Jasper, in Sequatchee Valley, over Walden's Ridge, a distance of about forty-six miles, and bring supplies to the army.

Our cavalry and mounted infantry were posted along the west side of the Tennessee River, above Chattanooga, to cover from the enemy's operations this line of communication over the mountain. The remaining portion of the Pioneer Corps was ordered to take care of the bridge at Bridgeport. Two brigades of cavalry were detailed to occupy the country south of it, to prevent incursions on our lines of supplies, and depots at Stevenson, from that direction.

The enemy advancing occupied Missionary Ridge and the foothills in front of our lines, established a force on the south side of Chattanooga Creek, commanding the road over the nose of Lookout, sent troops to Summertown up on its top, planted some batteries on the northerly slope of Lookout, opposite Moccasin Point, and sent five or six regiments over into Lookout Valley to watch the west bank of that portion of the river from the railway down to far below Brown's Ferry, which at once put a stop on attempts to repair the Nashville and Chattanooga Railway between our position and Bridgeport, until they could be driven from Lookout.

General Halleck notified me on the 21st that Hooker, with the 11th and 12th Corps, Army of the Potomac (Howard and Slocum), had been ordered to reinforce us, and would soon be on their way.

In a few days the first ponton-bridge was completed, the river above guarded and watched to prevent attempts to break it, and the second followed as rapidly as material for it could be prepared. The enemy's occupation of Lookout Valley having temporarily deprived us of the use of the road on the south side of the river, and the repairing of the railway bridges, as the contracts required, he massed his cavalry seventy miles north of Chattanooga, in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Hiwassee, under General Wheeler, who, with three divisions, forced his passage at ten

different places, driving our cavalry, only two brigades, under Crook.

The object of the enemy's movements was to cross Walden's Ridge, the Sequatchee Valley, the Cumberland Mountains, and to strike and destroy the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, known to be our only line of supplies. Order was promptly given to General Crook to hang on the flank and rear of the enemy's column, and fight and delay him to the utmost. Colonel Ed. McCook was ordered to march with the two brigades which had been watching the river below Bridgeport, to join Crook. They were then both to follow the enemy and hang upon his flank and rear. Hooker, whose column was on its way from Louisville, was ordered to post his infantry so as to protect Duck and Elk River and other important railway bridges and trestle-works, and our depots at Stevenson and Bridgeport, with his main body at Stevenson.

Neither time nor space admits of detailing the operations of this formidable and dangerous raid on our communications—it would be aside from the purpose of these observations. Suffice it to say, that the Union cavalry, faithful to its orders, harassed and kept Wheeler's column in motion, and Hooker's movements preserved the railway almost intact. Crook overtook the enemy at Lexington, Tenn., fifteen miles south of Shelbyville, and defeated him, captured his cannon, and drove him pell-mell south of the Tennessee River at various points between Florence and Decatur. During Wheeler's raid the only serious damage he did us was on his way across to McMinnville. In Sequatchee he found a train of one hundred wagons, which he destroyed before Colonel Ed. McCook's column reached the spot, where La Grange charged and drove Wheeler's rear guard and followed him. As soon as this raid came to its inglorious end, Hooker closed down his troops by rail to Bridgeport and Stevenson. The capacity of the railway being already overtaxed, his trains were ordered to come down by the wagon road.

For the first ten or fifteen days after we occupied Chattanooga, the mountain road north of the river was in good condition. There was a cut around the face of the cliffs of Walden's Ridge which the wagons could follow, and our supplies came to us without difficulty. As soon as the enemy's troops in Lookout Valley found that we were using this short cut, they posted sharp-shooters with long-range rifles on the west side of the river to fire across and in-

terrupt the movements of trains. This gave us very serious difficulty, and greatly impeded the use of the road. Along about the end of the first week of October rains set in, the roads grew worse, and the difficulty of bringing supplies by wagon greatly increased. In the midst of all these operations and solicitudes I had been working with indefatigable energy to get ready the pontons and materials for a third ponton-bridge, which was indispensable for securing and holding control of the south side of the river from Bridgeport to Chattanooga.

Hooker was advised that as soon as his wagon trains could be ready to move he would be ordered to cross the river at Bridgeport and follow the line of the road up to the vicinity of Wauhatchee. He was to be put in connection with the rest of the army by a ponton-bridge across the Tennessee River at or near Brown's Ferry, so that, in case the enemy should attempt to crush him, there would be no difficulty in receiving support from us by the short route across the neck of land between Chattanooga and Brown's Ferry.

The great difficulty was to obtain material for this third ponton-bridge. Colonel Stanley, of the 18th Ohio, who with two regiments had been employed from the beginning in getting out the necessary materials for the two bridges, was now getting the materials for this third bridge. So urgent was I to have this completed, that I personally and almost daily visited the work. Colonel Stanley was running the saw-mill to cut out what materials we had, and searching among the houses for more. While completing the first two bridges, General William F. Smith arrived and was assigned to duty as Chief Engineer of the Army of the Cumberland. He was told what the plan was for opening communication with Bridgeport on the south side of the river, and what preparations were in progress for its execution; and, moreover, that upon the arrival of the troops then on their way I intended to drive the enemy from Missionary Ridge. I requested him to examine the river above Chattanooga, with a view of ascertaining its capabilities and adaptation for a movement on the enemy's right, at the north end of Missionary Ridge. A sketch was made of the river and route to Brown's Ferry, the route by which troops would be able to communicate from the Chattanooga side of the river with Lookout Valley, over the ponton-bridge, which we were straining every nerve to secure. The plan was talked over with General

Thomas and General Th. L. Coulton, and a copy of the sketch was sent to General Hooker, who was told to hurry up his transportation as rapidly as possible, so that on crossing the Tennessee River he would be able to subsist his troops directly from Bridgeport. On the 19th of October, General W. F. Smith accompanied me in a ride along this route and the Tennessee near Brown's Ferry. We returned about sunset, when I found the telegrams awaiting me which released me from the command of the Army of the Cumberland and placed General Thomas in command.

These facts will show the reader what is to be thought of the statements and implications contained in the "Century" article respecting the likelihood of my evacuating Chattanooga. That calumny never had the slightest foundation in fact, and that it should have found its way, after all these years, again to the public through such a source, is all the more strange and nexcusable.

The author goes on to give the pitiable condition in which the Army of the Cumberland was at a date which he does not state, but leaves the implication that it was at the time of his arrival at Chattanooga. I affirm that when I left it, on the 20th of October, the Army of the Cumberland was in no such condition as the author of the "Century" article represents, as to supplies, rations, or fuel. Cameron Hill was covered with woods; the whole north side of the river was wooded. Teams were hauling and delivering rations; although the time of making the trips was lengthened, and the loads they could haul were diminished, still they were hauling. Doubtless the animals were thin, because forage was scarce. No longer ago than the 4th of November, I conversed with Colonel G. C. Kniffin, then Chief Commissary of the Army, than whom no more able or truthful officer lives, and who had the best possible opportunity of knowing the facts, and he fully concurs with me in this statement.

The author of the "Century" article says that he telegraphed to Thomas that he was to "hold Chattanooga at all hazards," informing him at the same time that "I [the writer of the 'Century' article] would be at the front as soon as possible." I well remember the receipt of that telegram, and the surprise and indignation with which Thomas and I viewed it. We regarded it as an aspersion on the Army of the Cumberland and its commander, founded either in ignorance or malice. We had as little idea of

abandoning Chattanooga as anybody in the world. The author says:

"A prompt reply was received from Thomas, saying, 'We will hold the town till we starve.' I appreciated the force of this dispatch later, when I witnessed the condition of affairs which prompted it."

The author of the "Century" article does not give the full dispatch, which was:

"Our trains are hauling rations from Bridgeport, and we will hold the town until we starve."

The author says further:

"On the morning of the 21st we took the train for the front, reaching Stevenson, Alabama, after dark. Rosecrans was there on his way North. He came into my car, and we held a brief interview, in which he described very clearly the situation at Chattanooga, and made some excellent suggestions as to what should be done," etc.

The suggestions to which the author alludes were a detail of the plan, already explained, for establishing communication between the army at Chattanooga and Hooker's troops, on the south side of the river, which were to be brought up by the way of Wauhatchee to Lookout Valley. Doubtless they were "excellent suggestions," for they were precisely the ones which the author of the "Century" article followed. Yet he says, "My only wonder was that he had not carried them out." I think the intelligent reader will wonder whether it was stupidity or malice which dictated this foolish expression, and will himself feel no wonder that as yet they had not been carried out. Every effort had been made to that end. Detailing what happened on the evening after his arrival in Chattanooga, the author says:

"During the evening, most of the general officers called in to pay their respects, and to talk about the condition of affairs. They pointed out on the maps the line marked with a red or blue pencil, which Rosecrans had contemplated falling back upon."

Poor man! no officer of the Army of the Cumberland ever told him that I contemplated falling back. The line, if any, which was pointed out to him, was the line of communication by way of Brown's Ferry, to be established between the troops in Chattanooga and the troops to come into Lookout Valley, which, as heretofore stated, was part of the plan for controlling the communication on the south side of the river, between Bridgeport

and Chattanooga, and had no reference whatever to a line of retreat. The author states that :

"I found that he (General W. F. Smith) had established a saw-mill on the banks of the river, by utilizing an old engine found in the neighborhood."

The intelligent reader will understand who established the saw-mill long before General Smith's arrival, and wonder why the author of the "Century" article makes the statement in that way. He says, in addition to this, that General Smith had under way "a steamer for plying between Chattanooga and Bridgeport." That was probably one of the five steamers which I had ordered to be built before I crossed the river.

The author of that article says, "That night (the 24th of October) I issued orders for opening the route to Bridgeport." All the preliminaries for these orders have already been described. They had been detailed to him by me at Stevenson, and the reader will appreciate at its proper worth a statement which fails to take any notice of all this, and gives to the public the impression that it was his genius which conceived the plan. No intelligent reader can fail to see that the intention of the writer of the "Century" article is to have it pass for history that his was the plan, and his the orders which opened the route from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, on the south side of the river. This fraud, this lie, has been floating before the public for twenty odd years; but it is explicitly nailed to the pillory by the opening paragraph of General Thomas's official report of the operations, wherein he says, "*In pursuance of the plan of General Rosecrans, the execution of which had been deferred until Hooker's transportation could be got,*" etc., and then follows a description of his operations. This noble and chivalrous testimonial by General Thomas was placed on record on the books of the Army of the Cumberland, wherein was written the report made by the author of the "Century" article, in which he said that he did it. But this statement by General Thomas won for him the undying dislike of the author of the "Century" article.

Further, the article says :

"General Halleck had, long before my coming into this new field, ordered parts of the 11th and 12th corps, commanded respectively by Generals Howard and Slocum, Hooker in command of the whole, from the Army of the Potomac, to reinforce Rosecrans. It would have been folly to have sent them to Chat-

tanooga to help eat up the few rations left there. They were consequently left on the railroad, where supplies could be brought them. Before my arrival, Thomas ordered their concentration at Bridgeport."

I have already stated what were Hooker's orders and advices; and now and here I state that the movement of Hooker, the occupation of Lookout Valley and its connection with the troops at Chattanooga, for which the writer of the "Century" article claims such credit, would have taken place all the same had he never lived. Some of the chief witnesses are dead, but many are living; and the records of the war, when published, will amply demonstrate these facts.

I have said enough concerning this article in the "Century" to warn readers and students of the military history of the war that the article abounds in inaccurate, misleading, and untruthful statements. Forbearing that detail which any unbiased critic could readily make of the proofs that the author of the "Century" article misstated facts to gratify dislikes of others and to glorify himself, my affection for Thomas will not allow me to close these notes without calling attention to the statement on page 137 of that article:

"On the 7th, before Longstreet could possibly have reached Knoxville, I ordered Thomas peremptorily to attack the enemy's right so as to force the return of the troops that had gone up the valley. I directed him to take mules, officers' horses, or animals wherever he could get them, to move the necessary artillery. But he persisted in the declaration that he could not move a single piece of artillery, and could not see how he could possibly comply with the order."

To the casual reader this unquestionably means a reproach upon General Thomas, and upon it I ask the following questions: If the execution of that order were possible, and General Thomas failed to obey, why did not the author of the "Century" article arrest General Thomas and put some one in command who would execute it? If it were *not* possible, why did he give the order, and why does he now bring the matter before the public? If Thomas was right, then the order was wrong, and the giver of it ought to have frankly said so.

All the statements of his subsequent operations up to the battle of Missionary Ridge are made with a view of showing what Badeau's calumnious and untruthful life of the author of that article pretends; namely, that the battle of Missionary Ridge was fought as

it was planned. Neither documentary evidence nor the recollection of living witnesses sustains that view. There are thousands who know and assert that the breaking of the enemy's center was neither ordered nor foreseen.

On page 140 of the "Century" article, the author of that article makes an ambiguous statement that might readily be interpreted as a reflection upon Thomas:

> "Thomas having done on the 23d what was expected of him on the 24th, there was nothing for him to do this day except to strengthen his position."

This, without further remark, is open to the inference that General Thomas acted out of time, while in fact he did more than was expected, and did it well.

The principles and habits of a long life with me have been against the obtrusion of personal views upon public attention; but truth and justice require that, upon historical events especially within my cognizance, I should not in silence permit insatiable and conscienceless egotism, under the shadow of a great name, to masquerade as the muse of history.

W. S. Rosecrans.

A DISFRANCHISED PEOPLE.

We hear much about class legislation in the past, of government intended for the immediate benefit of the dominant class, to the lasting detriment of the whole; of the organization of the rich against the poor, the strong against the weak. Against such evils it is commonly believed that democracies provide the most effective security, and especially that the American Democracy has made such conditions impossible within its borders. But it has been well said by high authority that one of the greatest dangers of democracy, as of all other forms of government, lies in the sinister interest of the holders of power. It is the old danger of class legislation. It matters little whether the class be termed Democratic or Republican, Royalist or Imperialist, its leaders Senators or Representatives, peers or princes. Their likeness is visible in their origin—in the corrupting influence of undivided power invested with invidious prerogatives, infusing its leaven until at last, the people becoming inured to the evil, all useful opposition vanishes, and the moderating influence of a healthy minority disappears.

If the average voter of the United States were informed that in the heart of our population there existed a class of intelligent people disfranchised, deprived of political rights and condemned by acts of legislature to the perpetual yoke of one political party, he would doubtless think twice before accepting the facts without good warrant. Yet this, it appears, is the present condition of affairs in the old Commonwealth of Delaware.

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale very recently touched upon this subject in a speech delivered at Boston. Thus prompted, and moved by a desire to lay before the readers of the North American Review a succinct and accurate account of the methods adopted, the writer sent to Delaware a commissioner charged with the careful and circumstantial investigation of representation in

that State. The result of this investigation, based upon the facts furnished, will now be laid before our readers.

It may be well, however, to say at the outset that we are not prompted by the shibboleth of any party, and that the endeavor has been to conduct all research in a spirit free from the stain of partisan purpose. Should such glaring evils at any time appear in a State devoted to Republican interests, it would offer to us a field equally inviting for inquiry and grave reflection.

By organization and circumstance, Delaware is peculiarly adapted to honesty in politics. A small State, containing no large cities, its people are acquaintances. They are too well known to each other to make any kind of cheating safe and easy. Again, Delaware is too near the great forces of the North to sustain Ku-Klux and shot-gun manners in the enforcement of political policy. Yet there is no doubt whatever that a very large part of the citizens of Delaware, belonging to one of its great political parties, are as thoroughly disfranchised, by legal chicanery, as any community of negroes in Mississippi were ever disfranchised by physical intimidation.

In Delaware a vote rests on a tax. The beautiful and aristocratic little State reverses the principle which opened the American Revolution—"no taxation without representation"—and has laid down the principle, "no representation without taxation." Her constitution provides that, in order to possess the right of an elector, every citizen of the age of twenty-two and upward shall pay a county-tax within the two years preceding the election at which he votes, and that this tax shall have been assessed at least six months before the election.

However questionable this enactment may be in the ethics of actual democracy, the original purpose of it was an honest one. That purpose was simply to establish a practical registry law, and to see that the registry should be completed six months before election, giving ample time for inspection. The constitution containing this provision was adopted under the auspices of the Whig party in 1831.

In the case of persons having no taxable property, the amount of the county-tax qualifying them to vote ranged from eighty cents to three dollars a head, being a "poll-tax." The collectors were held responsible for the return of every tax, unless they could show that the persons whose assessments were unpaid were absolutely too

poor to pay them. The assessors were required to make full lists of all citizens in the several districts—called "hundreds"—and the names remained perennially on the lists, unless it appeared, by the returns of the collectors, that the persons bearing the names were dead or had left the State. The result was that every citizen of Delaware was assessed, and that every citizen who paid his taxes had a full and free opportunity to vote.

Practically, there was no perversion of this system until the enfranchisement of the blacks by the amendment of the United States Constitution under which they first voted in 1870. Then, to the average Democrat of Delaware, as of the various States farther south, it appears that the presumed outrage on human nature, perpetrated by allowing a black man to vote, justified any resistance to law, or any perversion of morality, that could be made effective in defeating the purpose of the United States. In giving expression to this sentiment, the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, in a speech at Milford in 1872, began with these words: "My fellow-men!—thank God I can still say my fellow white men!"

It appears that in March of that year (1872), by concerted action, the collectors of taxes, all of them being Democrats, returned the names of large numbers of the blacks as "dead," or as having "left the State;" and that these returns were adopted by the levy courts, which were also composed entirely of Democrats. But article fifteen of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States had provided that the right of citizens to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Under the enforcement act supplementary to this fundamental law, the levy court of New Castle County, and some of the most conspicuous tax-collectors, were indicted in the United States Circuit Court, for denying to the blacks the equal right to qualify to vote because of race and color. One of these collectors, Archibald Given, was tried before the Circuit Court at Wilmington, in June, 1872 (Mr. Justice Strong, of United States Supreme Court, presiding), and was convicted and fined. The law having been thus established, the remaining cases were not pressed.

All of these cases were defended by Thomas F. Bayard, and his present successor in the United States Senate, Mr. Gray.

But now, again, to indict a State officer in a Federal court, for executing a State law, to say nothing of convicting such a sacred

functionary, seems to have been the abomination of abominations to the Democratic soul of Delaware. Shades of Calhoun and of Patrick Henry, what was to be done!

The answer came, spoken in deeds even louder than words: "We will see whether an act cannot be drafted that will enable the State officers to disqualify a black voter without technically violating a federal statute."

In order, however, to disqualify the blacks, it was necessary now to disqualify Republicans in general, without distinction of race or color. So, to this end—the Democrats having more than a two-thirds vote in each branch of the Legislature—special laws were passed on the 9th and 10th of April, 1873, in effect as follows:

Upon the affidavit of a collector of county taxes that, in the month of January in each year, he had given public notice of the times and places at which he would attend to receive taxes, and that he had so attended for three days, it was made the duty of the levy court having him in jurisdiction to allow the collector, as delinquencies, the taxes uncollected by him, the names of his delinquents being dropped from the assessment list, not to be placed thereon again for twelve months after the date of the allowance. And the special animus of this legislation was put in these words: "*Provided*, that the provisions of this section shall apply to persons assessed and liable to pay poll-tax."

But here it must be explained that the collector makes his return of delinquents on the first Tuesday of March. During the same month the levy court acts upon them and makes the allowance of them, the names being dropped from the date of this allowance, for twelve months. But, by the law, the assessor completes his return of assessments *in February* of each year. Consequently, any voter after the expiration of his twelve months of exclusion in March, finds that he must wait eleven months longer, until the succeeding February, before he can again be assessed, unless he can procure the reinstatement of his name by action of a levy court—a thing, it appears, which has been rendered so expensive and difficult by the process of doing it, and by the obstacles interposed by the courts themselves, as to be commonly impracticable. So, by omitting to pay his taxes in any one year, a citizen of Delaware, not so fortunate as to be the owner of property, is disfranchised for two years.

Once again: The elections of the State occurring, as elsewhere, in November, a person not owning property—every poor man—is obliged, in order to qualify as a voter, to pay his taxes nine months before election. And this he must do in the winter, when he is generally out of work, and needs every dollar that he can save or earn.

So much for the character of these statutory enactments themselves. But the perfection of their injustice is only to be appreciated by understanding the practical administration of them. Think of this one feature: they make it entirely optional with the tax-collector whether he return the non-taxpayer as a delinquent or keep him on the list. With rare and marvelous exceptions, the Democratic collectors, it seems, have exercised this option to their liking. There has been no difficulty about simply returning the Republicans as delinquents, and retaining the Democrats for their own party uses, according to the intent of the law and the dictation of their leaders. When an election arrives, the taxes of Democrats can be paid, but the Republicans may be out of the contest. They then have no way to vote, even if they are ready to pay. Besides, at the approach of all sharp political contests, the collectors have it in their power to employ every possible device to keep out of reach of Republicans, with the purpose that their names may not be retained on the tax lists, and that their votes may not be received.

In short, while many Democrats fully perceive and frankly acknowledge the iniquity of this state of things, and while some exceptional Democratic officials strive to carry out the laws, such as they are, impartially, there seems to be no doubt that the old Commonwealth of Delaware is substantially in possession of a thoroughly organized band of political conspirators, who have taken it out of the hands of the people, and hold it under their own absolute dictation.

Although not strictly pertinent, it may be well to add here, in a word, that, connected with this system of direct political larceny, which was inaugurated for the purpose of disfranchising a population, the representation of Delaware, in relation to counties, is so gerrymandered for her legislature that the majority have no immediate means of redress from the minority, even in the direction of remedial law. From every aspect, indeed, the poor little State of Delaware appears to have been converted into a pocket

oligarchy, and the political perquisite of those who have been unpatriotic enough to make her a lamentable exception to the true principles of representation and to the true American idea.

It may be asked who is responsible for this condition of affairs. It is the inevitable sequence, the natural growth of the statute of 1873, which it has been the present purpose to explain. In a political speech in 1882, in the city of Wilmington, Secretary Bayard acknowledged the most objectionable features of that statute to be the work of his own hands. He seems to have justified it, though with some circumlocution, as a means of enabling his State to elude the penalties of federal law. But, in the real light of the recent history of his State, how is the conclusion to be avoided by any capable, not to say impartial mind, that, through the instrumentality of that measure, partisan cunning, injustice and dishonesty have reached their lowest ebb in our public life, and that, in reality, the "whited sepulcher" is a prominent feature in our political architecture?

THE EDITOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

In May, 1883, I was instrumental in founding the American Copyright League, the plan of which had been in my mind for several years. At that date, I learned that R. W. Gilder, editor of the "Century Magazine," and Dr. Edward Eggleston had planned a similar organization, without my knowledge, about two years before, but had never attempted to carry it out. I brought forward my plan before I knew of the other, and insisted that something ought to be done. After much correspondence and some personal interviews, I succeeded in getting up a meeting of authors, at the house of Mr. Brander Matthews. The result was very discouraging, because of the great variety of opinion expressed; but I persisted, and finally formed an executive committee of twenty, of which I was made secretary—the only officer besides the treasurer. This was the nucleus of the League. The committee subscribed a little money, but the treasurer went abroad, the acting treasurer left the city, and for six months I paid the expenses of the organization out of my own pocket. I enrolled thirty or forty members in the League, and something less than a dozen were enrolled by others. Finally, when Mr. Dorsheimer, without consulting us, brought in an international copyright bill in the House, the apathy of my associates had caused me almost to despair. But they were suddenly aroused. We went to work supporting the Dorsheimer bill, and adding to our roll until it contained seven hundred names. Mr. R. U. Johnson performed a vast and noble work in thus enlarging the membership. After the Dorsheimer bill failed to get a hearing, we introduced the Hawley bill in the Senate. It was stifled in the Committee on the Judiciary. I thought it a good bill to introduce, then. I assisted in drafting it, and before it was offered every word of it was submitted for my approval, as the authorized chairman of a sub-committee of the League's Executive Committee. Careful inquiry afterwards showed me that the Dorsheimer and Hawley bills had failed because they made no provision for *printing* foreign copyright books in this country. Paper-makers, type-founders, compositors, printers, binders, and a few publishers exerted a secret but decisive influence against the bills. These men were not opposed to international copyright, but capital and labor are both timid of changes in the condition of the market, and will always look out for the security of their own money interest before everything else. It was much easier and safer for them to kill or stifle an unsatisfactory bill, than to assist in bringing it to vote, and then offering an amendment which might not be carried.

Nearly all authors agree that a mere obligation to have the *printing* of books done in a certain country would not injure the rights and interests of authors. Consequently, it is absurd to stand against the imposing of such an obligation, when by consenting to it we could bring all the paper-makers, printers, binders, and most publishers to the support of a bill with a "printing clause."

Viewing the subject in this light, Allen Thorndike Rice, in May, 1885, moved, at a meeting of the Executive Committee, that we should insert in our constitution a statement (not to be published, of course, but merely to define and limit our policy) that we were willing to advocate a bill containing a "printing clause." He was supported by Prof. E. L. Youmans, Mr. Richard Henry Stoddard, and myself. Although I had approved the Hawley bill at the proper time, I agreed with Mr. Rice that in the light of experience and information, it ought to be offered again in an amended form. We held votes and proxies enough to carry the motion, but could not bring it to vote. Seeing that the mood of the Committee was dilatory and impracticable, Mr. Rice, Mr. Stoddard, and I resigned.

Certain members of the Committee, who never took and never would have taken the trouble to found a Copyright League and work gratuitously for it, insist that no concession shall be made as to printing in this country, if we give copyright to foreigners; although nearly all European countries place similar conditions and limitations upon copyright to foreigners. This body of gentlemen, who are authors, or represent authorship to a certain extent, are, I am sorry to say, one of the chief obstacles in the way of obtaining international copyright in this country. And, curiously enough, it was I who—setting out to gain international copyright—united them in the movement which they are now turning into an obstructionist one. If I wanted to characterize their action mildly, I should call it wild. If I wanted to stigmatize it severely, I should describe it as puerile.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

II.

MR. EDITOR: Somewhat to my disappointment, I find that the September number of the REVIEW lacks a most vigorous Comment upon "the Profane View of the Sanctum" taken in July by Rev. Savage. It seems to me that, in the interest of truth, if for no lesser reason, some one should have replied to it. Editors, I know, are prone to publish their own "comments," and, weary of the popular race to put one's words and name in print, are not inclined to volunteer personal contributions to rival or contemporary publications. Editors write for money, not "notoriety." But the errors and untruths in Mr. Savage's screed were so numerous that some able pen should have paused for a moment to aim in that direction.

I think an editorial "we" *is* justified by the fact that not the editors' personal opinions, but the wishes of manager, directors, and possibly friends, are expressed. The sources of editorial utterances are far anterior to the mouthpiece—in other words, beyond the personality of the writer. Does not Mr. Savage give the answer to his own aspersion, when he speaks of the editor performing double duty, and says: "It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to dis-

cover whether these leaders of public opinion themselves possess any opinions at all?"

2. It is simply not true that "no editor is ever known to confess ignorance or admit that he has been in the wrong." I have known many such "confessions."

3. "Peppery gossip!" Ah, if Mr. Savage could but know the "juicy morsels" that are *not* dispensed! It is a maxim of a certain successful newspaper publisher that "a good editor is known by what he will *not* publish." The scandals which are known to editors and never referred to in their newspapers are almost numberless. Hundreds of obscene or revolting telegrams go to the waste basket daily.

4. Judgment *is* a qualification of newspaper reporters. Were it not, every impression would bring a libel suit. What is keener in its way than the judgment of the trained reporter? He is a master of human nature.

5. It *is matter* if a sensational article turns out to be not true. It means discharge for the writer, and "explanations" to the party aggrieved.

6. I do not believe the "correspondents can practically make or unmake any public man's reputation." The truth will out.

7. I do not believe that any sober reporter ever wrote an entirely imaginative report of a sermon, and I am quite sure that if he did he lost his place within twenty-four hours.

If newspapers could be supported by passing a plate, we might reasonably demand a purer article. But they are sustained by the people, and the sheets which the masses love to read will prove profitable, "wax and grow fat," while those which are ahead or behind the age will die for lack of sustenance. This is the law. Ninety-nine papers out of one hundred are printed for gain. Expenses are enormous. The people expect the news, and if the "Tribune" gives it not, the "Tribune" will die. Theory never yet ran a daily journal. Many fortunes have been lost by men who thought otherwise, and expected to find the people standing in line with advertisements and subscription-money.

Mr. Savage's careless humor is due, no doubt, to ignorance. Too many ministers of the gospel, it is to be regretted, are wont to indulge in animadversion based upon a superficial knowledge of the subject discussed.

F. S. Woodbury.

III.

Mr. Editor: The answer by Rufus Hatch in the Review for October to the question, "Ought our present National Banking System to be continued?" suggests a comparison, which I will make in the form of a story. Once upon a time, an enterprising "down-Easter" built a grist mill at the outlet of a small pond and for a few months did a satisfactory business, when of a sudden his mill stopped grinding. On investigating the cause of the stoppage, he found the pond drawn down. "A single danger menaced this system." In fact, without the pond he had no "system." He wisely concluded that it was of no use to try to continue the system when its distinguishing feature was non-existent. The distinguishing feature of our national banking system is

the national debt, the extinguishment of which will leave us, unless otherwise provided for, without a banking system.

Psalms upon the beauty of our system are pleasant enough, but in view of its early demise, suggestions for an inevitably necessary substitute would seem to be more in order just now.

JAMES N. CLARK.

IV.

MR. EDITOR: The objection of Mr. Field to Henry George's system of taxation is not well taken, and can be shown, by a little reflection, to be groundless. The necessary expenses of government, instead of the immense revenue equal to present economic rent, will be amply sufficient to ensure nationalization of land. The present value of land is forced, and is not the result of the uninterrupted growth of the community. As land is necessary to life, and its value has been constantly advancing, there is a demand for land beyond any other thing. The present system encourages this extraordinary desire, causing vast tracts to be withdrawn from use and advancing the price beyond all reason. The effect of a tax exclusively on land values would reduce its value at least in proportion to the tax. When the economic rent is five per cent. of the value, a tax of one per cent. would reduce the value one fifth, throwing lands held for an increase of price on the market, and causing unimproved lands close to the margin of cultivation to be abandoned, which must further reduce values and the area of taxable land, compelling a higher rate and a further reduction of value. The moment that land values are separated from improvements, and a tax put upon one that has been taken from the other, a great change will take place in public enterprise; the current of human desires will quicken as if some marvelous discovery had offered untold happiness to a people. Land values vanishing, the desire for rent would vanish with them. Improvements reappearing in infinite variety, wages would advance with advancing desire. The people, in a spirit of self-preservation, would regard land as the instrument for the collection of taxes, instead of a patent of nobility, and the demand for it would cease.

HENRY RAWIE.

V.

MR. EDITOR: To make his figures prove that Christianity is on the increase, Dr. Parkhurst should show that every attendant at a Christian house of worship is a believer, and that considerations of fashion, society, personal credit, popularity, curiosity, etc., have nothing whatever to do with pew-holding, the contributing of money to, or attendance on, the churches. Then he should supplement this proof with statements showing that infidel, agnostic, and materialistic publications are on the decrease; that all dubitation as to the tenets of Christianity is disappearing from the literature of the day; that that dubitation appears no longer in popular conversation; and that crimes, defalcations, and immoralities, and all those offenses against which Christianity warns, are surely and substantially decreasing. Then he will be able to prove by figures the fact he so earnestly hopes to make us believe.

JOHN W. BELL.

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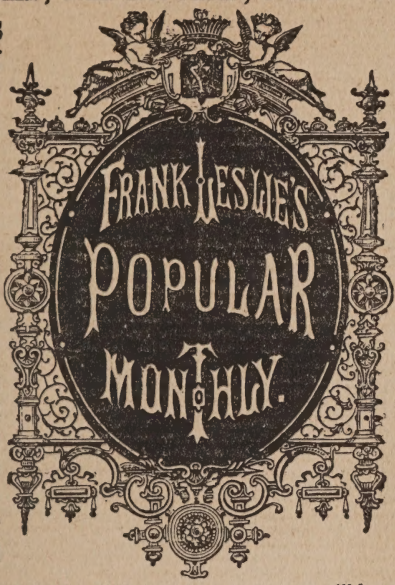

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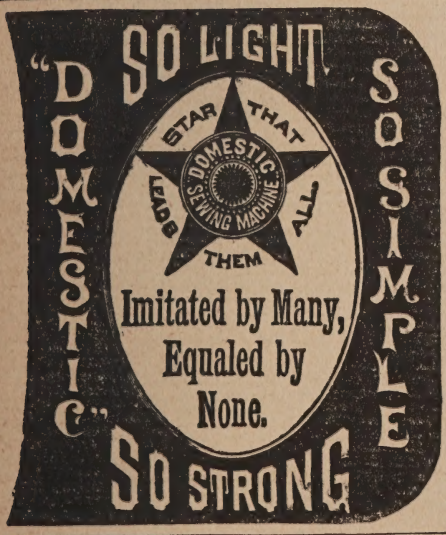

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